



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

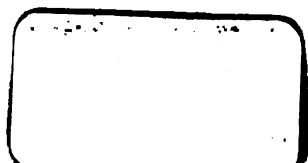
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



600015107K

50.590.

1365

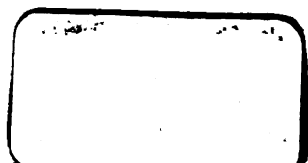




600015107K

50.590.

1365



AN EXPOSITION
OF THE
THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

Cambridge :
Printed at the University Press.

AN EXPOSITION
OF THE
THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES,
HISTORICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF A COURSE OF LECTURES DELIVERED
TO CANDIDATES FOR ORDERS AT ST. DAVID'S COLLEGE,
LAMPETER.

BY

EDW. HAROLD BROWNE, M.A.,
PREBENDARY OF EXETER AND VICAR OF KENWYN,
FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND VICE-PRINCIPAL AND PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AT LAMPETER.

VOLUME II.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.LIII.



ADVERTISEMENT TO VOLUME II.

THE delay in the appearance of this second volume has been caused by the long and very serious illness of the Author; from which, by God's mercy, he is now recovering. He has, in this volume, departed, much more than in the former, from the course of his Lectures, as verbally delivered; and has been compelled to allude more frequently to modern controversies.

The length of the whole work may need an apology. That apology must be found in the Author's conviction and experience, that concise and compendious works are uninteresting and ill-remembered, and that they grievously foster that miserable system, familiarly and expressively called *cramming*. The XXXIX. Articles embrace so many and such important subjects, that a brief, must necessarily be an inadequate, exposition.

ADDITIONAL ERRATA TO VOL. I.

- Page 9, note 1, line 8, *for* mistakes *read* mistakers.
„ 96, line 28, *for* he *read* be.
„ 136, note 4, *for* symbola *read* symbolo.
„ 139, line 19, *for* writing *read* writings.
„ 156, note 1, line 1, *for* πνεῦσα *read* πνεῦμα.
„ 193, line 6, *for* Being *read* Bring.
„ 300, line 19, *for* Montfaçon *read* Montfaucon.
„ 304, line 12 and line 15, *for* *Commonitorum* *read* *Commonitorium*.
„ 342, line 7, *after* velimus, *insert* et co-operante, dum volumus.
„ 344, note 2, *for* 62, 63 *read* 80.
 note 3, *for* 35 *read* 45.
„ 345, note 4, *for* 287 *read* 329.
„ 349, line 29, *for* Rocca *read* Rocca.
„ 367, line 5, *for* spirit *read* Spirit.
„ 376, note 1, line 18, *for* imprium *read* impium.
„ 425, note 1, *for* on *read* in.

ARTICLE XVI.

Of Sin after Baptism.

Nor every deadly sin willingly committed after baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

De peccato post Baptismum.

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum, et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a baptismo in peccata, locus poenitentiae non est negandus. Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere, atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere, ac resipiscere; ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se, quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipientibus veniae locum denegant.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

THE Article as it now stands is very nearly the same as the fifteenth Article of A. D. 1552. But in the Articles of 1552, the sixteenth Article followed out the subject of the fifteenth, and treated expressly of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.

The Article, which we now have, treats of, or alludes to

- I. Deadly sin after baptism, and the possibility of repentance for such sin.
- II. The sin against the Holy Ghost.
- III. The possibility of falling from grace.

The first of these three divisions is that which forms the main subject of the Article; the other two being incidentally

alluded to. The third, however, is spoken of in somewhat decided terms, and being a point on which there has been no little controversy, requires to be considered.

I. As regards the possibility of repentance and forgiveness for sins committed after baptism and the grace of God, there was some stir even in early ages of the Church.

Some of the Gnostics, who affected great asceticism, appear to have held also very rigid notions of the divine justice and the irremissibility of sins. Clement of Alexandria says, that Basilides taught, that 'not all sins, but only sins which were committed involuntarily or through ignorance, were forgiven¹.'

The Church itself in early times was very severe in its censures against heinous crimes, and very slow in admitting offenders to Church-communion. It appears that, in the second and third centuries, persons, who committed small sins, might be admitted frequently to repentance, but that great and flagrant offenders were put to penance and reconciled to the Church but once. In the case indeed of some very grievous, deadly, and often-repeated sins, the Church appears to have refused communion even at the last hour. The meaning of which severity doubtless was, that offenders might not mock God and the Church with feigned repentance, turning again to sin like the swine to their wallowing in the mire².

The Montanists carried this rigour much farther than the Catholics; for they not only refused repeated penances and reconciliation, but did not allow to the Church the power of forgiving great sins after baptism, even once. Tertullian, in

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. p. 634, Potter; Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constant.* sæc. 2. c. 48; King, *On the Creed*, p. 358; Bp. Kaye's Clem. Alex. p. 269.

² See this subject fully considered by Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.* Bk. xvi. c. x.; Bk. xviii. c. iv. He quotes Hermas, Clem. Alex., Tertull., Origen, the Council of Eliberis, Ambros., Augustine, &c.; see especially Bk. xviii. c. iv. § 1.

those writings, which he composed before he became a Montanist, speaks of grievous sins as once, and but once, remitted by the Church. After he had joined the sect of the Montanists, he distinguishes between venial sins (such as causeless anger, evil speaking, rash swearing, falsehood,) and sins of a heinous and deadly character, such as murder, idolatry, fraud, denying Christ, blasphemy, adultery, fornication. Of these latter he says there is no remission, and that even Christ will not intercede for them¹.

St. Clement of Alexandria in one place seems to say, that there is no repentance but once after baptism². It is probable that he refers to a passage in the *Pastor* of Hermas, where we read that there is but one penitence, viz. when we descend into the water, and so receive remission of sins³. But whereas it is pretty certain, that Hermas speaks of the repentance and remission of sins in baptism to be once given and never repeated, but does not thereby mean to exclude from repentance after baptism⁴; so it appears that Clement of Alexandria speaks either of the one *public* penance, which might be conceded by the Church⁵, or that he simply means that, to repent and

¹ Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, pp. 20, 254, 339; Tertullian, *de Pudicitia*, c. 19; see also Lardner, *Hist. of Heretics*, Bk. II. ch. xix. sect. 8; Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist. Cent. II. Part II. ch. v.*

² Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς προβίτητος ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν ὁρμήσας, ἀπαξ ἔνυχεν ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἁμαρτήσας, ἔτι μετανοῶν, καὶ συγγνώμης τυγχάνη, αἰδεῖσθαι ὀφείλει, μηκέτι λυόμενος εἰς ἀφῆσιν ἁμαρτιῶν . . . δόκησις τοῖνυν μετανοίας, οὐ μετάνοια, τὸ πολλάκις αἰτεῖσθαι συγγνώμην, ἐφ' οἷς πλημμελοῦμεν πολλάκις.—*Stromat.* II. § 13, p. 460.

³ Herm. *Past. Mandat.* IV. 3; Cotel. p. 96.

⁴ Consult Cotelerius' note on this passage of Hermas.

⁵ So his words are explained by Lumpner, *Hist. Theolog. Crit.* Tom. IV. p. 388. Bp. Jeremy Taylor writes, 'Whereas some of them' (i. e. of the fathers) 'use to say that after baptism, or after the first relapse, they are "unpardonable," we must know that in the style of the Church "unpardonable" signifies such to which, by the discipline and customs of the Church, pardon may not be ministered. They were called "unpardonable," not because God would not pardon them, but because He

return again continually to former sins, proves the repentance not to have been real, but feigned and hypocritical. Yet some have thought, that the language both of Hermas and Clement prepared the way for the severity of Origen and the errors of the Novatians.

Origen appears to have thrown out the opinion, that persons, who had once embraced the Gospel, and been baptized, and then denied the faith, could not be readmitted to repentance nor obtain pardon of sin¹.

The sect of the Novatians arose about the middle of the third century. Novatian, their founder, a presbyter of Rome, had on a former occasion been chosen by the Church of that city to write to Cyprian on the subject of restoring the lapsed to communion². In the year 251, Cornelius was elected Bishop of Rome, a post to which Novatian aspired. Novatian had himself secured three bishops, ignorant and inexperienced men, to consecrate him to the bishopric. But not succeeding in his hopes of holding possession of the see, he set up a schismatical communion. He does not appear to have held any heretical doctrine; but he denied to the Church the power of restoring to communion those who had lapsed in persecution. Eusebius indeed says, that he denied to them the hope of salvation³; but it seems more probable, from the language of Cyprian and others, that he exhorted them to repent, and to seek for pardon, but refused to offer them any consolation, or to admit them again to any church-privilege in this life⁴.

alone could.'—*On Repentance*, ch. ix. § 3. All that is said in this section about the fathers' doctrine of repentance is well worth reading.

¹ Origen, *Tract.* 35 in *Matthæum*; see Abp. Potter's note on the before-cited passage of Clem. Alex.

² The letter is in the collection of the letters of Cyprian, Epis. xxx.

³ *H. E.* vi. 43: ὡς μηκέτ' οὐσης αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδος. So Epiphani. *adv. Hær.* Hær. xxxix. λέγων μὴ εἶναι σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ μίαν μετάνοιαν.

⁴ *Epist.* 55, *juxta finem*. There he describes the Novatians as urging repentance, but excluding from peace: 'hortari ad satisfactionis pœni-

Whether he extended this severity to heinous sins in general is not apparent; but it seems that the sect of the Novatians, who owed their origin to him, refused communion to the penitent after other heavy offences besides lapsing in persecution¹. The Novatians arrogated to themselves the title of *Cathari*, or *Pure*; and refused to acknowledge the baptism of those Churches which admitted the lapsed to penance and communion.

The Church Catholic, however, rejected at once the severity of Novatian's sentiments. Eusebius, on the authority of Cornelius, mentions a council of bishops who met at Rome and condemned the folly of Novatian². Still the sect of the Cathari continued, and appears to have flourished throughout the fourth and part of the fifth century. But the fathers of the Church uniformly esteemed them heretics, and expressed their belief in the remissibility of sin, on repentance, after baptism³.

St. Cyprian says, that to a lapsed Christian, who repents, prays, and exerts himself, God gives pardon, and restores his arms, so that he may fight again, strengthened for the conflict by the very sorrow for his sins. And he thus strengthened by the Lord, may make glad the Church, which he had saddened, and obtain not only pardon, but a crown⁴. St. Gregory Na-

tentiam, et subtrahere de satisfactione medicinam; dicere fratribus nostris, plange et lacrymas funde, et diebus ac noctibus ingemisce, et pro ablundo et purgando delicto tuo largiter et frequenter operare, sed extra ecclesiam post omnia ista morieris: quæcumque ad pacem pertinent, facies, sed nullam pacem, quam quæris, accipies.'

¹ 'Igitur, hoc nullum habet dubium, adultam ecclesiam Novatianam non modo perfidos Christianos, verum etiam omnium capitalium criminum reos alienos a se voluisse.'—Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constant. Magnum*, sæc. tertium, § xvi.

² *H. E.* vi. 43, *justa finem*.

³ See Cyprian, Eusebius, and Epiphanius, as above; Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constant. Magnum*, sæc. iii. §§ xv. xvi.; Lardner, Vol. iii. Pt. ii. ch. 47; Cave, *Histor. Liter.* Tom. i. p. 91.

⁴ 'Poenitenti operanti, roganti, potest (Deus) clementer ignoscere . . . dat Ille et arma rursus quibus victus armetur, reparat et corro-

zianzen calls penitence another baptism, but rougher and more troublesome: and says that, owning the infirmity and fickleness of man, he gratefully accepts for himself, and willingly imparts to others, this grace of repentance; aware that he himself is compassed by infirmities, and that with that measure he metes it shall be measured to him again. The Novatian he calls the modern Pharisee, and asks if he would not have allowed the repentance of David, or the return of Peter after he had denied his Lord, or the contrition of the incestuous Corinthian, to whom St. Paul confirmed his love¹.

St. Ambrose says, that, as our blessed Lord calls all that are weary and heavy laden to come unto Him, those cannot be reckoned as His disciples, who whilst they have need of mercy themselves, yet deny it to others². The Novatians granted

borat vires, quibus fides instaurata vegetetur. Repetet certamen suum miles, iterabit aciem, provocabit hostem, et quidem factus ad proelium fortior per dolorem. Qui sic Deo satisfecerit, qui pœnitentia facti sui, qui pudore delicti, plus et virtutis et fidei de ipso lapsus sui dolore conceperit, exauditus et adjutus a Domino, quam contristaverat nuper, lætam faciet Ecclesiam: nec jam solam Dei veniam merebitur, sed coronam.'—Cypr. *De Lapsis*, fin. p. 138.

¹ Οἶδα καὶ πέμπτον (βάπτισμα) ἔτι τῶν δακρύων, ἀλλ' ἐπιπονωτερον. ὡς ὁ λούων καθ' ἐκάστην νύκτα τὴν κλίνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν στρωμαμένην τοῖς δάκρυσιν . . . ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν (ἄνθρωπος εἶναι γὰρ ὁμολογῶ ζῶν τρεπτόν καὶ βευστης φύσεως) καὶ δέχομαι τοῦτο προθύμως, καὶ προσκυνῶ τὸν δεδωκότα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδίδωμι καὶ προεισφέρω τοῦ ἐλείου τὸν ἔλεον. Οἶδα γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀσθενεῖαν περικείμενος, καὶ ὡς ἂν μετρήσω, μετρηθησόμενος. Σὺ δὲ τί λέγεις; τι νομοθετεῖς, ὃ νέε φαρισαῖε, καὶ καθαρὲ τὴν προσηγορίαν, οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ φυσῶν ἡμῖν Ναυατοῦ τὰ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀσθενείας; οὐ δέχῃ μετάνοιαν; οὐ δίδως ὀδυρμοῖς χώραν; οὐ δακρύεις δάκρυν; Μὴ σύ γε τοιοῦτου κριτοῦ τύχους . . . οὐδὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ δέχῃ μετανοοῦντα, ᾧ καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἡ μετάνοια συνετήρησεν; οὐδὲ Πέτρον τὸν μέγαν παθόντά τι ἀνθρώπινον περὶ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος; . . . οὐδὲ τὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ παρανομήσαντα; Παῦλος δὲ καὶ ἀγάπην ἐκύρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν διόρθωσιν εἶδε, καὶ τὸ αἷτιον, ἵνα μὴ τῇ περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ καταποθῇ ὁ τοιοῦτος.—Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 39, Tom. I. p. 634, col. 1690.

² 'Unde liquet eos inter Christi discipulos non esse habendos, qui dura pro mitibus, superba pro humilibus sequenda opinantur; et cum ipsi quærant Domini misericordiam, aliis eam denegant; ut sunt doctores Novatianorum, qui mundos se appellant.'—*De Pœnitentia*, Lib. I. c. i.

pardon to smaller, not to greater crimes; but God, says St. Ambrose, makes no such distinction, who has promised His mercy to all, and gives to all the clergy the power of loosing without any exception. Only, if the crime be great, so must be the repentance¹.

Other early heretics are mentioned, as agreeing with the Novatians in their severity against the lapsed. The Apostolici are reckoned by Epiphanius as an offset from the Encratites or Cathari. Their opinions concerning marriage and all worldly indulgences were highly ascetic, and they refused to receive those who once fell². The Meletians were an Egyptian sect. They arose about the time of Diocletian's persecution. Meletius, their founder, was Bishop of Lycopolis in the Thebaid. He was deposed by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, and set up a schismatical communion under Alexander, the successor of Peter. They ultimately joined the Arians, as being the great enemies of Alexander. Epiphanius and Augustine ascribe to them the same severity to the lapsed, which characterized the Novatians³. The Luciferians, who followed Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, avoided communion with those who had lapsed to Arianism, and with those bishops who restored the lapsed. It should seem from Jerome, that the Luciferians did not altogether exclude laymen, who had lapsed, from returning to communion, but would on no account receive repentant bishops and presbyters; arguing from our Lord's words, 'Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted⁴.'

At the period of the Reformation, it appears that some of

¹ 'Sed Deus distinctionem non facit, qui misericordiam suam promisit omnibus, et relaxandi licentiam omnibus sacerdotibus suis sine ulla exceptione concessit. Sed qui culpam exaggeravit, exaggeret etiam poenitentiam.'—*Ibid.* c. 2.

² Epiphan. *Hæres.* 61.

³ Epiphan. *Hæres.* 63; August. *Hæres.* 48.

⁴ Hieron. *adv. Luciferianos.*

the sects which then arose, most probably the Anabaptists in particular, revived in some degree the Novatian errors. The XIth Article of the Confession of Augsburg, which is the source of the XVIth Article of the Church of England, condemns the Novatians by name, for refusing repentance to the lapsed, and afterwards condemns the Anabaptists, though for another error, *viz.* the denial that persons once justified ever lose the grace of God¹. Dr. Hey thinks that both the German and English reformers had chiefly in view the Anabaptists, in their condemnation of this extreme rigour against the lapsed².

In the fourteenth session of the Council of Trent, several decrees and canons were drawn up upon penance, whereby it was defined that, for sins after baptism, the sacrament of penance was essential and sufficient; the form of the sacrament being contrition, confession, and satisfaction. It was determined, that it was necessary to pardon, that every mortal sin should be confessed, but not every venial sin³.

The continental reformers were very express in asserting the efficacy of repentance for remission of sin after baptism. Thus, the Confession of Augsburg says, that 'Remission of sins may be granted to those who lapse after baptism, at any time when they turn to God. And the Church ought to grant absolution to such⁴.' The Helvetic Confession declares, that 'there is access to God and pardon for all who believe, with the exception of those guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost; therefore the old and new Novatians are to be condemned⁵.'

¹ *Confess. Augs.* Art. XI.; *Sylloge*, p. 172.

² *Lectures*, Vol. III. p. 436.

³ *Conc. Trid.* Sess. xiv., Can. I. IV. &c.; Sarpi, p. 326.

⁴ 'De pœnitentia docent, quod lapsis post baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum, quocunque tempore cum convertuntur. Et quod ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad pœnitentiam impertire absolutionem debeat.'—*Conf. August.* Art. XI.; *Syll.* p. 172.

⁵ 'Docemus interim semper et omnibus peccatoribus aditum patere ad Deum, et hunc omnino omnibus fidelibus condonare peccata, excepto uno illo peccato in Spiritum Sanctum. Ideoque damnamus et veteres et

The sentiments of the English reformers appear plainly, both in the wording of this Article, and in several of the Homilies. For example, in the First Book of Homilies we read, 'They, which in act or deed do sin after baptism, when they turn again to God unfeignedly, they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins, in such sort that there remaineth not any spot of sin that shall be imputed to their damnation¹.' 'We must trust only in God's mercy, and that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour, Christ Jesus the Son of God, once offered upon the Cross, to obtain thereby God's grace and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent and turn to Him unfeignedly again².' And in the Second Book of Homilies we are told, 'Repentance is never too late, so that it be true and just³.' 'Although we do, after we be once come to God, and grafted in his Son Jesus Christ, fall into great sins . . . yet if we rise again by repentance, and with a full purpose of amendment of life do flee unto the mercy of God, taking sure hold thereon, through faith in his Son Jesus Christ, there is an assured and infallible hope of pardon and remission of the same, and that we shall be received again into the favour of our heavenly Father⁴.'

II. Concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost, the language of our Article is directed against an opinion which was first broached by Origen.

Origen and Theognostus taught, that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost was, when those who in baptism had received the gift of the Spirit returned again to sin; and that such had never forgiveness. Origen, we are told, assigned as a reason

novos Novatianos atque Catharos.'—*Confess. Helvet.* Art. xiv.; Syllog. p. 50.

¹ *Homily of Salvation*, Part I.

² *Homily of Repentance*, Part i.

³ *Ibid.* Part ii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

for this, that, whereas God the Father pervades and embraces all things, animate and inanimate, and the power of God the Son extends more immediately to the rational creatures of God, among whom are heathen men who have never yet believed; the Spirit of God, on the contrary, is in those only who have received the grace of baptism. Hence, when Gentiles and unbelievers sin by blasphemy, they sin against the Son, who is in them, yet they can be forgiven. But when baptized Christians sin, their iniquity proceeds to the Spirit of God, who dwells in their hearts, and therefore they have never forgiveness.

St. Athanasius wrote a treatise expressly on the subject, in which he first states, and then examines and confutes, this notion of Origen's. He observes, that the occasion of our Lord's speaking of the sin against the Holy Ghost was the blasphemy of the Pharisees, who disbelieved the miracles of Christ, and ascribed them to Beelzebub. They, he remarks, had never been baptized, and yet they had either committed, or were in imminent danger of committing, the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Athanasius himself appears to maintain that the blasphemy against the Son of Man was the disbelieving and blaspheming against our blessed Lord, when as yet only His human nature was manifested, but that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit was continuing to deride and speak evil of Him, when He had given plain and irrefragable proofs of His Godhead and Divine nature¹. The author, under his name, of the Questions to Antiochus, says that they blasphemed the Holy Spirit, that is, the Divine nature of the Son, who said that He cast out devils by Beelzebub. To them, he says, there is no remission in this world, nor in the next. But, he adds, we must understand this, not that he who blasphemes and repents, but that he who blasphemes and does not repent, shall never be forgiven; for no

¹ Athanas. *In Illud Evangelii, Quicumque dixerit.*

sin is unpardonable in the presence of God, to those who holily and worthily repent; and then he adds, that there are three baptisms which purge away sin; the baptism of water, the baptism of blood, *i. e.* martyrdom, and the baptism of tears, *i. e.* repentance; and that many who had defiled by backsliding their holy baptism, have yet been cleansed and accepted by the baptism of tears¹.

Many, both ancient and modern, have followed in the steps of Athanasius, and given a like interpretation of the blasphemy against the Spirit. St. Chrysostom appears to take the same view; *viz.* that blasphemy was irremissible, which was uttered after the discovery and experimental proof of the Spirit's working. But then he appears to deny remission of such sin, not only to the impenitent, but even to those who repent².

St. Augustine has some very excellent observations on the subject. He shews that neither Jews nor Gentiles were kept from pardon, because they had blasphemed Christ and the Holy Spirit in their unconverted state; nor yet that persons who had been baptized in infancy, and had grown up in ignorance, were refused forgiveness, because in their state of ignorance they resisted the Spirit and spoke against Him. He shews too, that even baptized persons lapsing, or becoming heretics, were yet admitted to the peace of the Church on their conversion and repentance; and enumerates among such heretics, Sabellians, Arians, Manichæans, Cataphrygians, Donatists. And then concludes, that the sin against the Spirit of God, which hath never forgiveness, is a final and obdurate continuance in wickedness, despite of all the calls of God to repentance, joined with a desperation of the mercy of God³.

¹ Athan. *Quæstiones ad Antiochum*, Quæst. LXXI. LXXII.

² οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται, οὐδὲ μετανοήσει.—Chrysost. *Homil. xli. in Matt.* ap. Suic. *Tom. i.* p. 700.

³ Augustin. *Epist. ad Romanos Expositio inchoata*, 14—23. *Tom. iii.* par. ii. p. 933—940. See especially, c. 22, p. 939: 'Si ergo nec Paganis,

That the Church at large rejected the theory of Origen, though the Novatians appear to have adopted it, is plain from their admitting offenders after baptism, even the most heinous, to penance and absolution. They did not indeed restore them readily and lightly, as we do at present, but after a long term of penitence and exclusion from Church-privileges: yet still after sufficient satisfaction had been given to the Church, all offenders were ecclesiastically pardoned, and the sinner restored to peace and communion. For example, for fornication, the offender was expelled three years from the public service of the Church, three years more he was in the station of hearers, three years more in the station of the prostrate, and then was received to full communion. The term was double for adultery, and three times as long for murder. There was, however, some discretion allowed to the bishop, who might contract the term of discipline upon just ground of reason: and especially if there was imminent danger of death, the clemency of the fathers determined, that the sinner should not be permitted to enter on his long last journey, without provision for it, and without participation in the holy sacraments¹. These rules were not the same in all dioceses and all parts of the Church. Thus the

nec Hebræis, nec hæreticis, nec schismaticis nondum baptizatis ad baptismum Christi aditus clauditur, ubi condemnata vita priore in melius commutentur; quamvis Christianitati et Ecclesiæ Dei adversantes antequam Christianis sacramentis abluerentur, etiam Spiritui Sancto quanta potuerunt infestatione restiterint; si etiam hominibus, qui usque ad sacramentorum perceptionem veritatis scientiam perceperint, et post hæc lapsi Spiritui Sancto restiterunt, ad sanitatem redeuntibus et pacem Dei poenitendo querentibus, auxilium misericordiæ non negatur; si denique de illis ipsis, quibus blasphemiam in Spiritum sanctum ab eis prolatam Dominus objecit, si qui resipiscentes ad Dei gratiam confugerunt, sine ulla dubitatione sanati sunt: quid aliud restat nisi, ut peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum, quod neque in hoc sæculo neque in futuro dimitti Dominus dicit, nullum intelligatur nisi perseverantia in nequitia et in malignitate, cum desperatione indulgentiæ Dei?

¹ See Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*, especially ch. ii. Part. II. § 1 and Appendix, Num. 1.; Gregory Nyssen's *Canonical Epistle to Letoius*.

council of Ancyra enjoins seven years' penance for adultery¹; for such as had sacrificed, three years of prostration, and two years more as communicants without oblation²; and for those who had sacrificed two or three times, it enjoins a penance of six years³. But the diversity in the measure of penance only proves identity of principle.

III. The question of the possibility of falling from grace may be considered as intimately connected with the doctrine of God's predestination, and therefore might properly come under the XVIIth Article. Yet as it is certainly in some degree treated of in this Article, and may be separated from the question of predestination, we may not refuse to consider it here.

The earliest fathers, Clement, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and others, speak of God's election and of predestination to grace and life. But, as we shall see in the next Article, it is not immediately certain in what sense they use this language of holy Scripture. The controversies, which afterwards arose concerning the Pelagian heresy and the predestinarian doctrines of St. Augustine, induced persons to use more accurate terms: and Augustine himself argues, that the fathers did not teach his doctrines, because no heresy had arisen which made it necessary to expound them⁴. It, seems, however, tolerably certain, that the fathers of the second century spoke of the possibility of falling away from grace, and held that those, who had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, might afterwards reject it and be lost. Justin Martyr says, that 'God will accept the penitent, as if he had never sinned, and will treat him, who turns from godliness to impiety, as a sinner

¹ Concil Ancyran, Can. xx.; Beveridge, *Pandect.* Tom. i. p. 397.

² Can. vi.; Beveridge, i. p. 380.

³ Can. viii.; Beveridge, i. 382.

⁴ *De Prædestinatione*, § 27, Tom. x. p. 808; *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, § 53, Tom. x. p. 851.

and unjust. Wherefore our Lord Jesus Christ says, "In whatsoever I find you, I will judge you¹." Irenæus says, that, whereas God gives grace, those who profit by it will receive glory, but those who reject it will be punished². He compares children of God, who disobey Him, to sons of men who are disinherited by their fathers; and says that, if we disobey God, we shall be cast off by Him³. Clement of Alexandria speaks of his Gnostic or perfect Christian as praying for the permanence and continuance of that good which he already possesses⁴. Tertullian indeed, in his later treatises, especially after he had become a Montanist, seems to say that a person, who fell away from grace, had never been a Christian. In his tract *De Prescriptione* even, which was probably written before his Montanism, he speaks of no one as a Christian but such as endured to the end⁵. But in his tract *De Pudicitia*, which was written when he had become a Montanist, in commenting on those words of St. John, 'He who is born of God sinneth not,' he argues, that venial sins, such as causeless anger, rash swearing, &c., all Christians are liable to; but that deadly sin, such as

¹ *Dialog.* p. 267.

² 'Dedit ergo Deus bonum, quemadmodum et Apostolus testificatur in eadem epistola, et qui operantur quidem illud, gloriam et honorem percipient, quoniam operati sunt bonum, cum possint non operari illud; hi autem qui illud non operantur, judicium justum recipient Dei, quoniam non sunt operati bonum, cum possint operari illud.'—*Adv. Hær.* iv. 71.

³ 'Quemadmodum enim in hominibus indicto audientes patribus filii abdicati, natura quidem filii eorum sunt, lege vero alienati sunt, non enim hæredes fiunt naturalium parentum: eodem modo apud Deum, qui non obediunt Ei, abdicati ab Eo, desierunt filii Ejus esse. . . . Verum quando credunt et subjecti esse Deo perseverant et doctrinam Ejus custodiunt, filii sunt Dei; cum autem abcesserint, et transgressi fuerint, Diabolo adscribuntur principi, ei qui primo sibi, tunc et reliquis causa abcessionis factus est.'—*Ibid.* iv. 80. See also Beaven's *Irenæus*, p. 166.

⁴ 'Ο γνωστικός δὲ ὧν μὲν κέκτηται παραμονήν, ἐπιτηδεύοντα δὲ εἰς ἃ μέλλει ἀποβαίνειν, καὶ ἀδιδόντα ὧν λήγεται, αἰτήσεται.—*Strom.* Lib. vii. 7, p. 857.

⁵ 'Nemo autem Christianus, nisi qui ad finem usque perseveraverit.'—*De Præscript. Hæretic.* c. 3.

murder, idolatry, blasphemy, impiety, no good Christian, no child of God, will commit¹. Bishop Kaye even thinks that the language of Tertullian in his *later* writings is directly opposed to the doctrine of our XVIth Article. But he observes that, as there was no controversy on the subject of perseverance in his days, we must not construe his expressions too strictly². The time, when this question really came to be discussed, was after the rise of Pelagianism, and when St. Augustine had stated his predestinarian opinions. Perseverance was a natural part of his doctrine of predestination: for, whereas he taught that some men were predestinated to eternal salvation, whilst others were permitted to fall by their own sins into condemnation, it followed of necessity that he should believe some to be predestinated to final perseverance, and others not. In his work *De Correptione et Gratia*, he calls those elect who were predestinated to eternal life³; and observes, that those who did not persevere were not properly to be called elect, for they were not separated from the mass of perdition by the foreknowledge and predestination of God; and though, when they believed and were baptized and lived according to God, they might be called elect, yet it was by those who knew not the future, not by God, who saw that they would not persevere⁴.

The clergy of Marseilles and other parts of Gaul, being offended at the predestinarianism expressed in this and other treatises of Augustine, Prosper and Hilary wrote to him a statement of their objections. These letters of Hilary and Prosper called forth a reply from St. Augustine, in two books; the former on the Predestination of the Saints, the other on the Gift of Perseverance. In the latter, he asserts perseverance to be the gift of God, not given equally to all, but only to the predestinated. Whether a person has received this gift must

¹ *De Pudicitia*, c. 19.

² Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, p. 340.

³ *De Corrept. et Grat.* § 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* § 16.

in this life ever be uncertain; for, however long he may have persevered in holiness, yet if he does not persevere to the end, he cannot have received the grace of perseverance¹. He says, that of two infants equally born in sin, by God's will one is taken, one left; that of two grown persons, one follows God's call, another refuses to follow it; and all this is from the inscrutable judgments of God. And so of two pious persons, why to one is granted final perseverance, to another it is not granted, is to be resolved into the still more inscrutable judgments of God².

It appears plainly that St. Augustine held two distinct predestinations; one predestination to regeneration and a state of grace, the other predestination to perseverance and to final reward. We find him continually speaking of persons predestinated to be brought into the Church, and so by God's grace brought to baptism, and therein regenerate, but not necessarily, on that account, persevering to the end. Nay, he speaks of persons continuing in a state of grace for many years, but yet finally falling away³. Such were predestinated to regeneration, and to receive grace and sanctification, but for some unknown though doubtless just cause, they were not predestinated to final perseverance. God is pleased to mix those who will not persevere with those who will, for good and wise reasons, on purpose that he who thinketh he standeth should

¹ *De Dono Perseverantiæ, Opp.* Tom. x. p. 822. See especially §§ 1, 6, 7, 10, 15, 19.

² 'Ex duobus autem piis, cur huic donetur perseverantia usque ad finem, illi non donetur, inscrutabiliora sunt judicia Dei . . . Nonne postremo utrique vocati fuerant, et vocantem secuti, utrique ex impiis justificati, et per lavacrum regenerationis utrique renovati? Sed si hæc audiret ille, qui sciebat procul dubio quod dicebat, respondere posset et dicere: Vera sunt hæc, secundum hæc omnia ex nobis erant; verumtamen secundum aliam quandam discretionem non erant ex nobis, nam si fuissent ex nobis, mansissent utique nobiscum.'—*Ibid.* § 21.

³ See especially *De Corrupt. et Grat.* 20, 22; *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, 1, 21, 32, 33, &c.

take heed lest he fall¹. In this life it was utterly impossible for any one to know whether he would persevere or not². He might live ten years and persevere for five, and yet for the last five fall away³. We may see examples of God's hidden counsels in the case of some infants who die unregenerate, others who die regenerate; the former lost, the latter saved. And of those who are regenerate and grow up, some persevering to the end, others permitted to live on till they lapsed and fell away, and so are lost, who, if they had died just before they lapsed, would have been saved; and again others, who had lapsed, preserved in life till they repented again, who if they had been taken away before repentance, would have been damned⁴.

It is of considerable importance to observe the nature of St. Augustine's doctrine of perseverance, as it materially differs from the doctrine most generally held by later predestinarians. St. Augustine did not hold that persons, who had once received the gift of God's Spirit, could never lose it, or, at least, could never be finally lost. On the contrary, he plainly taught that persons might receive the gift of regeneration, and might persevere in holiness for a time, and yet, if they had not the gift of perseverance, might fall away at the last. In short, he held that predestination to grace did not necessarily imply predestination to glory. A person might receive the grace of God and act upon it, and yet not persevere to the end; and hence it was that he held that, even if a person had all the signs and tokens of a child of God, it was quite impossible in this life to say whether he was predestinated to persevere to the end⁵.

¹ *De Don. Persev.* 19.

² 'Utrum quisque hoc munus acceperit, quam diu hanc vitam ducit, incertum est. Si enim prius quam moriatur cadat, non perseverasse utique dicitur, et verissime dicitur.'—*Ibid.* § 1.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* § 32.

⁵ See note (2) above, and *De Dono Perseverantiæ, passim.*

The question of final perseverance, and of the falling from grace thenceforth, became a natural part of discussions concerning predestination.

At the time of the Reformation all these subjects were hotly discussed. The Council of Trent found nothing to condemn in the writings of Luther, or of the Lutheran divines, on the subject of predestination, or of final perseverance¹; but from the writings of the Zuinglians several articles were drawn out which were considered deserving of condemnation. Among these there were, (5) That the justified cannot fall from grace. (6) That those who are called, and are not in the number of the predestinated, do never receive grace. (8) That the justified is bound to believe for certain, that in case he fall from grace he shall receive it again².

The divines of Trent, though not entirely at one concerning some questions of predestination, agreed to censure these concerning final perseverance, with admirable concord. They said, that it had always been an opinion in the Church, that many receive grace and keep it for a time, who afterwards lose it, and are damned at the last. They alleged the examples of Saul, Solomon, and Judas, of whom our Lord said, 'Of those whom thou hast given me have I lost none, save the son of perdition.' To these they added Nicholas, one of the deacons, and for a conclusion of all, the fall of Luther³.

The language of Luther, on all the subjects connected with predestination, varies a good deal. Earlier in his life he was a high predestinarian; but later he seems to have materially changed his views. In his commentary on the 17th chapter of St. John, he speaks of all disputes on predestination as having sprung from their author, the devil⁴. In his commentary on the Galatians (ch. v. 4), he speaks plainly of falling from grace,

¹ Sarpi, p. 197.

² *Ibid.* p. 200.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Opp.* Tom. v. p. 197.

and says that 'he, who falls away from grace, loses expiation, remission of sins, righteousness, liberty, life, &c., which Christ by His death and resurrection deserved for us; and, in their room, acquires wrath and God's judgment, sin, death, slavery to the devil, and eternal damnation'.¹

The XIth Article of the Confession of Augsburg, which is clearly the source of our own XVIth Article, condemns the Anabaptists, who say, that persons once justified cannot again lose the Holy Spirit². From which we may conclude, first, that such was the teaching of the Anabaptists; and secondly, that the Lutherans viewed it altogether as an Anabaptist error.

The Calvinist divines, on the contrary, have generally believed that grace once given was indefectible; and this is in fact their doctrine of perseverance. Calvin himself held, that our Lord and St. Paul taught us to confide, that we should always be safe, if we were once made Christ's. And that those who fall away may have had the outward signs, but not the inward truth of election³.

The English reformers, as we have already seen, adopted in this Article the language, not of the Zuinglians and Calvinists, but of the Confession of Augsburg and the Lutherans. This is apparent from the wording of the Article itself, which evidently follows the wording of the Confession of Augsburg; and also from the Homilies, and other documents, both before and after the drawing up of the Articles. 'The Necessary Doctrine' has been appropriately cited, which says, 'It is no doubt, but although we be once justified, yet we may fall

¹ *Opp.* Tom. v. p. 405.

² 'Damnant et Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificatos iterum posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum.'—*Sylloge*, p. 173.

³ 'Quid hinc nos discere voluit Christus, nisi ut confidamus perpetuo nos fore salvos, quia illius semel facti sumus?' &c.—*Instit.* Lib. III. c. xxiv. 6, 7.

therefrom. . . . And although we be illuminated, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and be made partakers of the Holy Ghost, yet we may fall and displease God¹.’ The whole of the Homily ‘Of Falling from God’ holds language of the same character. It should be read throughout, being a practical discourse, from which extracts would fail to give a right impression. It is impossible to doubt that the doctrine contained in it is, that we may once receive the grace of God, and yet finally fall away from Him. These were documents drawn up at the period of the Reformation, shortly before the putting forth of the Articles. The second book of Homilies, written early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and of nearly the same date with the final revision of the Articles, breathes the same spirit throughout. The language of the Homily called ‘The First Part of the Information of certain parts of Scripture’ may be referred to as a specimen. After reciting examples from Scripture of the sins of good men, it continues, ‘We ought then to learn by them this profitable lesson, that if so godly men as they were, which otherwise felt inwardly of God’s Holy Spirit influencing their hearts with the fear and love of God, could not by their own strength keep themselves from committing horrible sin, but did so grievously fall, that without God’s mercy they had perished everlastingly; how much more ought we then, miserable wretches, which have no feeling of God within us at all, continually to fear, not only that we may fall as they did, but also be overcome and drowned in sin, as they were not.’

The Homily on the Resurrection has the following: ‘Ye must consider that ye be therefore cleansed and renewed that ye should henceforth serve God in holiness and righteousness all the days of your life, that ye may reign with Him in everlasting life (Luke i.). If ye refuse so great grace whereto ye

¹ *Formularies of Faith in the Reign of Henry the Eighth*, p. 367.

be called, what other thing do ye than heap to you damnation more and more, and so provoke God to cast His displeasure upon you, and to revenge this mockage of His holy sacraments in so great abusing of them? 'Apply yourselves, good friends, to live in Christ, that Christ may still live in you,' &c.

Similar is the tone breathed by the Liturgy itself. In the Baptismal Service we are taught to pray, that the baptized child 'may ever remain in the number of God's faithful and elect children.' In the Catechism the child, after speaking of himself as in a state of salvation, adds, 'I pray unto God to give me His grace that I may continue in the same unto my life's end.' And in the Burial Service we pray that God will 'suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from' Him.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the sympathy, which had sprung up with the Calvinistic reformers of the continent, made the teaching of our English divines approximate more nearly to the teaching of the Calvinists. Near the end of that reign a dispute arose at Cambridge, originating in the teaching of Barret, a fellow of Caius College, who preached *ad clerum* against Calvin's doctrines about predestination and falling from grace. Barret was complained of to Archbishop Whitgift, who at first took his part; but at last, at the earnest request of the heads of Colleges, sent for him to Lambeth, where he was directed not to teach like doctrines again. The dispute so originating was continued between Dr. Whitaker, the Regius Professor, and Dr. Baro, the Margaret Professor of Divinity. Whitaker, who took the high Calvinistic side, was sent by his party to Lambeth, where he proposed to the Archbishop, to send down to Cambridge a series of Articles, nine in number, stamped with the authority of the archbishops and bishops, in order to check the progress of what he called Pelagianism. Archbishop Whitgift was thus induced to call a meeting of bishops and other clergy. The theses of Whitaker were submitted to them, and with some few alterations, which however were of considerable

importance, they were passed by the meeting and sent down to Cambridge. The Queen censured Whitgift for the whole proceeding; and he promised to write to Cambridge, that the Articles might be suppressed. These were the famous *Lambeth Articles*. The fifth and sixth concerned falling from grace and certainty of salvation. The fifth as proposed by Whitaker ran thus, 'True, living, and justifying faith, and the influence of the Spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor fails, nor goes off, in those who have once been partakers of it, either totally or finally.' The divines at Lambeth erased the words 'in those who have once been partakers of it,' and substituted for them 'in the elect;' thus making the doctrine more nearly correspond with Augustine's, rather than, as it did in Whitaker's draught of it, with Calvin's. The sixth Article, in Whitaker's draught, said that, 'A man who truly believes, that is, who has justifying faith, is sure, from the certainty of faith, concerning the remission of his sins and his eternal salvation through Christ.' For 'certainty of faith' the Lambeth divines substituted 'full assurance of faith,' using that word as signifying, not a full and absolute certainty, such as is the certainty of matters of science or of the principles of the faith, but rather a lesser degree of certainty, such as is obtained in matters of judicial evidence and legal trials¹.

Soon after the accession of James I., A.D. 1604, the con-

¹ The Vth and VIth Articles as drawn by Whitaker were,

'V. Vera, viva, et justificans fides et Spiritus Dei Sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt, aut totaliter aut finaliter.

'VI. Homo vere fidelis, id est fide justificante præditus, certus est certitudine fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.'

In the Vth the Lambeth Divines for *in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt*, substituted *in electis*.

In the VIth for *certitudine* they substituted *plerophoria*.—See Strype's Whitgift, L. iv. c. 17.

troversy was held at Hampton Court. Dr. Reynolds, the speaker for the Puritans, moved, among other things, that the Articles be explained and enlarged. For example, whereas in Art. XVI. the words are these: 'After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace,' he wished that there should be added, 'yet neither totally nor finally;' and also that 'the nine assertions orthodoxal concluded at Lambeth might be inserted into that book of Articles.' On this point he was answered by the Bishop of London; no alteration of the kind was conceded, the Articles remaining as they were before, and the Lambeth Articles never having received any sanction of the Church or the Crown¹.

¹ Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 178.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

THE first thing we have to shew from holy Scripture is, that 'every deadly sin committed after baptism is not unpardonable,' and that 'the place of forgiveness is not to be denied to such as truly repent.'

To prove this proposition, it will be desirable (1) to shew, that sins after baptism are not generally unpardonable. (2) To consider those texts of Scripture which are thought to prove the great heinousness and unpardonable nature of some sins, especially if committed after baptism.

I. First, then, sins after baptism are not generally incapable of being pardoned.

Baptism is the first step in the Christian life, by which we are admitted into the covenant, and to a share of the pardoning love of God in Christ. Under the Jewish dispensation there was no such thing as baptism ordained by God; but circumcision admitted into God's covenant with Abraham, and to a participation in the blessings of the congregation or Church of the Jews. Now it is a truth universally admitted, that the blessings we receive under the Gospel, are greater than those, which the Jews received under the Law. Especially, under the Gospel and in the Church of Christ, there is a fuller fountain of mercy and grace opened to all. 'There is a fountain open for sin and for uncleanness,' such as the Jews had only in figure. 'The law was given by Moses, but *grace* and truth came by Jesus Christ' (Joh. i. 17). Yet under the Law it is quite certain, that there was a continual sacrifice offered for the sins both of priests and people, and a continual promise of pardon to the returning and penitent sinner. The prophet Ezekiel (ch. xxxiii. 12—20) by God's commandment, clearly expounds

to the Israelites, that, of those within the covenant, if the righteous man turn from his righteousness, he shall surely die; but if the wicked 'turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right,' 'none of his sins that he hath committed shall be mentioned unto him; he hath done that which is lawful and right; he shall surely live.' So the prophet David, after deliberate murder and adultery, was yet at once restored on his repentance. If then under the Law those who sinned were admitted to pardon, but under the Gospel, that is to say after baptism, those who sin are not admitted to pardon; then is the Gospel a state of less, instead of greater, grace than the Law; then those, who have been made partakers of Christ, have been admitted to a sterner law and a less merciful covenant, than those who were baptized into Moses, and admitted to that carnal commandment, which made nothing perfect.

It is true, indeed, that the greater God's mercies are, the heavier will be the punishment of those who slight them. 'If they who despised Moses' law died without mercy, of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God?' (Heb. x. 28, 29). Yet that the slighting of God's mercies should be of so great guilt, results from the fact that those mercies are so great: and if the grant of repentance be withheld from the Christian, which was granted to the Jew, then we may say that God's mercies under the Law were greater than are His mercies under the Gospel.

Thus then we may naturally infer, that pardon of sin would be given to Christians, and that sin committed after baptism would not in general exclude the sinner from all hope of repentance. Such reasoning is fully confirmed by the language of the new Testament. The Lord's Prayer was ordained for the use of those who might call Almighty God their Father. We therefore may clearly see, that it was to be used only by children of God. Now in baptism we are made children of God.

In the Lord's Prayer, then, God's baptized children are taught to pray that their sins should be forgiven them. And our blessed Lord comforts us with the assurance, that, 'if we forgive men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will also forgive our trespasses' (Matt. vi. 14). So in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke xv.), it is a *son* that leaves his *father*, and who on his repentance is welcomed home and pardoned. The parable plainly sets before us that, if we, as sons of God, leave our Father's home and revel in all iniquity, still on true and earnest repentance we shall be received, pardoned, comforted.

To the chief ministers of His Church our Lord gave the power of binding and loosing; binding by censure upon sin, but loosing again by absolution and reconciliation (Matt. xviii. 18); and to confirm this power to them the more strongly He declared: 'Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 23). If the reconciliation of offenders to the Church be so sanctioned in heaven, can there be a doubt that there is also pardon in heaven for such as having so offended, have repented and been reconciled?

We have instances in the new Testament of the Apostles giving hope of pardon, and restoring to communion, those who had sinned most heavily after baptism. Thus Simon Magus, just after he was baptized, shewed himself to be 'in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity;' yet St. Peter urged him to repent of his wickedness, and to pray God, if perhaps the thought of his heart might be forgiven him¹ (Acts viii. 22, 23). Even of the man, who after baptism had committed incest, and whom St. Paul (1 Cor v. 1—5) bids the Corinthians to excommunicate, he yet gives hope that 'his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' (ver. 5). And, when the incestuous man had given signs of true sorrow for his sin, but a very short

¹ καὶ δεήθης Θεοῦ, εἰ ἄρα ἀφεθήσεται σοι ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς καρδίας σου.

time after his excommunication, the Apostle orders him to be restored to communion, declares that he ministerially pardoned his offences in the name and as the minister of Christ (2 Cor. ii. 10); recommends the Corinthians to comfort him, that he should not be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow (ver. 7); and assures them, with reference to the same subject, that 'godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of' (2 Cor. vii. 10). Nay! he expressly says, that the object of excommunicating the guilty man was that his spirit might be saved (1 Cor. v. 5).

Again, St. Paul exhorts the Galatian Church, 'Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault (*ἐν τινὶ παραπτώματι*) you, which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.' The words made use of are perfectly general, and we may infer from them, as a general rule, that a man entrapped or overtaken by any kind of transgression or backsliding is, on his repentance, to be restored to communion. In the latter part of the second Epistle to the Corinthians (xii. 20, 21), the Apostle speaks of his apprehension that he shall be grieved at the state of the Corinthian Church, for he feared that many of the Corinthian Christians had committed all those sins which most grievously defile the temple of God (*ἀκαθάρσια, πόρνευα, ἀσελγεία*), even every kind of uncleanness; but then the way in which he adds *καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων*, 'and have not repented,' seems clearly to indicate that the poignancy of his grief was derived from their impenitence; and that for those who repented there was still room for pardon and hope.

St. Peter tells us that God 'is long-suffering to usward' (meaning, as we may suppose, to Christians), 'not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance' (2 Pét. iii. 9). St. John says that, as all men are sinners, so 'if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.' And when he writes to Christians, calling them his 'little

children,' and exhorting them that they sin not, he yet adds, 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins.' Here we have an evident address to those who were members of Christ's Church by baptism, an earnest exhortation to them not to sin, yet an encouragement to those who fall into sin, not to despair, as there is yet an Advocate, yet propitiation, through Jesus Christ (1 John i. 9; ii. 1, 2). St. James (James v. 13—15) enjoins, that if any member of the Church be sick, he should send for the clergy, the elders of the Church, to pray over him, and, among other blessings, promises that, 'if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him.' Lastly, in the Apocalypse, referring to men who had been seduced from their faith to all the abominations of the worst kind of heresy, our blessed Lord speaks of 'giving time to repent;' and threatens heavy punishment, 'unless they repent of their deeds' (Rev. ii. 20—22).

The general promises to repenting sinners do not, of course, belong to our present enquiry. Such promises may have been made to such as had not been baptized, and may be performed only in baptism. But those now adduced all evidently concern Christians who had been brought to Christ by baptism, and who had afterwards fallen into sin. And they seem clearly to prove that not even the deadliest sin committed by a baptized person makes it utterly impossible that, on sincere and hearty repentance, he should be forgiven.

There are indeed some passages of Scripture, and some very serious considerations, which have led to the belief, that deadly sin after baptism has never forgiveness; and these we must take into account.

The fact that St. Paul speaks of the whole Church, and every individual Christian as temples of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. iii. 16; vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Eph. ii. 22), joined with many similar considerations, shews that at our baptism we are set

apart and consecrated to be temples of God. And then St. Paul declares, that 'If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple are ye' (1 Cor. iii. 17). In like manner, we know that in baptism we are made members of Christ (see Gal. iii. 27; Ephes. iv. 15, 16, &c.). And St. Paul, reminding the Corinthians of this, says; 'What, know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid' (1 Cor. vi. 15). Such sayings prove, with exceeding force, the great wickedness of sin, and especially of sins of uncleanness when committed by a baptized Christian; who thereby 'sinneth against his own body' (1 Cor. vi. 18), and against the Holy Ghost, whose temple his body has been made. So our blessed Saviour, speaking of Christians as branches of the Vine, whose root and stem is Christ, says that, 'If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered' (John xv. 6).

These passages, however, though they shew the great guilt of sinning against grace, do not prove such sins to be unpardonable, though probably they suggested the opinion that sin after baptism was the sin against the Holy Ghost, which hath never forgiveness.

There are strong and very fearful passages in the first epistle of St. John, which have still more led to some of the opinions, disclaimed by the Article we are now considering. In 1 John iii. 6, 8, 9, we read that 'Whosoever abideth in Him, sinneth not. . . . He that committeth sin is of the devil. . . . Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.' This passage led Jovinian to teach that a baptized Christian could never sin; and has been one argument, from which it has been inferred, that, if by any means this high estate of purity should be lost, it would be lost irrecoverably. Jerome, in his

answer to Jovinian¹, well explains the general tenour of St. John's reasoning. He remarks, that St. John exhorts those whom he addresses as little children, to keep themselves from idols (1 John v. 21); shewing that they were liable to be tempted like others, and to fall; that he writes to them not to sin; and assures them still that, if they sin, they have an Advocate in the Lord Jesus Christ (1 John ii. 1, 2); that their best way of knowing that they knew Christ is to keep His commandments (ver. 4); that he, who says he abides in Him, ought to walk as He walked (ver. 6). 'Therefore,' he continues, 'St. John says, "I write unto you, little children," since "every one who is born of God sinneth not," that ye sin not, and that ye may know that ye abide in the generation of God, so long as ye do not sin; yea, those who continue in God's generation cannot sin. For what communion hath Christ with Belial? If we have received Christ as a guest into our hearts, we put to flight the devil. But if we sin again, the devil enters through the door of sin, and then Christ departs.' This seems a correct account of St. John's reasoning, and shews that what he means is, that the regenerate man, so long as he continues in the regenerate state, overcomes sin and casts it out; but if he falls from the regenerate state and sins, then he becomes again the servant of the devil. But it neither proves that the regenerate man cannot sin, nor that, if he does, his fall is irrecoverable.

But St. John (1 John v. 16, 17) speaks of the distinction between 'sin unto death,' and 'sin not unto death;' and encourages us to pray for the latter, but not for the former. Bp. Jeremy Taylor has some good remarks on this verse. 'Every Christian,' he says, 'is in some degree in the state of grace, so long as he is invited to repentance, and so long as he is capable of the prayers of the Church. This we learn from those words of St. John, "All unrighteousness is sin, and there is a sin not

¹ *Adv. Jovinian. Lib. II. circ. init.*

unto death ;” that is, some sorts of sin are so incident to the condition of men, and their state of imperfection, that the man who hath committed them is still within the methods of pardon, and hath not forfeited his title to the promises and covenant of repentance ; but “ there is a sin unto death ;” that is, some men proceed beyond the measures and economy of the Gospel, and the usual methods and probabilities of repentance, by obstinacy, and preserving a sin, by a wilful, spiteful resisting, or despising the offers of grace and the means of pardon ; for such a man St. John does not encourage us to pray ; if he be such a person as St. John described, our prayers will do him no good ; but because no man can tell the last minute or period of pardon, nor just when a man is gone beyond the limit ; and because the limit itself can be enlarged, and God’s mercies stay for some longer than for others, therefore St. John left us under the indefinite restraint and caution ; which was decretory enough to represent that sad state of things in which the refractory and impenitent have immersed themselves, and yet so indefinite and cautious, that we may not be too forward in applying it to particulars, nor in prescribing measures to the Divine mercy, nor in passing final sentences upon our brother, before we have heard our Judge Himself speak. “ Sinning a sin not unto death ” is an expression fully signifying that there are some sins, which though they be committed and displeased God, and must be repented of, and need many and mighty prayers for their pardon, yet the man is in the state of grace and pardon, that is, he is within the covenant of mercy ; he may be admitted, if he will return to his duty : so that being in a state of grace is having a title to God’s lovingkindness, a not being rejected of God, but a being beloved of Him to certain purposes of mercy, and that hath these measures and degrees.’

Again, ‘ Every act of sin takes away something from the contrary grace, but if the root abides in the ground, the plant is still alive, and may bring forth fruit again. “ But he only is

dead who hath thrown off God for ever, or entirely with his very heart." So St. Ambrose. To be "dead in trespasses and sins," which is the phrase of St. Paul (Eph. ii. 1), is the same with that expression of St. John, of "sinning a sin unto death," that is habitual, refractory, pertinacious, and incorrigible sinners, in whom there is scarcely any hope or sign of life. These are they upon whom, as St. Paul's expression is, (1 Thess. ii. 16) "the wrath of God is come upon them to the uttermost, εἰς τὸ τέλος, unto death." So was their sin, it was a sin unto death; so is their punishment¹.

But by far the most terrible passages in Scripture, on the danger of backsliding and the difficulty or impossibility of renewal, are to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. We learn indeed from Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*), that the difficulty of the 6th chapter of that Epistle was the main reason why the Roman Church was so long in admitting it into the Canon.

In the 10th chapter we read that, 'If we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall consume the wicked. He that despised Moses' law, perished without mercy under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, think ye, shall he be thought worthy, who had trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the Blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, and hath done despite to the Spirit of Grace?' (Heb. x. 26—29). The peculiar strength of this passage is in the words, 'If we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins.' The word 'sin' in the first clause, is here supposed by many to mean 'apostatize.' So in Hos. xiii. 2, we read יַעֲזֹבָהּ יִסְפֹּךְ לַחַיִּים יַעֲזֹבָהּ, 'Now they add moreover to sin;' where the sin spoken of is a revolting from God, and apostatizing to Baal. And, as regards

¹ *Of Repentance*, ch. iv. § 2.

the 'remaining no more sacrifice for sin,' the Apostle had been shewing, throughout the early verses of the chapter, that the priests under the Law kept constantly offering sacrifices, year by year and day by day (vv. 1—11). But Christ offered but *one* sacrifice for sin, and by that one sacrifice hath perfected all that are sanctified (vv. 12—14). So then, if we reject the sacrifice of Christ, and after a knowledge of its saving efficacy, apostatize willingly¹ from the faith, there are not now fresh sacrifices, 'offered year by year continually;' and by rejecting the one sacrifice of Christ, we cut ourselves off from the benefit of His death; and since we have chosen sin instead of God, there is no new sacrifice to bring us to God.

Another of the hard sentences, which has led to a belief in the irremissibility of post-baptismal sin, is Heb. xii. 17. The Apostle, warning against the danger of falling from grace, bids us take heed, lest there be 'any fornicator or profane person like Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright. For ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited a blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.' There can be no doubt that Esau is here propounded to us as a type of those who, having been made sons of God by baptism, and so, having a birthright and promised inheritance, by thoughtlessness and sensuality, 'for one morsel of meat,' throw themselves out of God's favour, and, leaving God's family, return to the condition of mere sons of Adam. St. Paul reminding us that, when Esau had sold his birthright, he found no place for repentance, even when he sought it with tears, puts us on our guard against the like folly, by fear of the like fate. Yet it does not follow of course, that every person, who lives unworthily of his baptis-

¹ ἐκουσίως ביד רמה with a high hand, presumptuously. See Numb. xv. 29, 30; and Rosenmüller thereon; Kuinoel on Heb. x. 26.

mal privileges, shall be denied access to repentance. We can never, when we yield to sin, know that God will give us repentance; and we may die in our sin. And even if we repent, our repentance, like Esau's, may be too late; after the door is shut, and when it will not do to knock. We are told elsewhere of those who came and cried, 'Lord, Lord, open unto us,' and who received no answer but, 'I know you not' (Matt. xxv. 11, 12). Such a late repentance is that of those who repent in the grave, perhaps of some, who seek only on the bed of death. But if we follow out the history of Esau, we may gain at least this comfort from it that, even late as he had put off his seeking repentance, so late that he could never be fully restored, yet, though not to the same position as before, he was still restored to favour and to blessing (Gen. xxvii. 38, 39). So that we may hope from this history, as set forth to us for a type, that, though such as cast away their privileges as Christians, find it hard to be reinstated in the position from which they fell, and may, perhaps, never in this world attain to like blessedness and assurance as if they had never fallen, still the door of repentance is not shut against them. Their place in their Father's house may be lower; but still it is not hopeless, that there may, and shall be, a place for them.

The strongest passage, and that on which the Novatians most rested their doctrines, remains yet to be considered. It is Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6: 'It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again to repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame.'

The Syriac Version, Theodoret, Theophylact, and others of the ancients, who are followed by Ernesti, Michaelis, and many learned men of our own times, understand by the word 'en-

lightened' (ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας) here, and in Acts x. 22, 'baptized.' Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, and others of the very earliest Christians, used the word in this sense¹. But whether we admit this to be the right interpretation or not, we must allow the passage to teach, that a person, after baptism and Christian blessing and enlightenment, may so fall away that it may be impossible to renew him to repentance². The words made use of seem to say, that persons once baptized, endued with God's Holy Spirit, made partakers of the Christian Church³, if they despise all these blessings, rejecting, and, as it were, afresh crucifying the Son of God, cannot be again restored to repentance. The difficulty of the passage lies almost wholly in two words, παραπεσόντας, 'having fallen away,' and ἀνακαινίζειν, 'to renew.' Most commentators consider the word 'fall away,' which occurs here only in the New Testament, to signify total apostasy from the faith⁴. If indeed the other two participles (ἀνασταυροῦντας and παραδερματίζοντας) be to be coupled with it, as in apposition to, and explanation of it, then we may well conclude that it can mean no less. It is the case of those 'who sin wilfully after they have received the knowledge of the truth,' of him from whom one devil had been cast out, but to whom it had returned with seven worse devils. Rejecting their faith and their baptism, they fall away from Christ, reproach and crucify Him

¹ See Suicer, s. v. φωτίζω, φωτισμός. Also Bingham, *E. A.* i. iv. 1, xi. i. 4.

² Rosenmüller in *loc.* shews that δύνατος cannot, as some suppose, mean merely 'very difficult.'

³ δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, the very phrase used in the LXX. (cf. Isai. ix. 6) of the Christian Church. See Hammond, in *loc.* Rosenmüller and Kuinoel both understand these words of the Kingdom of Christ, the reign of Messiah. Hence 'the powers of the world to come' would be the blessed effects of Christ's kingdom and gospel.

⁴ παραπίπτειν is the translation of the LXX. for דָּחַק Ezek. xxii. 4, and לָחַץ Ezek. xiv. 13. Schleusner compares 2 Chron. xxix. 19, where the LXX. ἵγχευ translate, ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

afresh, as much reject Him for their Saviour as they who actually nailed Him to the Cross. Bishop Taylor describes them as persons who, 'without cause or excuse, without error or infirmity, choosingly, willingly, knowingly, called Christ an impostor, and would have crucified Him again if He were alive; that is, they consented to His death by believing that He suffered justly. This is the case here described, and cannot be drawn to any thing else but its parallel; that is, a malicious renouncing charity, or holy life, as these men did the faith, to both which they have made their solemn vows in baptism; but this can no way be drawn to the condemnation and final excision of such persons who fall into any great sin, of which they are willing to repent¹.'

And for the other word of difficulty, ἀνακαλῖσθαι, 'to renew,' some think we must understand *to rebaptize*. The Church has no power to rebaptize those who fall away; and so, as first they were washed in the waters of baptism from original sin, to wash them again from their guilt of apostasy². Others understand to *admit by absolution to the fellowship of the Church*, and so restore them to repentance and penance when they have once thoroughly apostatized³. Others understand that, whereas they have rejected the Gospel and all its means of grace, their case has become hopeless, because no other covenant can be provided for them: 'There remaineth no more sacrifice for sins.' No new method of salvation will be devised for them;

¹ *On Repentance*, ch. ix. Sect. 4.

² Dr. Hammond, *in loc.* observes that, as ἐγκαινίζειν is to dedicate, consecrate, so, ἀνακαλῖσθαι is to reconsecrate. Persons utterly apostate could not be reconsecrate. There was no power to repeat their baptism, nor, if utterly apostate, could the Church readmit them by penance to Church-communion.

³ Many understand ἀνακαλῖσθαι as applied to the ministers of the Church. It is 'impossible for the ministers of Christ to renew them again:' that is, there is no other sacrament by which we can restore offenders to the same position in which they were before their fall, and in which they were once placed by the sacrament of baptism.

and as they have utterly given up the one already provided, rejected Christ, and despised His Spirit, so it is impossible that any other should renew them. 'Other foundation can no man lay, save that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ;' 'for there is no means of salvation but this one; and this one they hate, and will not have; they will not return to the old, and there is none left by which they can be *renewed*, and therefore their condition is desperate!'

On the whole, there can be no doubt of the awful severity of the language of this passage, and of the warning it gives us against falling from grace; but, when we compare it with other passages somewhat like it, and contrast with it those which assure us of God's readiness to receive the penitent sinner, and to give repentance even to those who sin after grace given, we can hardly fail to conclude, that it concerns particularly extreme cases, and not those of ordinary occurrence; and that, though it proves the heinousness of sinning against light and grace, and shews that we may so fall after grace as never to recover ourselves, yet it does not prove that there is no pardon for such baptized Christians as sin grievously, and then seek earnestly for repentance.

The fact that our Lord left to His Church the power of the keys, allowing its chief pastors to excommunicate for sin and restore on repentance, and that the Apostles and first bishops ever exercised that power, shews that even great sins (for none other led to excommunication) do not exclude from pardon. Nay, 'Baptism is *εἰς μετάνοιαν*, the admission of us to the covenant of faith and repentance; or as Mark the anchorite called it, *πρόφασις ἐστὶ τῆς μετάνοίας*, the introduction of repentance, or that state of life that is full of labour and care, and amendment of our faults; for that is the best life that any man can live; and therefore repentance hath its progress after

¹ Bishop Jeremy Taylor, as above.

baptism, as it hath its beginning before ; for first, “repentance is unto baptism,” and then “baptism unto repentance.” . . . Besides, our admission to the holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is a perpetual entertainment of our hopes ; because then and there is really exhibited to us the Body that was broken and the Blood that was “shed for the remission of sins.” Still it is applied, and that application could not be necessary to be done anew, if there were not new necessities ; and still we are invited to do actions of repentance, “to examine ourselves, and so to eat.” All which, as things are ordered, would be infinitely useless to mankind, if it did not mean pardon to Christians falling into foul sins even after baptism¹.

We may therefore conclude that, severe as some passages of Scripture are against those who sin wilfully against light and grace, and strict as the discipline of the early Church was against all such offenders, there is yet nothing to prove that heinous sin committed after baptism cannot be pardoned on repentance. The strongest and severest texts of Scripture seem to apply, not to persons who have sinned and seek repentance, but to apostates from the faith, who are stout in their apostasy and hardened in sin.

II. Our next consideration is the ‘Sin against the Holy Ghost.’

The statements of Scripture already considered have, as we have seen, been supposed by some to shew that the sin against the Holy Ghost must be falling grievously after baptism. For, as it has been supposed that these statements make deadly sin after baptism the unpardonable sin, and our Lord makes blasphemy against the Holy Ghost to be unpardonable, and both our Lord and St. John (1 John v. 16) seem to speak as if there were but one unpardonable sin, therefore deadly sin after bap-

¹ Jeremy Taylor, *On Repentance*, ch. ix. sect. 2.

tism and the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost must be identical. The foregoing arguments seem sufficiently to have shewn that this hypothesis is untrue.

If we examine the circumstances under which our Lord uttered his solemn warnings concerning blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, we may probably the better understand the nature of that sin. He had been casting out a devil, thereby giving signal proof of His Godhead. But the Pharisees, instead of believing and acknowledging His heavenly mission, ascribed His power to Satan and Beelzebub (Matt. xii. 24). Those who thus resisted such evidence were plainly obstinate and hardened unbelievers, such as we may well believe were given over to a reprobate mind, and such as no evidence of the truth could move to faith and penitence. Accordingly, many believe that, by thus rejecting the faith and ascribing the works of our Lord's Divinity to the power of evil spirits, they had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost.

That they were *very near* committing that sin there can be little doubt. They had stepped upon the confines, they had uttered daring and desperate blasphemy. They had reviled the holy Son of God. They had called His works of love and goodness the works of the devil, thereby confounding light with darkness. But still our Lord consents to reason with them. He still puts forth parables, by which to convince them that they were in error (Matth. xii. 23—30). And He would scarce do this, if there were no hope that they might repent, no possibility that they might be forgiven. And then He warns them. Warning and reasoning are for those who may yet take warning and conviction, not for those to whom they would be useless.

And of what nature is His warning? They had just blasphemed Him, disbelieved His mission, disregarded His miracles. Yet He tells them in gracious goodness, that all manner of sin and blasphemy which men commit, shall be forgiven them, that even blasphemy against Himself, the Son of Man, should be for-

given; but then He adds, that if they went farther still, and committed the same sin moreover against the Spirit of God, it should never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come (vv. 31, 32).

Now Christ was then present with them as the Son of Man. The glory of His Godhead was veiled under the likeness of sinful flesh. Those were 'the days of the Son of Man;' and 'the Spirit was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified.' There is no doubt that it must have been deadly wickedness, which led men to doubt the truth of His doctrine, when taught with such power from His sacred lips, and proved so mightily by the works which He wrought. But the full power of the Gospel had not been put forth; especially the Spirit had not been poured on the Church—a blessing so great that it made it expedient for His disciples that even Jesus should go away from them (John xvi. 7). But when the Spirit was poured forth, then all the means of grace were used; Jesus working without, and the Spirit pleading within. And in those, who received the Word and were baptized, the Spirit took up His dwelling, and moved and ruled in their hearts. This then was a state of greater grace, and a more convincing state of evidence to the world and to the Church, than even the bodily presence of the Saviour as the Son of Man. Accordingly, resistance to the means of grace after the gift of the Spirit, was worse than resistance during the bodily presence of Christ. Resisting the former, refusing to be converted by it, rejecting its evidence, and obstinate impenitence under its influence, was blasphemy against the Son of Man. Still even this could be forgiven; for farther and yet greater means of grace were to be tried, even on those who had rejected Christ. 'The Gospel was to be preached unto them, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven' (1 Pet. i. 12). But this mission of the Comforter was the last and highest means ever to be tried, the last and greatest dispensation of the grace of God. Those, therefore, who after this

still remained obstinate, still rejected Christ in His Kingdom, as they had rejected Him in His humility, still refused to be converted, ascribed the gifts of His Apostles and the graces of His Church, not to the Spirit of God, but to the spirit of evil, these blasphemed not only the Son of Man—the Word of God when veiled in human flesh—but they rejected and blasphemed the Spirit of God, and so had never forgiveness.

This seems the true explanation of the sin against the Holy Ghost, viz. obstinate, resolute, and wilful impenitence, after all the means of grace and with all the strivings of the Spirit, under the Christian dispensation as distinguished from the Jewish, and amid all the blessings and privileges of the Church of Christ.

And this view of the subject does not materially differ from the statement of St. Athanasius, viz. that blasphemy against Christ, when His manhood only was visible, was blasphemy against the Son of man; but that, when His Godhead was manifested, it became blasphemy against the Holy Ghost: nor from that of St. Augustine, that the sin against the Spirit of God is a final and obdurate continuance in wickedness, despite of the calls of God to repentance, joined with a desperation of the mercy of God¹.

III. The last subject to which we come, is the question of Final Perseverance, or the Indefectibility of Grace.

The Article says, ‘After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives.’ The arguments, which have been already gone into, concerning the grant of repentance and pardon to those who sin after baptism and the grace of God, sufficiently prove the latter clause of the above statement. Indeed the former clause may be considered

¹ See the statement of their opinions in Sect. I.

as proved also; for if there is large provision, in the Gospel and the Church, for forgiveness of sins and reconciliation of those who, having received the Spirit, have fallen away; then must it be possible, that, 'after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may yet depart from grace and fall into sin.' Jovinian indeed held, that every truly baptized person could sin no more. But such an error has been very uncommon in the Church, so uncommon that it is scarcely needful to prove, that a person may have received grace and yet be tempted and fall into sin; as David so grievously fell in the matter of Uriah, or as St. Peter, when he denied his Lord. But the question, whether a person who has once received grace, can ever fall finally and irrecoverably, has been much agitated since the days of Zuingli and Calvin; and though possibly not expressly determined by the wording of this Article, it yet properly comes to be considered here.

The doctrine of the Zuinglians and high Calvinists has been, that, if a man has once been regenerate and endued with the Holy Ghost, he may fall into sin for a time, but will surely be restored again, and can never finally be lost. We have seen, on the contrary, that St. Augustine and the more ancient predestinarians held that grace might have been given, but yet, if a person was not *predestinated to perseverance*, he might fall away. We have seen that the Lutherans held, that grace given might yet be lost utterly. We have seen that the reformers of the Church of England, whether following St. Augustine in his views of predestination or not, appear clearly to have agreed with him, and with Luther and the Lutherans, in holding that grace might be lost, not only for the time, but finally.

1 The passages of Scripture most in favour of the doctrine, that those who have once been regenerate can never finally fall from grace, are such as follow.

Matt. xxiv. 24, which must be set aside, if rightly translated¹. Luke xxii. 32, which shews that our Lord prays for His servants. John vi. 39; John x. 27, 28; but these last must be compared with John xvii. 12, which shews that though the true sheep of Christ never perish, yet some may, like Judas, be given Him for a time, and yet finally be sons of perdition. Rom. viii. 38, 39, xi. 29, shew that God is faithful and will never repent of His mercy to us, and that, if we do not wilfully leave Him, no created power shall be able to pluck us out of His hand. They *prove* no more than this.

Stronger by far are such passages as 1 Cor. i. 8, 9; Phil. i. 6; 2 Thess. iii. 3. Yet they are addressed to whole Churches, all the members of which are not certainly preserved blameless to the end. The confidence expressed concerning the Philippians (Phil. i. 6), cannot have meant that it was impossible for any of them to be lost; for St. Paul afterwards exhorts them to 'work out their salvation with fear and trembling' (ii. 12), and to 'stand fast in the Lord' (iv. 1). So that we must necessarily understand the Apostle's confident hope to result from a consideration of the known goodness and grace of God, and also of the Philippians' own past progress in holiness. 'He conjectured,' as Theophylact says, 'from what was past, what they would be for the future².'

The passages which speak of Christians as *sealed*, and having the 'earnest of the Spirit,' (see 2 Cor. i. 21, 22; Ephes. i. 13; iv. 30), are thought to teach the indefectibility of grace; because what is sealed is kept and preserved. But sealing probably only signifies the ratifying of a covenant, which is done in baptism. And though the giving of the Spirit is indeed the

¹ The English version translates *ei δυνατόν*, 'if it were possible.' The whole strength of the passage as favouring the Calvinistic theory is in the words *it were*, which are not in the Greek. Render it 'if possible,' and the argument is gone.

² ἀπὸ τῶν παρελθόντων καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων στοχαζόμενος.—Theophyl. in *loc.* quoted by Whitby, whom see.

earnest of a future inheritance, it does not follow that no unfaithfulness in the Christian may deprive him of the blessing, of which God has given him the earnest and pledge, because a covenant always implies two parties, and if either breaks it the other is free.

So again Jam. i. 17 tells us of the unchangeableness of God, and 2 Tim. ii. 19 shews that He 'knoweth them that are His.' But neither prove that *we* may not change, nor that all who are now God's people will continue so to the end, though He knoweth who will and who will not.

The expression, 'full assurance of hope' (Heb. vi. 11), has been thought to prove that we may be always certain of continuance, if we have once known the grace of God. But the Apostle does not ground the 'assurance of hope' on such a doctrine. His words are: 'We desire that every one of you do shew the same diligence to the full assurance of hope to the end; that ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.' This shews that our assured hope will spring from a close walk with God, and that slothfulness, or a lack of diligence, is likely to impair our hope, and disturb our assurance. The more diligent we are, the more hope we shall have; our hope not being grounded on the indefectibility of grace, but on the evidences of our faith given by a consistent growth in grace.

Again, 1 Pet. i. 4, 5 speaks of an inheritance 'reserved in heaven for those who are *kept* by the power of God, through faith unto salvation.' The word '*kept*' is in the Greek *φρουρουμένους*, i. e. 'guarded as in a garrison.' The figure represents believers as attacked by evil spirits and wicked men, but defended by the power of God, through the influence of their faith. It does not shew that all believers are kept from falling away; but that they are guarded by God through the instrumentality of their faith. 'If' then 'they continue in the faith' (Col. i. 23), 'if they hold the beginning of their confidence

steadfast unto the end' (Heb. iii. 14); then will 'their faith be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one' (Eph. vi. 16), and will 'overcome the world' (1 John v. 4). But, as it is expressly said, that it is 'through faith' that they are 'kept' or 'guarded,' we cannot infer that their faith itself is so guarded that it can by no possibility fail¹.

But the strongest passage on this side of the question is 1 John iii. 9: 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.' From this Jovinian inferred that a regenerate man could never sin again: but the Zuinglian and Calvinist infer, that the regenerate man having the seed of life in him, may indeed fall into sin, but is sure to recover himself again, and to be saved at the last. If the text proves anything about indefectibility of grace, it plainly proves Jovinian's rather than Calvin's position; viz. that the regenerate man never falls into sin at all, not merely that he does not fall finally.

The truth is, the Apostle is simply contrasting the state of the regenerate with that of the unregenerate, and tells us that sin is the mark of the latter, holiness of the former. 'He that doeth righteousness is righteous....he that committeth sin is of the devil' (vv. 7, 8). Here is the antithesis. It is like the statement, 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit' (Matt. vii. 18). This does not mean that a good tree can never cease to be good, and so cease to bear good fruit². So it is with that of St. Paul, 'The carnal mind cannot be subject to the law of God' (Rom. viii. 7). But it is not meant that a man of carnal mind may not be converted, and then love holiness and God's law. So Ignatius writes, 'Spiritual men cannot do the things of the flesh³;' that is, obviously so long as they continue spiritual.

¹ See Whitby and Macknight on 1 Pet. i. 4, 5.

² 'Bona arbor non fert malos fructus, quamdiu in bonitatis studio perseverat.'—Hieron. in *Matt.* vii. 18, cited by Dr. Hammond on 1 John iii. 9.

³ Ignat. *ad Eph.* c. viii.

Just so St. John. He points out the difference between the righteous and the wicked; viz. that the former do righteousness, the latter commit sin. Then he says, 'Every one that is born of God¹ cannot sin, because of the seed of God which is in him.' He is righteous, and therefore doeth righteousness; he is a good tree, and therefore cannot bring forth bad fruit; he is spiritual, and therefore cannot do carnal things. But this does not prove that he may not fall from grace, and so lose his title to be a son of God, and also that seed of God in his heart which keeps him from sin. 'The regenerate man,' says Jerome, 'cannot sin so long as he continues in the generation of God... but, if we admit sin, the devil enters into the door of our hearts, and Christ goes away².'

2 So much of the arguments from Scripture, by which the doctrine that grace in the regenerate can never fail, has been maintained. Against this doctrine many passages of Scripture are alleged.

(1) There are frequent statements of the condemnation and rejection of such as, having been in a state of grace, fall away from it, and which, it is hard to believe, are only meant to frighten us away from an impossible danger. Such are

¹ *πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος*. Rosenmüller says that this is the same as *γεννητός* *יָלֵד*, Job xiv. 1, or *τεκνόν*, as in ver. 10. And Dr. Hammond observes, that the perfect participle indicates that we must not refer the words 'born of God' to the moment or instant of regeneration, but to the continuing state of regeneration. It indicates not a transient, but a permanent condition.

² He thus explains the passage in St. John: 'Propterea, inquit, scribo vobis, filii mei; omnia, qui natus est ex Deo, non peccat, ut non peccetis; et tandiu sciatis vos in generatione Domini permanere quamdiu non peccaveritis. Immo, qui in generatione Domini perseverant peccare non possunt. Quæ enim communicatio luci et tenebris? Christo et Belial? . . . Si susceperimus Christum in hospitio nostri pectoris, illico fugamus Diabolum. Si peccaverimus, et per peccati januam ingressus fuerit Diabolus, protinus Christus recedit.'—Hieron. *adv. Jovin.* Lib. II. *init.*

Ezek. xviii. 24; xxxiii. 18. Matt. v. 13. Matt. xxiv. 46—51, comp. Luke xxi. 34—36. Heb. x. 26—29, 38. 2 Pet. ii. 20—22.

(2) There are declarations, that those only *'who endure to the end'* shall be saved, those *'who keep their garments'* shall be blessed; that *'if we continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away,'* we shall be presented holy in the sight of God.

Matt. x. 22. Col. i. 22, 23. Heb. iii. 6. Rev. xvi. 15.

Thus final salvation is promised not merely to present, but to continuing and persevering faith.

(3) Accordingly, there are numerous warnings against falling away, exhortations to stand fast, and prayers for perseverance and against falling.

Rom. xi. 20, 21. 1 Cor. x. 1—10, 12. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Col. ii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Thess. v. 19. Heb. ii. 12; xii. 15, 16. 2 Pet. iii. 17. Jude 20, 21, 24. Rev. xvi. 25.

All these passages speak of the danger of falling away, and of the final condemnation of such as fall, and warn and pray against falling. The advocates for the doctrine of final perseverance say, that although all grace comes only from God, yet He ordains means to be used for obtaining grace; so, although perseverance is the gift of God, and never withholden from such as receive grace at all, yet warnings against backsliding and declarations concerning the punishment of backsliders are useful and necessary means to keep believers in a state of watchfulness, and therefore are instruments in God's hands to work in them the grace of perseverance, which however could as easily be given without them, and will assuredly be given to all who have once been regenerate. Their opponents reply, that such reasoning is an evident attempt to explain away the obvious sense of Scripture; God's threatenings could never be denounced against a sin which was impossible. If utter

falling away in the regenerate is, in God's counsels, a thing which cannot occur; then can we believe that God would give the most solemn warnings to be found in the whole of Scripture against it? Would the Apostle put up the most earnest prayers against it? Would the condemnation pronounced upon it be so severe and so terrible? But it is urged farther, that,

(4) There are express and positive statements that men may, nay, do, fall away from grace given and accepted, and so do finally perish.

The parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. Mark iv. Luke viii.) contains a statement of this kind. Four different kinds of hearers are there described. Of these, one, the wayside hearer, disregards it altogether; one, compared to good ground, receives and profits by it, and brings forth fruit to life eternal. But two kinds, those like the stony ground, and those like the thorny ground, embrace it and profit by it for a time, and *then fall away*. The seed in the stony ground springs up (Matt. xiii. 3). Such hearers received the seed with joy (ver. 20), but they last only for a while (ver. 21); they 'for awhile believe, but in time of temptation fall away' (Luke viii. 13). So the seed which falls among thorns, springs up; but the thorns spring up with it, and choke it. 'The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the word' (Matt. xiii. 22).

Again, the parable of the Vine and the Branches (John xv. 1—10) teaches the same thing. Christ's disciples are compared to branches of a Vine, the Lord Himself being that Vine. 'Every branch,' He says, '*in Me* that beareth not fruit, He' (i. e. God the Father) *taketh away*' (ver. 2). 'I am the Vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without Me ye can do nothing. *If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered*, and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned' (vv. 5, 6).

Heb. vi. 4—8, seems to contain a positive statement, that

men do sometimes so fall away from grace already received, as to fall, not only finally but hopelessly: 'It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame,' &c.

So, 2 Pet. ii. 21, 22. The Apostle is evidently speaking of persons who *had* fallen away from grace, apostates from the faith of Christ. For though, in ver. 20, he speaks only hypothetically, 'If after they have escaped the pollutions of the world,' &c., yet, in vv. 21, 22, he speaks of their apostasy as having actually occurred: 'It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them. But *it is happened* (συμβέβηκε) unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.'

(5) Finally, it is contended that, with all these proofs from Scripture that grace given may be lost, the doctrine of the indefectibility of grace would never have been thought of, but that it fell naturally into a system. Accordingly, the more ancient predestinarians, like Augustine, though they believed in the irrespective and immutable decrees of God, yet did not teach the doctrine of absolutely indefectible grace. But Calvin's great characteristic was his logical acuteness, which led him to form all his doctrines into harmonious systems. He could never leave mysterious doctrines in their mystery, on the principle that our finite intellects are permitted to grasp only part of the great plans of infinite Wisdom. The doctrine of final perseverance seemed necessary to the harmony and completeness of the predestinarian scheme; and on that account, not because Scripture taught it, it was adopted and received.

ARTICLE XVII.

Of Predestination and Election.

PREDESTINATION to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by His Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

PRÆDESTINATIO ad vitam, est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit, eos quos in Christo elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque (ut vasa in honorem efficta) per Christum, ad æternam salutem adducere. Unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi Spiritu ejus, oportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus, vocantur, vocationi per gratiam parent, justificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios Dei, Unigeniti ejus Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus sancte ambulant, et demum ex Dei misericordia pertinent ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum prædestinationis, et electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est, vere piis, et iis qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis, et membra, quæ adhuc sunt super terram, mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia, et superna rapientem: tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilit, atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit. Ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est

Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

præcipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit, vel in desperationem, vel in æque perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem. Deinde promissiones divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt, et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus, discrete revelatam.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

THE XVIIth Article is almost, word for word, the same as the original Article of 1552.

The questions concerning God's eternal predestination are by no means peculiar to the Christian religion. The Essenes among the Jews, Zeno and the Stoics, and the followers of Mohammed, were all rigid predestinarians; believing that all the affairs of the world and the actions of the human race were ordered by an eternal and inexorable decree.

In the Christian Church there has never been any doubt or question but that the Scriptures teach us concerning the election and predestination of God. All Christians believe in the doctrine of election. The question is therefore, not whether the doctrine of election is true, but what the meaning of election is. Now on this point there is a vast variety of sentiment.

1. *Calvinism*.—The doctrine of Calvin and the Calvinists is, that from all eternity God predestinated a certain fixed number of individuals, irrespective of anything in them, to final

salvation and glory ; and that all others are either predestined to damnation, or at least, so left out of God's decree to glory, that they must inevitably perish.

2 *Arminianism*.—The doctrine of Arminius and the Arminians is, that, from all eternity, God predestinated a certain fixed number of individuals to glory ; but that this decree was not arbitrary, but in consequence of God's foreknowledge that those so predestinated would make a good use of the grace given ; and that as God necessarily foresees all things, so foreseeing the faith of individuals, He hath, in strict justice, ordered His decrees accordingly.

According to both these schemes, *election is to life eternal* ; and the *elect* are identical with the *finally saved*.

3 *Nationalism*.—The opinion of Locke and some others is, that the election, spoken of by God in Scripture, does not concern *individuals* at all, but applies only to *nations* ; that as God chose the Jews of one time to be His people, so He has since ordained certain nations to be brought into the pale of the Christian Church. Here the *elect* are all *Christian nations*.

4 *Ecclesiastical Election*.—Others have held that, as the Jews of old were God's chosen people, so now is the Christian Church ; that every baptized member of the Church is one of God's elect, and that this election is from God's irrelative and unsearchable decree. Here therefore *election is to baptismal privileges*, not to final glory ; and the elect are identical with the *baptized* ; and the election constitutes the *Church*.

5 Some have held that there is an election to baptism of some individuals, and again an election out of the elect ; so that some are elected by God's inscrutable decrees to grace, and from among these some by a like inscrutable decree to perseverance and to glory. Here the *elect* are, in one sense of the word, identical with the *baptized* ; in another sense of the word, with the *finally saved*.

6 Lastly, some have taught that, whereas to all Christians grace enough is given to ensure salvation, if they will use it, yet to some amongst them is given, by God's eternal decree, a yet greater degree of grace, such that by it they must certainly be saved. This is the theory which has sometimes been called *Baxterian*, from Richard Baxter, the distinguished non-conformist divine.

The subject of predestination naturally embraces other cognate subjects, such as original sin, free-will, final perseverance, particular redemption, and reprobation. The three former have been considered under the IXth, Xth, and XVIth Articles respectively, and much of the history of the predestinarian controversy will be found under the history of those Articles¹.

From the classification above given, it will be evident that the mere use of the terms election or predestination by a writer, will not at all determine in what sense that writer uses them, nor to which of the six classes above enumerated his doctrines may be assigned.

Among the earlier fathers, especially those of the apostolic age, the language used is mostly general, and therefore difficult to fix to a particular meaning.

Clement of Rome speaks of a sedition in the Church 'as alien and foreign from the elect of God'. 'Ye contended,' he writes, 'day and night for the whole brotherhood, that, with compassion and a good conscience, the number of His elect

¹ The five points of Calvinism, as they are called, are,

1 Predestination, including Predestination, or election to life eternal; and Reprobation, or Predestination to damnation.

2 Particular Redemption, i. e. That Christ died only for a chosen few.

3 Original Sin.

4 Irresistible Grace, or effectual calling, the opposite to which is Freewill.

5 Final Perseverance.

² τῆς ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ μαρὰς καὶ ἀνοσίτου στάσεως.—1 Ep. ad Corinth. 1.

might be saved¹. To the same Church of Corinth he speaks of God, as having 'made us unto Himself a part of the election. For thus it is written, When the Most High divided the nations, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels; His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of His inheritance. And in another place he saith, Behold the Lord taketh to Himself a nation from the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the first-fruits of his threshing-floor, and from that nation shall come the Holy of Holies². 'In love have been perfected all the elect of God³. 'Now God, who seeth all things, the Father of spirits and the Lord of all flesh, who hath elected our Lord Jesus Christ, and us by Him, to be His peculiar people, grant to every soul⁴, &c.

Ignatius addresses the *Church* of Ephesus as 'blessed through the greatness and fulness of God the Father, predestinated before the worlds continually to glory,—glory enduring, unchangeable, united, and elected in true suffering according to the will of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ our God⁵. In the same manner he addresses 'the holy Church which is in Tralles,'

¹ εἰς τὸ σῶζεσθαι μετ' ἐλπίους καὶ συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ.—1 *Ep. ad Corinth.* 2.

² Πατέρα ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐκλογῆς μέρος ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ. Οὕτω γὰρ γέγραπται· 'Ὅτε διεμέρισεν ὁ Ὑψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς δὲ ἔσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδὰμ, ἔστησεν δρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων· ἐγενήθη μερὶς Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοῖσμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει· Ἰδοὺ Κύριος λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ ἔθνος ἐκ μέσου ἐθνῶν, ὥσπερ λαμβάνει ἀνθρωπὸς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἁλῶ· καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκείνου ἅγια ἁγίων.—*Ibid.* 29.

³ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.—*Ibid.* 49.

⁴ Ὁ παντεπόπτης Θεὸς καὶ Δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ Κύριος πάσης σαρκὸς, ὃ ἐκλεξάμενος τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον δόξῃ, κ. τ. λ.—*Ibid.* 58.

⁵ Ἰγνάτιος, ὃ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ προσωρισμένῃ πρὸ αἰώνων διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν, παράμονον, ἄτρεπτον ἡνωμένην καὶ ἐκλελεγμένην, ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ, ἐν θελήματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῃ τῇ οὐσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, κ. τ. λ.—*Ignat. ad Ephes.* 1.

as 'beloved by God the Father of Jesus Christ, *elect* and worthy of God¹.'

Hermas, in the book of his Visions, constantly speaks of God's *elect*: 'God, who hath founded His holy Church, will remove the heavens and the mountains, the hills and the seas, . . . all things shall be made plain to His elect,' . . . or, 'shall be filled with His elect².' 'Canst thou report these things to the elect³?' 'Go ye and declare to the elect of God His mighty acts⁴.' The Apostles, bishops, and ministers are said to have ministered to the elect of God⁵.

Here we have the elect spoken of as identical with the Church. We even find language which seems to prove that Hermas considered the elect as in a state of probation in this world, which might end either in their salvation or in their condemnation. 'Then shall their sins be forgiven which they have committed, and the sins of all the saints, who have sinned even to this day, if they shall repent with all their hearts, and put away all doubts out of their hearts. For the Lord hath sworn by His glory concerning His elect, having determined this very time, even now, if any one shall sin, he shall not have salva-

¹ 'Ιγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἀγαπημένη Θεῷ Πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία ἀγία, τῇ οὐσῃ ἐν Τράλλεσιν τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθέῳ.—Ignat. *ad Trall.* 1.

² 'Ecce Deus virtutum qui . . . virtute sua potenti condidit ecclesiam suam quam benedixit: ecce transferet coelos ac montes, colles ac maria, et omnia plana (al. plena) fient electis ejus; ut reddat illis repromissionem quam repromisit,' &c.—Lib. I. vis. I. 3.

³ 'Potes hæc electis Dei renunciare?'—Lib. I.

⁴ 'Vade ergo et enarra electis Dei magnalia ipsius. Et dices illis quod bestia hæc figura est pressuræ superventuræ. Si ergo præparaveritis vos, poteritis effugere illam, si cor venturum fuerit purum et sine macula. . . . Væ dubiis iis, qui audierint verba hæc et contempserint; melius erat illis non nasci.'—Lib. I. vis. IV. 2.

⁵ 'Apostoli et episcopi et doctores et ministri, qui ingressi sunt in clementia Dei, et episcopatum gesserunt, et docuerunt et ministraverunt sancte et modeste electis Dei qui dormiverunt quique adhuc sunt.'—Lib. I. vis. III. 5.

tion¹.' On the other hand, in one passage he seems to speak of a mansion of glory for the elect in the world to come: 'The white colour represents the age to come, in which shall dwell God's elect; since the elect shall be pure and spotless unto eternal life².'

These are the principal passages in the Apostolical Fathers concerning election and predestination. It would be a great point gained, if we could clearly ascertain their sentiments on this subject. They lived before philosophy had produced an effect on the language of theology. Now there is no question, on which philosophy is likely to have produced greater effect, than on the question concerning God's eternal decrees. When, therefore, we come to the writings of such men as Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, we naturally doubt whether they speak the language of the Church in their days, or the language of their own thoughts and speculations.

In the passages above cited there is no marked trace of any of the three schemes which have been designated respectively as Calvinism, Arminianism, or Nationalism. One passage from Clement may seem to speak the language of Nationalism; but it is only in appearance. That ancient father applies the term 'nation' to the Christian Church; but it is plain that he merely means, that, as the Israelites of old were chosen to be God's peculiar people, so now His Church is, as it were, a nation chosen out of the nations. He speaks indeed of 'the number of

¹ 'Tunc remittentur, illis peccata, quæ jampridem peccaverunt, et omnibus sanctis qui peccaverunt usque in hodiernum diem, et si toto corde suo egerint pœnitentiam, et abstulerint a cordibus suis dubitationes. Juravit enim Dominator Ille, per gloriam suam, super electos suos, præfinita ista die, etiam nunc si peccaverit aliquis, non habiturum illum salutem.'—Lib. 1. vis. II. 2. Compare with this the passage cited in note (4) of previous page.

² 'Alba autem pars superventuri est sæculi in quo habitabunt electi Dei, quoniam immaculati et puri erunt electi Dei in vitam æternam.'—Lib. 1. vis. IV. 3.

God's elect being saved,' as though there were a definite number of God's elect, who should be saved in the end ; language which, we shall see, is used also by Justin and Irenæus. Whether this was intended in the sense which would be affixed to it by Augustine or Calvin, must be a question. We may almost certainly say, it was not so used by Justin Martyr. There is also one passage, the last quoted from Hermas, which appears to use the term *elect* of those who are chosen to life eternal. All the other passages from the apostolical fathers identify the whole Church of God with the election, and therefore the elect with the baptized. It is most undesirable to put any force on language of such importance as the language of writers in the apostolic age. But on a fair review of the whole, it can hardly appear that these fathers speak of election in any sense but one of the two following ; either (1) as an election of individuals to the Church and to baptism, or (2) possibly as an election first to baptism, and then a further election out of the baptized to glory. On the first sense, the passages seem clear and decided ; on the second, it seems but reasonable to admit that there is great doubt.

In the history of the doctrine of free-will¹, we saw that Justin Martyr ascribed free agency to all human beings, and argued that God does not cause actions, because He foresees them². On the contrary, he defends Christians against the charge that they believed in a fatal necessity. Our belief in the predictions of the prophets does not oblige us to believe that things take place according to fate. 'This only,' he says, 'we hold to be fated, that they who choose what is good shall obtain a reward ; that they who choose what is evil shall be punished'. So again soon after, he says, that 'we assert future

¹ Art. X. Sect. i. ; Vol. i. p. 344.

² *Dial.* p. 290.

³ ἀλλ' εἰμαρμένην φασὶν ἀπαράβατον ταύτην εἶναι, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐλεγομένοις, τὰ δέξια ἐπιτίμια· καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως τὰ ἐναντία, τὰ δέξια ἐπίχειρα.—*Apol.* i. p. 81.

events to have been foretold by the prophets, not because we say that they should so happen by fatal necessity, but because God foreknew the future actions of all men¹. And presently again, he speaks of God deferring the punishment of the wicked till the 'foreknown number of the good and virtuous should be fulfilled²'. Accordingly the Bishop of Lincoln has concluded that, if Justin Martyr speaks anywhere of predestination to *life eternal*, it is in the Arminian sense, or, as it has been called, *ex praevisis meritis*³. But when Justin Martyr especially speaks of God's election, he appears clearly to intend by it, an election of individuals out of the world, and the bringing them by His calling to be of His peculiar people the Church. Thus, he is speaking of the Christian Church in antithesis to the Jewish, and he says, 'We are by no means a despicable people, nor a barbarous nation, like the Phrygians and the Carians; but God hath elected us, and has manifested Himself to those who asked not for Him. Behold, I am God, saith He, to a nation that called not on my Name.' Then, speaking of the calling of Abraham by the grace of Christ, he continues, 'By the same voice He hath called us all, and we have come out of the polity in which we lived, living evilly, after the manner of the other inhabitants of the world⁴,' &c.

It is probable therefore that, to whatever cause Justin Martyr may have assigned the final salvation of Christians, their *election* he considered to be a calling in from the people of the world to be members of the Church of Christ; as Abraham

¹ *Apol.* i. p. 82 a.

² καὶ συντελεσθῇ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν προεγνωσμένων αὐτῷ ἀγαθῶν γιγνομένων καὶ ἑναρετῶν, κ. τ. λ.—*Apol.* i. p. 82 d.

³ Bp. Kaye's Justin Martyr, p. 82.

⁴ Οὐκοῦν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος δῆμος ἐσμὲν, οὐδὲ βάρβαρον φύλον, οὐδὲ ὅποια Καρῶν ἢ Φρυγῶν ἔθνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθη τοῖς μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτὸν, Ἰδοὺ Θεός εἰμι, φησὶ τῷ ἔθνει οἱ οὐκ ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὸ ὄνομά μου . . . καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας δι' ἐκείνης τῆς φωνῆς ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἐξήλθομεν ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν ᾗ ἐζῶμεν, κ. τ. λ.—*Dial.* p. 347.

was called from among the Gentiles to be the founder of the chosen race.

Irenæus, like Clement of Rome and Justin Martyr, speaks of a definite number of persons who shall be saved, and holds the opinion, that the world shall last till this number is perfected. Yet he does not hint that any particular individuals were predestinated, of which that number should consist¹. As regards predestination to eternal death, he clearly speaks of that as the result of God's foreknowledge of the wickedness of those whom He condemns; and says that the reason why God gave Pharaoh up to his unbelief, was that He knew he never would believe². He asserts too, that God puts no constraint on any one to believe; but that, foreknowing all things, He has prepared for all fitting habitations³. Thus he was evidently no believer in the doctrine, since called reprobation, nor in irresistible grace, or effectual calling.

But it is probable that the meaning which he too attached to the Scriptural term election, was, that God chose and elected certain persons to baptism and to be members of his Church. In speaking of Esau and Jacob, as types of the Jewish and

¹ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πληρωθέντος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ οὗ αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῆ προώρισε, πάντες οἱ ἐγγραφεῖντες εἰς ζωὴν ἀναστήσονται . . . ἵνα τὸ σύμμετρον φύλλον τῆς προορίσεως ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπότητος ἀποτελεσθὲν τὴν ἀρμονίαν τηρήσῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς.—*Adv. Hær.* II. 72.

² 'Deus his quidem qui non credunt, sed nullificant eum, infert cœcitatē . . . Si igitur et nunc, quotquot scit non credituros Deus, cum sit omnium præcognitor, tradidit eos infidelitati eorum, et avertit faciem ab hujusmodi, relinquens eos in tenebris, quas ipsi sibi elegerunt; quid mirum, si et tunc nunquam crediturum Pharaonem, cum his qui cum eo erant, tradidit eos suæ infidelitati?' &c.—*Lib.* IV. 48.

³ 'Nec enim lumen deficit propter eos qui semetipsos excæcaverunt, sed illo perseverante quale et est excæcati per suam culpam in caligine constituuntur. Neque lumen cum magna necessitate subjiciet sibi quemquam: neque Deus coget eum, qui nolit continere ejus artem. Qui igitur abstiterunt a paterno lumine et transgressi sunt legem libertatis, per suam abstiterunt culpam, liberi arbitrii et suæ potestatis facti. Deus autem omnia præsciens, utrisque aptas præparavit habitationes,' &c.—*Lib.* IV. 76; *Conf.* *Lib.* V. 27, 28.

the Christian Church, he explains St. Paul's language, in the ninth of Romans, as meaning that God, who knoweth all things, was foretelling the rejection of the Jews, and the election of the Gentile Church¹. Explaining the parable of the vineyard let out to husbandmen, he says, that God first planted the vineyard of the human race by the creation of Adam and the election of the fathers; then let it out to husbandmen, the Jews, surrounded it with a hedge, built a tower, and elected Jerusalem. But when they did not believe, He sent His Son, whom they slew. Then the tower of election being exalted and beautified, the vineyard, no longer walled round, but laid open to the world, is let to other husbandmen, who will bring forth the fruits. For the Church is everywhere illustrious; everywhere the winepress is dug round, because those who receive the Spirit are everywhere. And soon after, he says, that the same Word of God who formerly elected the patriarchs has now elected us². Thus it appears, that Irenæus

¹ 'In ea enim epistola quæ est ad Romanos, ait Apostolus; *Sed et Rebecca ex uno concubitu habens Isaac patris nostri; a Verbo responsum accepit, ut secundum electionem propositum Dei permaneat, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante, dictum est ei: Duo populi in utero tuo, et duæ gentes in ventre tuo, et populus populum superabit, et major serviet minori.* Ex quibus manifestum est non solum prophetationes patriarcharum, sed et partum Rebeccæ prophetiam fuisse duorum populorum: et unum quidem esse majorem, alterum vero minorem; et alterum quidem sub servitio, alterum autem liberum; unius autem et ejusdem patris. Unus et idem Deus noster et illorum; qui est abasconsorum cognitor, qui scit omnia antequam fiant; et propter hoc dixit; *Jacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui.*'—Lib. iv. 38.

² 'Plantavit enim Deus vineam humani generis, primo quidem per plasmationem Adæ, et electionem patrum: tradidit autem eam colonis per eam legis dationem quæ est per Moysem: sepem autem circumdedit, id est, circumterminavit eorum culturam; et turrem edificavit, Hierusalem eligit . . . Non credentibus autem illis, &c. . . . tradidit eam Dominus Deus non jam circumvallatam, sed expansam in universum mundum aliis colonis, redditibus fructus temporibus suis, turre electionis exaltata ubique et speciosa. Ubique enim præclara est ecclesia, et ubique circumfossum torcular: ubique enim sunt qui suscipiunt Spiritum . . . Sed quoniam et patriarchas qui elegit et nos, idem est Verbum Dei,' &c.—Lib. iv. 70.

looked on the Jews as formerly, and on the Christian Church as now, the elect people of God; and so he calls 'the Church the synagogue, or congregation of God, which He hath collected by Himself'.

Tertullian says little or nothing to guide us to his view of the doctrine of election; except that, in arguing against certain heretics, he maintains that it is unlawful so to ascribe all things to the will of God as to take away our own responsibility and freedom of action².

Clement of Alexandria appears to have used the same language as his predecessors concerning the Church as the election, and all Christians as the elect of God. He especially defines the Church as the general assembly of the elect³. So he quotes Hermas as saying, that the Church is held together by that faith by which God's elect are saved⁴. The Church, according to Clement, is the body of Christ, a holy and spiritual company; but they who belong to it, but live not uprightly, are, as it were, but the flesh of the body⁵. He holds the Church to be one, into which are collected all those who are righteous according to the purpose (*κατὰ πρόθεσιν*); and continues, that the Church is one which collects together

¹ *'Deus stetit in synagoga, &c. De Patre et Filio et de his qui adoptionem perceperunt, dicit: hi autem sunt ecclesia. Hæc enim est synagoga Dei, quam Deus, hoc est, Filius ipse, per semetipsum collegit.'*—Lib. III. 6.

² *'Non est bonæ et solidæ fidei, sic omnia ad voluntatem Dei referre: et ita adulari unumquemque, dicendo nihil fieri sine jussione Ejus: ut non intelligamus aliquid esse in nobis ipsis. Cæterum excusabitur omne delictum, si continuerimus nihil fieri a nobis sine Dei voluntate.'*—*De Exhortatione Castitatis*, c. 2. See Bishop Kaye's view of Tertullian's opinion on this subject in his account of Tertullian, p. 341.

³ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ.—*Stromat.* VII. p. 846, Potter.

⁴ Ἡ τοίνυν συνέχουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ ποιμὴν, ἀρετὴ ἢ πίστις ἐστὶ, δι' ἧς σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.—*Stromat.* Lib. II. p. 458, Potter.

⁵ See *Stromat.* Lib. VII. p. 885.

by the will of God those already ordained, whom God hath predestinated¹.

But then when we come to the ground or cause of God's election, we find that Clement seems to speak of it as being God's foreknowledge. Thus in the last passage referred to, he says, the Church embraces 'all whom God hath predestinated, having foreknown that they would be righteous before the foundation of the world².' So he speaks of each person as partaker of the benefit, according to his own will; for the choice and exercise of the soul constitutes the difference of the election³. Accordingly Bishop Kaye thinks, 'it is evident that Clement must have held the doctrine of predestination in the Arminian sense⁴;' and Mr. Faber says, that 'this prescientific solution is for the first time enounced by the speculative Clement of Alexandria⁵.'

Whether Justin and Irenæus had in any degree announced the same before, may be a fair question. The causation of sin they clearly refused to attribute to God, declaring that, where He is said to have hardened, it was because He foresaw the sinner was irreclaimable. And though Clement of Alexandria speaks more clearly than either of them, concerning God's foreknowledge as the ground of His predestination, yet he does not differ from them in the view that the Church of God is composed of the elect people of God.

¹ μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀληθῆ ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς ἣν οἱ κατὰ πρόθεσιν δίκαιοι ἐγκαταλέγονται . . . μόνην εἶναι φάμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν ὁ Θεός.—*Strom.* vii. p. 899.

² οὓς προώρισεν ὁ Θεός, δίκαιους ἐσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς.—*Ibid.*

³ μεταλαμβάνει δὲ τῆς εὐποίας ἕκαστος ἡμῶν πρὸς ὃ βούλεται· ἐπεὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἀξία γενομένη ψυχῆς αἵρεσις τε καὶ συνάσκησις πεποιήκεν.—*Strom.* v. *sub fine*, p. 734.

⁴ Bp. Kaye, *Clement Alex.* p. 434.

⁵ Faber, *Primitive Doctrine of Election*, p. 269.

Some divines of the Roman Communion¹ have endeavoured to discover the doctrines of St. Augustine in the writings of Clement; but it is only because he ascribes the beginning, the continuance, and the perfection of religion in the soul, to the grace of God, that they have thence inferred that, as it is all of grace, so it must all be of absolute predestination. Yet every one, but slightly acquainted with the predestinarian controversy, must know, that the chief disputants on every side of this troublesome argument have all alike agreed in ascribing the whole work of religion in the soul to God's grace and the operations of His Spirit; the question having only been, Is that grace irresistible, or not? Is the freedom of the will utterly extinguished by it, or not? The passage especially referred to by Bossuet, in proof of the Austinism (so to speak) of Clement, is the prayer with which he concludes his *Pædagogus*, and which is simply,—that God would grant us, that following His commandments, we may become fully like Him, and that He would grant, that all, passing their lives in peace, and being translated into His kingdom or polity, having sailed over the waves of sin, may be borne through still waters by His Holy Spirit, and may praise God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, day and night unto the perfect day. And to this prayer he adds, that 'Since the *Pædagogus* (i. e. the Word of God) has brought us into His Church, and joined us to Himself, it will be well for us being there, to offer up thanksgiving to the Lord, in return for His gracious guidance and instruction².' This passage, however, rather corresponds with what we have seen to be the general doctrine of Clement, as probably of his predecessors,

¹ Bossuet. *Defense de la Tradition et des Saints Pères*, Tom. II. Liv. xii. Chap. 26; Lumper, *Historia Theologico Critica*, Tom. IV. p. 285.

² *Pædagog*, Lib. III. *sub fine*, p. 311. The concluding words are, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡμᾶς καταστήσας ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ παρακτίθετο τῷ διδασκαλικῷ καὶ πανεπισκόπῳ λόγῳ, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα γενομενους, μισθὸν εὐχαριστίας δικαίας, κατάλληλον ἀστειοῦ παιδαγωγίας αἶνον ἀναπέμψαι Κυρίῳ.

viz. that God's election brought men to baptism and to His Church, and that His grace, given to them there, enabled them, if not determined to quench the Spirit, to go on shining more and more unto the perfect day.

From this time forth, although the belief in God's election of individuals into His Church, and a frequent identification of the Church with the elect, is observable in all the patristic writers of eminence; yet when the question concerning the final salvation of individuals was brought into contact with the question of the Divine decrees, that solution of the difficulty, since called Arminian, was generally adopted.

Origen, the pupil of Clement of Alexandria, himself the greatest speculator of early times, and the great maintainer of the freedom of the will, adopted it in its fullest and most definite form. He expressly says, that God, who foresees all things, no more causes man's sins, nor forces his obedience, than one who looks at a person walking in a slippery place, is the cause that he should stumble¹. Such was the progress of opinion among the early Christians, and so general was the spread of the foreknowledge theory in the third and fourth centuries, that our great Bishop Andrewes considered almost all the fathers to have believed in a foreseen faith, 'which,' he adds, 'even Beza confesses²;' and Hooker, himself an illustrious disciple of St. Augustine, says, that 'all the ancient fathers of

¹ "Ὅσπερ εἴ τις δρῶν τινα διὰ μὲν ἀμαθίαν προπετὴ διὰ δὲ τὴν προπέτειαν ἀναλογίστως ἐπιβαίνοντα ὁδοῦ ὀλισθηρᾶς, καὶ καταλάβοι πεπεῖσθαι ὀλισθησαντα, οὐχὶ αἴτιος τοῦ ὀλισθῆναι ἐκεῖνον γίνεται· οὕτω νοητέον τὸν Θεὸν προεωρακότα ὁποῖος ἔσται ἕκαστος, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι καθορᾶν καὶ ὅτι ἀμαρτήσεται τὰδε γινώσκει, καὶ κατορθώσει τὰδε· καὶ εἰ χρή λέγειν οὐ τὴν πρόγνωσιν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων· οὐ γὰρ ἐφάπτεται τοῦ προεγνωσμένου ἀμαρτησομένου ὁ Θεός, ὅταν ἀμαρτάνῃ· ἀλλὰ παραδοξότερον μὲν, ἀληθές δὲ ἐροῦμεν, τὸ ἐσόμενον αἴτιον τοῦ τοιάνδε εἶναι τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ πρόγνωσιν· οὐ γὰρ, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσται, γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γίνεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἔγνωσται.—Origen. *Philocal.* c. xxiii.

² Andrewes, *Judgment of the Lambeth Articles*.

the Church of Christ have evermore with uniform consent agreed, that reprobation presupposeth foreseen sin as a most just cause, whereupon it groundeth itself¹.

So much was this the case, that even St. Augustine himself, when first entering upon the question of predestination, taught that it was contingent on God's foreknowledge of the faith or unbelief of individuals². But his farther progress in the Pelagian controversy, where he had to contend against those who grievously abused the doctrine of man's freewill, led him to reconsider the questions concerning the grace of God and His predestination and purpose. Indeed he asserts, and that truly, that before the Pelagian controversy, he had written concerning freewill almost as if he had been disputing against Pelagians³. But his statements concerning God's foreknowledge, as antecedent to His predestination, he absolutely retracts⁴. Thenceforth his belief appears to have been, that Adam fell freely⁵, that all mankind being born in sin, God's inscrutable wisdom and mercy, for good reasons, but reasons unknown to us, determined to rescue some from sin and damnation⁶. Accordingly

¹ *Answer to a Letter of certain English Protestants.*

² 'Respondemus, præscientia Dei factum esse, qua novit etiam de nondum natis, qualis quisque futurus sit. . . . Non ergo elegit Deus opera cujusquam in præscientia, quæ ipse daturus, sed fidem elegit in præscientia: ut quem sibi crediturum esse præcivit, ipsum elegerit cui Spiritum Sanctum daret, ut bona operando etiam vitam æternam consequeretur.'—*Proposit. ex Epist. ad Romanos Expositio.* Tom. III. pars 2, p. 916.

³ *Retractionum*, Lib. I. cap. ix. Tom. I. p. 15.

⁴ 'Item disputans quid elegerit Deus in nondum nato. . . . ad hoc perduxì ratiocinationem, ut dicerem, *Non ergo elegit Deus opera cujusquam in præscientia, quæ ipse daturus est; sed fidem elegit in præscientia, ut quem sibi crediturum esse præcivit, ipsum elegerit cui Spiritum Sanctum daret, ut bona operando etiam vitam æternam consequeretur*: nondum diligentius quæssiveram, nec adhuc inveneram qualis sit electio gratiæ.'—*Retract.* Lib. I. cap. xxiii. Tom. I. p. 35.

⁵ *De Corrupt. et Grat.* 28. Tom. x. p. 763.

⁶ *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, 31, p. 837; *De Corrupt. et Gratia*, § 16, Tom. x. p. 758.

He prepared His Church, and predestinated some to be brought into the Church by baptism, who thereby became partakers of regenerating grace. These, and these only, could be saved¹. Yet there was a further decree, even concerning the regenerate, viz. that some of them should die before committing actual sin, and therefore be saved; but that, of those who grew up to maturity, some should be led on by the grace of God to final perseverance, and therefore to glory; whereas others, not being gifted, according to God's eternal purpose, with the grace of perseverance, would not persevere at all; or, if they persevered for a time, would in the end fall away and be lost². It would have been just that all should be damned; it is therefore of free mercy that some should be saved³. God therefore graciously frees some, but leaves others by just judgment to perdition⁴. 'Of two infants, both born in sin, why one is taken and the other left; of two grown persons, why one is called so as to follow the calling, the other, either not called, or not called so as to follow the calling; these are in the inscrutable decrees of God. And of two godly men, why to one is given the grace of perseverance, but to another it is not given, this is still more in the inscrutable will of God. Of this, however, all the faithful ought to be certain, that one was predestinated, and the other not, &c.'⁵ The baptized and regenerate may be called of the

¹ *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, 23, Tom. x. p. 832.

² *Ibid.* § 1, Tom. x. pp. 821, 822; § 2, p. 823; § 21, p. 831; § 32, 33, p. 838.

³ *De Natura et Gratia*, cap. v. Tom. x. p. 129.

⁴ *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, § 35; Tom. x. p. 839.

⁵ *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, § 21, Tom. x. p. 831: 'De duobus autem parvulis originali peccato pariter obstrictis, cur iste assumatur, ille relinquitur; et ex duobus ætate jam grandibus, an iste ita vocetur, ut vocantem sequatur; ille autem aut non vocetur, aut non ita vocetur; inscrutabilia sunt judicia Dei. Ex duobus autem piis, cur huic donetur perseverantia usque in finem, illi non donetur; inscrutabiliora sunt judicia Dei. Illud tamen fidelibus debet esse certissimum, hunc esse ex prædestinatis, illum non esse.'

elect, when they believe and are baptized, and live according to God; but they are not properly and fully elect, unless it is also ordained that they shall persevere and live holily to the end¹.

These statements of St. Augustine gave considerable uneasiness to many who agreed with him in his general views of doctrine. The members of the monastery of Adrumetum were especially troubled by these discussions². In consequence, St. Augustine wrote his treatises *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, and *De Correptione et Gratia*. In a short time the clergy of Marseilles, doubting the soundness of St. Augustine's view, Prosper and Hilary³ wrote letters to him, stating the scruples of the Gallican clergy, thanking him in general for his defence of the truth, but saying that hitherto the Catholic faith had been defended, without recourse to such a theory of predestination⁴. The Gallican clergy state that their own belief had hitherto been, that God's predestination was founded on prevision of faith⁵.

Of these Massilians there appear to have been two parties, one infected with Semipelagian errors, the other sound and catholic⁶. Both, however, agreed in being startled and displeased with the doctrines of St. Augustine, and in esteeming

¹ *De Correptione et Gratia*, § 16, Tom. x. p. 758.

² See the correspondence of Augustine with Valentinus.—August. *Opp.* Tom. ii. pp. 791—799.

³ Generally supposed to be the Bishop of Arles, though the Benedictine editor gives good reasons for thinking it may have been another person of the same name.

⁴ 'Quid opus fuit hujuscemodi disputationis incerto tot minus intelligentium corda turbare? Neque enim minus utiliter sine hac definitione, aiunt, tot annis, a tot tractatoribus, tot præcedentibus libris et tuis et aliorum, cum contra alios, tum maxime contra Pelagianos, Catholicam fidem fuisse defensam.'—*Epist. Hilar.* § 8; Aug. *Opp.* Tom. x. p. 787. See also *De Dono Persev.* § 52, Tom. x. p. 850.

⁵ *Ibid.* § 4.

⁶ *Epist. Prosper.* § 3; Aug. *Op.* Tom. x. p. 779; *De Prædestinat.* § 2, p. 791.

them new and unheard of. Among those who were thus dissatisfied, Prosper mentions Hilary of Arles¹, a bishop of the first learning and piety of that age.

In answer to these letters Augustine wrote his two treatises, *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum* and *De Dono Perseverantiæ*. He acknowledges, as in his book of Retractations, that he now saw more clearly than formerly²; yet he says that he had implicitly taught the same doctrines before, but heresies bring out more clearly the truth³. He also says, the earlier fathers did not write much on these doctrines, because they had no Pelagius to write against⁴. Still he thinks that he can find support from passages in St. Cyprian, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Ambrose. From St. Cyprian he quotes, 'We must glory in nothing, as we have nothing of our own⁵.' And again he refers to St. Cyprian's interpretation of the petition in the Lord's prayer, 'Hallowed be thy Name,' as meaning that we pray that His name may be sanctified in us. And this he further explains to signify, that we pray that we, who have been sanctified in baptism, may persevere in that which we have begun⁶. Hence St. Augustine concludes, that Cyprian held the doctrine of perseverance, in the Augustinian sense of that doctrine.

From Gregory Nazianzen he cites an exhortation to confess the doctrine of the Trinity, which concludes with an expression of confident hope that God, who first gave them to believe, would also give them to confess the faith⁷.

¹ *Epist. Prosper.* § 9, p. 873.

² *De Prædestin.* § 7, Tom. x. p. 793.

³ *De Dono Persever.* § 53, Tom. x. p. 851.

⁴ *De Prædestin.* § 27, p. 808.

⁵ 'In nullo gloriandum, quando nostrum nihil sit.'—Cypr. *Ad Quirinum*, Lib. III. Cap. 4; August. *De Prædest.* § 7, Tom. x. p. 753; *De Dono Persever.* § 36, p. 841; § 48, p. 848.

⁶ Cyprian, *In Dominic. Orat.*; August. *De Dono Persever.* § 4, p. 824.

⁷ δώσει γὰρ εἰ οἶδα ὁ τὸ πρῶτον δοὺς, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ μάλιστα.—Greg. Nazianz. *Oratio* 44 in *Pentecosten*.

From Ambrose he alleges two passages. In one, St. Ambrose simply argues, that if a man says he followed Christ, because it seemed good to himself to do so, he does not deny the will of God, for man's will is prepared by God¹. The other passage is as follows: 'Learn also, that He would not be received by those not converted in simplicity of mind. For if He would, He could from indevout have made them devout. Why they received Him not, the evangelist has himself related, saying, *Because His face was as of one going to Jerusalem*. For the disciples were desiring to be received into Samaria, but those whom God thinks good He calls, and whom He wills He makes religious².'

These are the passages alleged by St. Augustine, in proof that more ancient fathers than himself held his view of predestination. With the exception of the last from St. Ambrose, it will appear to most people that, if St. Augustine had not brought weightier arguments from Scripture than he did from the fathers, he would hardly have succeeded in settling his system so firmly in the minds of his followers. The language of the last passage indeed appears, at first sight, strongly to resemble the language of St. Austin. But it is by no means clear that even this passage does not accord with the views of those fathers, who held the election of individuals to the Church

'Gregorium addamus et tertium qui et credere in Deum, et quod credimus, confiteri, Dei donum esse testatur. . . . *Dabit enim, certus sum; qui dedit quod primum est, dabit et quod secundum est: qui dedit credere, dabit et confiteri.*'—Aug. *De Dono Persever.* 49, p. 849.

¹ 'Quod cum dicit, non negat Deo visum: a Deo enim præparatur voluntas hominum. Ut enim Deus honorificetur a sancto, Dei gratia est.'—Ambros. *Comment. in Lucam apud August.* *Ibid.*

² 'Simul discere, inquit, quid recipi noluit a non simplici mente conversis. Nam si voluisset, ex indevotis devotos fecisset. Cur autem non receperint eum, evangelista ipse commemoravit, dicens, Quia facies ejus erat euntis in Jerusalem. Discipuli autem recipi intra Samariam gestiebant. Sed Deus quos dignatur vocat, et quem vult religiosum faciet.'—Ambros. *Comment. in Lucam*, Lib. VII. *apud Augustin.* *Ibid.*

and to baptismal grace, but believed that any farther predestination was from foreseen faith; and it is capable of proof, that such were in fact the views generally held by St. Ambrose¹. This passage, if fairly interpreted, contains probably no contradiction of his other statements.

It is, of course, a question of no small interest, whether St. Augustine's elders in the faith held the same doctrine with himself on the predestination of God, or whether he was the first to discover it in Scripture. That so learned a divine could find no stronger passages in any of their writings than those just mentioned, is much like a confession of the difficulty of the proof. His own opinions must have great and deserved weight; but if they were novel, we can hardly accept them as true. The passages already quoted from the earliest fathers are all we have to guide us in this question; for it seems an admitted fact, that from Origen to St. Augustine *irrespective individual election to glory* was unheard of.

Soon after the correspondence with the Massilian Christians, A. D. 430, St. Augustine died, 'without any equal,' says Hooker, 'in the Church of Christ, from that day to this.' Prosper followed in the steps of his great master with constancy and success; but he exceeded him in the strength of his predestinarian sentiments: for, whereas Augustine held that the

¹ See this very successfully shewn by Faber, *Primitive Doctrine of Election*, Bk. I. ch. viii. p. 168, &c. The following passage shews clearly that he held the views of Clement and Origen concerning God's provision of faith as the ground of His predestination to glory. In discussing Matt. xx. 23, he writes: 'Denique ad Patrem referens addidit: Quibus paratum est, ut ostenderet Patrem quoque non petitionibus deferre solere, sed meritis, quia Deus personarum acceptor non est. Unde et Apostolus ait, Quos præcivit, et prædestinavit. Non enim ante prædestinavit quam præciret, sed quorum merita præcivit, eorum præmia prædestinavit.'—*De Fide ad Gratianum*, Lib. v. cap. 2, *sub fine*.

Mr. Faber has clearly shewn that elsewhere St. Ambrose maintains the doctrine of ecclesiastical election.

wicked perish from their natural sins, being passed over in God's decree, but not actually predestinated to damnation, Prosper seems plainly to have taught the reprobation of the non-elect¹. He drew up a book of sentences from the writings of St. Augustine²; and with the aid of Celestine and Leo, bishops of Rome, was successful in opposing the Pelagian heresy.

Not long after, we read of a priest named Lucidus, who taking up Augustine's predestinarianism, carried it into lengths, to which Augustine had never gone. Faustus, Bishop of Riez, who himself was inclined to Semipelagianism, succeeded in inducing him to recant. A synod was assembled at Arles, A. D. 475, where the errors of Lucidus were condemned, and his recantation was received. Some of these errors were, that 'God's foreknowledge depresses men to hell,—that those who perish could not have been saved,—that a vessel of dishonour could never become a vessel of honour,—that Christ did not die for all men, nor wills all men to be saved³.'

In the year 529 was held the second Council of Orange, at which Caesarius of Arles presided. Its canons and decrees bear the signature of fourteen bishops, and were approved by Boniface II., Bishop of Rome. They are chiefly directed against the errors of the Semipelagians. But to the twenty-five canons on this subject there are appended three declarations of doctrine. 1 That by the grace of baptism all baptized persons can, if they will, be saved. 2 That, if any hold that God has predestinated any to damnation, they are to be anathematized. 3 That God begins in us all good by His grace, thereby leading men to faith and baptism, and that, after baptism, by

¹ *Epist. ad Rufinum*, Cap. xiv.; *Append. ad Op. Augustin.* Tom. x. p. 168.

² See Appendix to Vol. x. of St. Augustine's Works, p. 223, *seq.*

³ *Conc. Tom. iv.* p. 1041. See also Hooker's Works, edit. Keble, Oxford, 1836; Vol. II. Appendix, p. 736, notes.

the aid of His grace, we can do His will¹. These propositions of the Council of Orange, coming immediately after canons against Semipelagianism and exaggerated notions of freewill, express as nearly as possible a belief in Ecclesiastical Election, (*i. e.* election to the church and to baptismal privileges), but reject the peculiar doctrines of St. Austin.

Some mention was made of Goteschalc in the history of the Xth Article². He was a Benedictine monk of the convent of Orbais in the diocese of Soissons, about A. D. 840. He was a great admirer of St. Augustine, and revived his views of predestination; though, like Lucidus, he appears to have gone much beyond his master. If we may believe the account of his doctrines given by Hincmar; he taught that there was a double predestination, of the elect to glory, and of the reprobate to death. God, of His free grace, has unchangeably predestinated the elect to life eternal: but the reprobate, who will be condemned by their own demerits, He has equally predestinated to eternal death³. He taught also that Christ did not die for those who were predestinated to damnation, but only for those who were predestinated to life⁴. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, opposed him with great zeal, and summoned a council at Mentz, A. D. 848; which condemned Goteschalc's opinions, and then sent him to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who assembled a synod at Quiercy, which degraded him from the priesthood, obliged him to burn the tract which he had delivered to Rabanus Maurus in justification of his doctrines, and committed him to prison, where he lay for twenty-one years, and then died⁵.

¹ Concil. iv. 1686; Appendix to Vol. x. of St. Augustine's Works, p. 167.

² Vol. i. p. 348.

³ Hincmar, *De Predestin.* Cap. 5; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* Tom. i. p. 528.

⁴ Hincmar, *ibid.* c. 27; Cave, *ibid.* Archbishop Usher wrote a history of the controversy concerning Goteschalc.

⁵ See Cave, as above; and Mosheim, Cent. ix. Part ii. chap. iii.

The discussions between Thomists and Scotists, among the schoolmen, have also been referred to under Art. X.¹ The former were followers of Thomas Aquinas, who himself followed St. Augustine. They appear to have held irrespective predestination to life; but to have admitted neither reprobation, partial redemption, nor final perseverance, in the sense in which the two former were held by Lucidus and Goteschalo².

We saw, under Article X., how strongly Luther, in his earlier writings, spoke of the slavery of the human will, and the necessity under which it was constrained³. In the first edition of the *Loci Theologici*, Melancthon held language of the same kind. But in the second edition these expressions were all withdrawn; and as we saw in the last Article, Luther, later in life, condemned what are called Calvinistic views of election. Archbishop Laurence has shewn, by abundant and incontrovertible evidence, that after the diet of Augsburg, A. D. 1530, when the famous Lutheran Confession was presented to the Emperor, Luther and Melancthon entirely abandoned the high views of absolute predestination which they had at first adopted. Luther continually exhorted his followers to abstain from all such speculations, and to believe that, because they were baptized Christians, they were God's elect, and to rest in the general

¹ See Vol. I. p. 349.

² Archbishop Laurence, in the learned notes to his *Bampton Lectures*, seems to contend that none of the schoolmen believed in predestination, in the absolute and irrespective sense in which St. Augustine held it. But it seems to me, that the very passages, which he quotes from Aquinas, prove that he did hold Augustine's view of predestination to life, though he clearly denied reprobation, and the certainty of individual perseverance: *e. g.* 'Deus habet præscientiam etiam de peccatis; sed prædestinatio est de bonis salutaribus.'—Aquin. *Exposit. in Rom.* cap. 8; Laurence, p. 395. See also the passages immediately following, and the quotations from Aquinas *op.* Laurence, p. 398; where his view of perseverance seems exactly the same as that which we have seen above to have been St. Augustine's.

³ Vol. I. p. 351.

promises of God¹. Luther expressly approved² of the later edition of Melancthon's *Loci Theologici*, put forth A. D. 1535, in which his former views of predestination were retracted³. He himself speaks of the predestinarian controversies set on foot in his own time as the work of the devil⁴. Melancthon too, in the strongest terms, condemned what he called the Stoical and Manichean rage, and urges all people to fly from such monstrous opinions⁵.

The doctrine both of Luther and Melancthon, after their first change of opinion, appears to have been very nearly that which we have reason to conclude was the doctrine of the earliest fathers. They clearly taught that Christ died for all men, and that God willed all to be saved. They held that all persons brought to baptism and to the Church were to be esteemed the elect people of God, having been led to baptism by the gracious purpose of God. They taught too, that God's purposes were to be *generally* considered, and His promises *generally* interpreted, i. e. as implying his *general* designs concerning Christians and the human race, and as concerning classes of persons, according to their respective characters⁶.

¹ See Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 249, 401, 403, 406, 407, 408. See especially Lutheri *Opera*, Vol. vi. p. 355; Laurence, p. 403.

² Preface to Vol. I. of his Works, Wittenb. 1545; Laurence, p. 251.

³ See Laurence, p. 249; Serm. II. note 21, p. 407; Serm. VII. note 15.

⁴ *Opp.* Tom. v. p. 197. See under History of Article XVI.

⁵ See his language largely quoted, Laurence, pp. 152, 406, 418, 422. Some of the same passages may be seen in Faber, *Primitive Doctrine of Election*, pp. 350, 351, 352.

⁶ Luther's sentiments on universal grace are shewn by Archbishop Laurence, p. 408. On his and Melancthon's belief in baptismal election see pp. 142, 404, 405; e. g. 'Quicquid hic factum est, id omne propter nos factum, qui in illum credimus, et in nomen ejus baptizati, et ad salutem destinati, atque electi sumus.'—Luth. *Opp.* Tom. VII. p. 355; Laurence, p. 403.

'De effectu electionis teneamus hanc consolationem; Deum, volentem non perire totum genus humanum, semper propter Filium per misericordiam vocare, trahere et colligere *Ecclesiam*, et recipere assentientes,

Zuinglius was an absolute predestinarian, ascribing all things to the purpose and decrees of God; but he materially differed from the Calvinist divines who followed him, in holding that God's mercies in Christ, though given irrespectively and from absolute predestination, were bestowed not only on Christians, but on infants who die without actual sin, and on heathens, who 'had grace to live a virtuous life, though ignorant of the Redeemer¹.'

In the Council of Trent, when the question of predestination was discussed, no fault was found with the Lutheran statements on this head; but several points were found for discussion in the writings of the Zuinglians. Many of the Tridentine divines took views of predestination similar to those of St. Augustine, though these were strongly opposed by the Franciscans. Catarinus propounded an opinion much like that afterwards held by Baxter, that of Christians, some were immutably elected to glory, others were so left that they might or might not be saved. All agreed to condemn the doctrine commonly called Final Perseverance².

Calvin, with that love of system and logical precision which was so characteristic of him, rejected every appearance of compromise, and every attempt to soften down the severity of the high predestinarian scheme. Advancing, therefore, far beyond the principles of his great master, St. Augustine, he not only taught that all the elect are saved by immutable decree, but that the reprobate are damned by a like irreversible sentence,

atque ita velle semper aliquam esse ecclesiam, quam adjuvat et salvat.'—Melancth. *Loc. Theolog. De Prædest.*; Laurence, p. 404. See other passages there to the same effect. See also Faber, *Prim. Doct. of Election*, p. 374, note; who brings numerous passages from Melancthon to prove that he held election to baptismal grace.

¹ 'Nihil restat, quo minus inter gentes quoque Deus sibi deligat, qui sese revercantur, qui observent et post fata illi jungantur; libera est enim electio ejus.'—Zuing. *Oper.* Tom. II. p. 371; Faber, *Prim. Doct. of Election*, p. 373; Laurence, p. 389.

² Sarpi, p. 197.

a sentence determined concerning them before the foundation of the world, and utterly irrespective of the foreknowledge of God¹. Nay! God's foreknowledge of their reprobation and damnation is the result of His having predestinated it; not His predestination the result of His foreknowledge². The very fall of Adam was ordained, because God saw good that it should be so; though why he saw good it is not for us to say. But no doubt He so determined, partly because thereby the glory of His Name would be justly set forth³. Those who are thus elect to glory, and those only, are *called effectually*, *i. e.* irresistibly; whereas the non-elect, or reprobate, have only the external calls of the word and the Church⁴. Those, thus effectually called, are endued with the grace of final perseverance, so that they can never wholly fall away from grace⁵.

These views, with little variation, were adopted by the different bodies of Christians which were reformed on the Calvinistic model. Sufficient account has been given under Article X. of the principal proceedings of the Synod of Dort. The Remonstrants, who agreed with Arminius, and against whom that synod directed its decrees, had adopted that theory concerning God's predestination, which had been current among the fathers from Origen to Augustine⁶. They taught that

¹ 'Aliis vita æterna, aliis damnatio æterna præordinata.'—*Institut.* III. xxi. 5. 'Quod ergo Scriptura clare ostendit dicimus, æterno et immutabili consilio Deum semel constituisse quos olim semel assumere vellet in salutem, quos rursum exitio devovere. Hoc consilium quoad electos in gratuita ejus misericordia fundatum esse asserimus, nullo humanæ dignitatis respectu: quos vero damnationi addicit, his justo quidem et irreprehensibili, sed incomprehensibili ipsius judicio, vitæ aditum præcludi.'—*Ibid.* III. xxi. 7.

² *Institut.* III. xxi. 6.

³ 'Lapsus enim primus homo, quia Dominus ita expedire censuerat: cur censuerit, nos latet. Certum tamen est non aliter censuisse, nisi quia videbat nominis sui gloriam inde merito illustrari.'—*Lib.* III. xxiii. 8.

⁴ *Lib.* III. xxiv. 1, *seq.*

⁵ *Lib.* III. xxiv. 6, 7.

⁶ Calvin himself owns that Ambrose, Origen, and Jerome, held the Arminian view of election.—*Institut.* III. xxii. 8.

God's predestination resulted from His foreknowledge. They ascribed all good in man to the grace of the Spirit of God; but they held that God determined to save eternally those who He foresaw would persevere in His grace to the end, and that He destined to damnation those who He knew would persevere in their unbelief. These views were rejected and condemned by the synod, which distinctly enunciated the five points of Calvinism¹.

The disputes on the same subject, which have prevailed in the Church of Rome since the Council of Trent, were all sufficiently alluded to under Article X.²

The doctrine of our own Reformers on this deep question, and the meaning of the XVIIth Article, have been much debated. The Calvinistic divines of our own communion have unhesitatingly claimed the Article as their own; although the earnest desire, which they shewed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to introduce the far more express language of the Lambeth Articles, shews that they were not fully satisfied with the wording of it. On the other hand, the Arminians assert that the seventeenth Article exactly expresses their own views. The Arminians agree with the Calvinists in holding that God, by his secret counsel, hath predestinated some to life eternal, others to eternal death. They differ from them in that, whereas the Calvinists attribute this predestination to God's sovereign, irrespective, and though doubtless just, yet apparently arbitrary will, the Arminians attribute it to His eternal foreknowledge. Now the Article says nothing concerning the *moving cause* of predestination; and therefore speaks as much the language of Arminius as of Calvin. The latter clauses of the Article appear specially designed to guard against the

¹ See Mosheim, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. ch. ii. § 11; Heylin, *Histor. Quinquartie*. Part ii. ch. iv. And for the Decrees of Dordrecht on Predestination, see *Sylloge Confess.* p. 406.

² Vol. i. p. 355.

dangers of the Calvinistic theory, and therefore the former cannot have been intended to propound it. Moreover, the sentiments concerning election, most prevalent in the Church before the Reformation, were that God predestinated to life and death, not according to His absolute will, but according as He foresaw future faith or unbelief; and there being no ground for supposing that the English reformers had been mixed up with any of the predestinarian controversies of Calvin and the Swiss reformers, there is every ground, it is said, for supposing that the Article ought to be taken in the Arminian, not in the Calvinistic sense.

In what sense the English reformers really did accept the doctrine of God's election, and in what sense the XVIIIth Article is to be interpreted, is truly a question of considerable difficulty. The language of Cranmer and Ridley, and of our own Liturgy, Articles and Homilies, are remarkably unlike Calvin's, concerning effectual calling and final perseverance¹. It is also clear that the English reformers held, and expressed in our formularies, with great clearness and certainty, the universality of redemption through Christ². So that, in three out of five points of Calvinism, Particular Redemption, Effectual Calling, and Final Perseverance, the English reformers were at variance with Calvin.

Still, no doubt, it is possible that they may have been un-Calvinistic in all these points, and yet have agreed with St. Augustine on the general notion and causation of God's pre-

¹ Concerning *effectual calling* see particularly the original Xth Article, quoted Vol. I. p. 357; and the whole History of Article X. On Final Perseverance, see History of Art. XVI.

² 'The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for *all the sins of the whole world*.'—Art. XXXI. 'God the Son, who hath redeemed me and *all mankind*.'—Catechism. 'A full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, satisfaction and oblation for the sins of the whole world.'—Prayer of Consecration at the Holy Communion.

destination; for we have seen that Augustine's views were materially different from Calvin's.

It is pretty certain that Calvin's system had not produced much influence at the time the XVIIth Article was drawn up. It is true, the first edition of his *Institutes* was written early in his career; and that contains strong predestinarian statements. But the great discussion on this head at Geneva, and the publication of his book *De Prædestinatione*, did not take place till A.D. 1552, the very year in which the Articles were put forth.

It has moreover been clearly shewn, that the earlier Articles of the Church of England were drawn up from Lutheran models, agreeing remarkably with the language of Melancthon and the Confession of Augsburg¹. Archbishop Laurence has plainly proved that the greatest intimacy and confidence existed between Cranmer and Melancthon; that for a series of years during the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. both the king and the leading reformers were most desirous of bringing Melancthon to England, and that nothing but the death of Edward VIth prevented the establishment of Melancthon in the chair of divinity at Cambridge, formerly filled by Erasmus and Bucer². All this must have been pending at the very time the XVIIth Article was composed. Nay! there is even some reason to think that Cranmer was induced to draw up this Article by a suggestion of Melancthon, who, when consulted by Cranmer (A.D. 1548), on the compilation of a public confession on this particular question, wrote recommending great caution and moderation, adding, that at first the stoical disputations about fate were too horrible among the reformers, and injurious to good discipline; and urging that Cranmer 'should think well concerning any such formula of doctrine³.'

¹ See Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, *passim*, and the historical sections to several of the foregoing Articles.

² See Laurence, Sermon I. note 4, p. 188.

³ 'Nimis horridæ fuerunt initio Stoicæ disputationes apud nostros de

From such facts it is inferred that the Lutheran, not the Calvinist reformers had weight, and were consulted on the drawing up of this Article; and that, as Lutheran models were adopted for the former Articles, so, although there is no Article in the Confession of Augsburg on predestination, yet the views of that doctrine, current among the Lutheran divines, were more likely to prevail than those among the Calvinists, who had as yet had no influence in Great Britain.

The published writings of Cranmer and Ridley have remarkably little which can lead to an understanding of their own views of God's predestination. We hear that Ridley wrote a 'godly and comfortable treatise' on 'the matter of God's election;' but it has never yet come to light. In the letter wherein he speaks of having prepared some notes on the subject, he says, 'In these matters I am so fearful that I dare not speak further, yea, almost none otherwise than the very text doth, as it were, lead me by the hand¹.'

Cranmer's writings are, even more than Ridley's, free from statements on God's predestination. But Archbishop Laurence has brought several passages from Latimer, Hooper, and other contemporaneous divines of the Church of England, which shew that they held decidedly anti-Calvinistic sentiments, and which prove that even the Calvinism of Bradford was of the most moderate kind².

If from the writings of the reformers we pass to the formularies of the Church, the Liturgy, the Catechism, and the Homilies, we shall find that they appear to view the election of God as the choosing of persons to baptism, the elect as identical

fato, et disciplinæ nocuerunt. Quare te rogo, ut de tali aliqua formula doctrinæ cogites.'—Melancth. *Epist.* Lib. III. *Epist.* 44; Laurence, pp. 222—435.

¹ Letter to Bradford in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Ridley's *Remains*, Parker Society's edition, p. 367.

² See Laurence, Sermon VIII. note 17, p. 448, *seq.*

with the baptized, or, what is the same thing, with the Church of Christ throughout the world. Thus, in the Catechism every baptized child is taught to say, 'God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth *me* and all the *elect* people of God.' In the Baptismal Service we pray, that the child 'now to be baptized, may receive the fulness of God's grace, and ever remain in the number of His faithful and *elect* children.' In the daily service we pray, 'Endue thy ministers with righteousness, and make thy *chosen* people joyful. O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance.' Where God's inheritance, the Church, is evidently the same as His 'chosen' or elect 'people,' whom we pray that He will bless, save, and make joyful. In the Burial Service, we pray God to 'accomplish the number of His *elect*, and hasten His kingdom, that *we*, with all those departed,' &c. Where the *we* appears to be connected with God's *elect*. In the Homily of falling from God, all Christians are plainly spoken of as the 'chosen' (*i. e.* elect) 'vineyard of God,' which yet by falling away may be lost. 'If we, which are the chosen vineyard of God, bring not forth good fruits, that is to say, good works.... He will pluck away all defence, and suffer grievous plagues.... to light upon us. Finally, if these serve not, He will let us lie waste, He will give us over,...' &c.

From all these considerations, it is more probable that an Article drawn up by Cranmer should have expounded the doctrine of ecclesiastical or baptismal election, than that it should have contained the doctrine of Calvin or Arminius. For, both the other documents drawn up by himself, and the writings of his great counsellor, Melancthon, exhibit the clearest evidence of their belief in such ecclesiastical election. Add to which, the early fathers, whose writings Cranmer most diligently searched, are very full of the same mode of explaining the truth.

The question still remains, after all this historical probability, Will the wording of the Article bear this meaning? or are we absolutely constrained to give another interpretation

to it? Persons but little acquainted with scholastic disputations and with the language of controversy, are apt at first sight to think the XVIIth Article obviously Calvinistic, though others, somewhat better read, are aware that it will equally suit the doctrine of Arminius: but both might be inclined to suppose it could not express the opinions of Melancthon and of the majority of the primitive fathers, and what, we have seen reason to conclude, were Cranmer's own opinions. Let us see whether this is the case.

In the first place then, the words of the concluding paragraph in the Article have been shewn to bear so remarkable a resemblance to the language of Melancthon (language particularly objected to by Calvin¹), that it could hardly have been accidental. 'Furthermore,' it runs, 'we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be *generally* set forth in holy Scripture; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God.' The word *generally* is in the Latin *generaliter*, which means not *for the most part*, but *universally* or *generically*, i. e. as concerning classes of persons. Now Melancthon writes, 'And if other things may be nicely disputed concerning election, yet it is well for godly men to hold that *the promise is general or universal*. Nor ought we to judge otherwise concerning the will of God than according to the revealed word, and we ought to know what God hath commanded that we may believe²,' &c.

But in the beginning of the Article we read of 'predestination to life,' and of God's purpose 'to deliver from curse and damnation;' expressions which may seem tied to the notion of

¹ See Laurence, p. 165.

² 'Et si alia subtiliter de electione disputari fortasse possunt, tamen prodest piis tenere quod *promissio sit universalis*. Nec debemus de voluntate Dei aliter judicare quam juxta Verbum revelatum, et scire debemus, quod Deus præceperat, ut credamus.'—*Opera*, Vol. iv. p. 498; Laurence, p. 434.

election, embraced by Augustine, Calvin and Arminius, namely, predestination to life eternal. It is, however, to be noted, that it would quite suit the way of thinking, common to those who held ecclesiastical election, to speak of election to baptism as *election to life*, and as *deliverance from curse and damnation*. For the Church of Christ is that body, which, having been purchased by the blood of Christ, is destined to life eternal, and placed in a position of deliverance from the curse of original sin. Baptism is for the remission of sin. All baptized infants have been elected therefore to life, and delivered from curse and damnation. The election to life eternal indeed is mediate, through election to the Church, not immediate and direct. Every baptized Christian has been chosen out of the world to be placed in the Church, in order that he may be brought by Christ to everlasting salvation, as a vessel made to honour. He may forfeit the blessing afterwards, but it has freely been bestowed on him. All persons endued with such an excellent benefit of God are called according to His purpose by His Spirit. They are freely justified and made sons of God by adoption (language specially used in the Catechism of baptized children); they be made like the image of the only-begotten, Jesus Christ, for the baptized Christian is said to be regenerate after the likeness of Christ. The next step in his course is to walk in good works; the last to attain, by God's mercy, to everlasting felicity.

Such language then, which is the language of the Article, suits the baptismal theory as well as the Calvinistic theory: and it has been contended with great force by Archbishop Laurence and Mr. Faber, that no other sense can be properly attached to it.

On the whole, however, it seems worthy of consideration, whether the Article was not designedly drawn up in guarded and general terms, on purpose to comprehend all persons of tolerably sober views. It is hardly likely that Cranmer and his

associates would have been willing to exclude from subscription those who symbolized with the truly admirable St. Augustine, or those who held the theory of prevision, so common among those fathers whom Cranmer had so diligently studied. Nor again, can we imagine that any thing would have been put forth markedly offensive to Melancthon, whose very thoughts and words seem embodied in one portion of this Article, as well as in so many of the preceding. Therefore, though Cranmer was strong in condemning those who made God the author of sin, by saying that He enforced the will; though he firmly maintained that Christ died to save all men, and would have all men to be saved; though he and his fellows rejected the Calvinistic tenet of final perseverance; they were yet willing to leave the field fairly open to different views of the divine predestination, and accordingly worded the Article in strictly Scriptural language, only guarding carefully and piously against the dangers which might befall 'carnal and curious persons.' After long and serious consideration, I am inclined to think this the true state of the case. I am strongly disposed to believe that Cranmer's own opinions were certainly neither Arminian nor Calvinistic, nor probably even Augustinian; yet I can hardly think that he would have so worded this Article, had he intended to declare very decidedly against either explanation of the doctrine of election.

It seems unnecessary to do more than briefly allude to the painful controversies, to which this fruitful subject gave rise in the Church of England, since the Reformation. A sufficient account was given, under Article XVI., of the disputes which led to the drawing up of the Lambeth Articles, which, though accepted by Archbishop Whitgift and a majority of the divines at Lambeth, never had any ecclesiastical authority. The first four of these were designed to express distinctly the *Calvinistic* doctrines of election and reprobation; though the bishops softened down a few of the expressions in Whitaker's original

draught, so as to make them a little less exclusive¹. The Puritan party at Hampton Court wished that these 'nine assertions orthodoxal' should be added to the XXXIX Articles, and also that some of the expressions in the XXXIX Articles, which sounded most against Calvinism, should be altered or modified; but their wish was not obtained². There have ever since continued different views of the doctrine of pre-

¹ The Lambeth Articles, after revision by the bishops, were as follows:—

1 Deus, ab æterno, prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.

2 Causa, movens prædestinationis ad vitam, non est previsio fidei aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

3 Prædestinatorum definitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

4 Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

5 Vera, viva et justificans Fides, et Spiritus Dei justificantis non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit, in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.

6 Homo vere fidelis, i. e. fide justificante præditus, certus est, Plerophoria Fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

7 Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si voluerint.

8 Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre, ut veniant ad Filium.

9 Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis salvari.

We saw under Article XVI. the alterations introduced by the Lambeth Divines into Propositions 5 and 6, thereby materially modifying the sense. The first Proposition expresses a general truth, to which all assent. In the second Whitaker had '*Causa efficiens*,' which the bishops altered to *movens*; for the *moving* cause of man's salvation is not in himself, but in God's mercy through Christ. So, instead of the last words in Whitaker's second Proposition, '*sed sola, et absoluta, et simplex voluntas Dei*,' they put '*sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei*,' because our salvation springs from God's good pleasure and goodness. Yet even so modified (and with such modifications all their original force was lost) the Articles did not approve themselves to the Queen or the best of our then living divines.

² Cardwell's *Conferences*, pp. 178, seq.

destination amongst us, and different interpretations of this XVIIth Article. It were indeed much to be wished that such differences might cease; but, from the days of St. Augustine to this day, they have existed in the universal Church; and we can scarcely hope to see them utterly subside in our own portion of it.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

IN investigating the Scriptural doctrine of Election, it is of the utmost consequence to keep close to Scripture itself, and to keep clear of philosophy. The subject of God's foreknowledge and predestination must be full of difficulty, and our question can only be, what is revealed to us, not what may be abstract truth.

The disputes between the Calvinists and Arminians took, unhappily, a metaphysical, almost more than a Scriptural turn. The Calvinists were unable to believe in the contingency of events certainly foreknown, and in the absolute sovereignty of God, if limited by His knowledge of the actions of subordinate beings. The Arminians, truly contending that an action was not made compulsory because it was foreseen, held it inconsistent with the justice of God to destine some to be saved and others to be lost. Both argued from natural religion; and both gave weighty reasons for their inferences. But both should have seen that there was a limit to all such investigations which no human intelligence could pass; and that those very arguments, which reduced their adversaries to the greatest difficulties, might often, if pursued further, have told against themselves.

It is quite certain that if we carry out our investigations on such subjects to their fullest extent, we must at length reach a point which is impassable, but where we are at least as much in difficulty and darkness as at any previous step in our course. Thus, why God, who is all holy and merciful, ever permitted sin to exist, seeing He could have prevented it; why, when sin came, not only into the creation, but into this world, He did not wholly, instead of partially, remove its curse and power; why the child derived it from its parent; why the unsinning

brute creation is involved in pain and death, the wages of sin ; why, whereas one half of the infants who are born die before the age of reason and responsibility, yet God does not cause all to die in infancy whom He foresees will, if they live, live wickedly :—these and like questions, which puzzle us as to the omnipotence, the justice, or the goodness of God, and which neither Scripture nor philosophy will answer, ought to teach us, that it is not designed that we should be satisfied on these deep subjects of speculation, concerning which Milton has described even angelic beings as lost in inextricable difficulty.

There is another line of reasoning which has been taken in this controversy, somewhat more bearing on practical questions, and yet leading us beyond the reach of human intelligence. The Calvinist feels deeply that all must be ascribed to the grace of God, and nothing to the goodness of man. Therefore, he reasons, all holiness must come from an absolute decree ; for, if not, why does one accept grace, another refuse it ? If the grace be not irresistible, there must be something meritorious in him who receives, compared with him who rejects. Both indeed may resist God's grace ; but he who resists the least, so as not to quench the Spirit, must be considered as relatively, if not positively, meritorious. The Arminian, on the contrary, admitting that merit is not possible for man, yet contends that the belief in an irreversible decree takes away all human responsibility, makes the mind of man a mere machine, and deprives us of all motives for exertion and watchfulness. Even these arguments lead us to difficulties, which perhaps we cannot solve. We are clearly taught to believe that sinful man can deserve no good from God, and derives all he has from Him. We are also taught to feel our own responsibility in the use of the grace given us, and the necessity of exerting ourselves in the strength of that grace. There may be some difficulty in harmonizing the two truths ; but we have no right to construct a system based upon one of them ;

and to the exclusion of the other. If we cannot see, as many think they can, that they form part of one harmonious whole, we must be content to accept them both, without trying to reconcile them.

Now the doctrine of Calvin rests on two premises: 1 That election infallibly implies salvation. 2 That election is arbitrary. The Arminians admit the first premiss, which is probably false, and reject the second, which is probably true. If we would fairly investigate the question, we must begin by a determination not to be biassed by the use of words, nor to suffer ourselves to be led by a train of inductive reasoning. The former is a mistake which prevails extensively on almost all religious questions, and is utterly subversive of candour and truth; the latter is altogether inadmissible on a subject so deep as that under consideration.

To begin with the old Testament, a portion of Scripture too much neglected in this controversy, we read much there of God's election: and it is perhaps to be regretted that our authorized translation has used the words *choose*, *chosen*, *choice* in the old Testament, and the words *elect* and *election* in the new Testament, whereas the original must be the same in both, and the ideas, contained under both phrases, identical.

Now who are the persons spoken of in the old Testament as God's elect or chosen people? Plainly the seed of Abraham, the children of Israel. Let us then observe, first, the ground of their election; secondly, to what they were elect?

It is quite apparent, from innumerable statements of Moses and the prophets, that the cause or ground of God's election of the people of Israel was not, as on the Arminian hypothesis, foreseen faith, but God's good pleasure, springing from motives unknown to us. It was not for 'their righteousness, for the uprightness of their heart, that they went in to possess the land.' The Lord did 'not give them the good land to possess for their righteousness: for they were a stiffnecked people'

(Deut. ix. 5, 6). 'Only the Lord had a delight in their fathers, to love them, and He chose their seed after them above all people' (Deut. x. 15). 'The Lord will not forsake His people for His great name's sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you His people' (1 Sam. xii. 22). 'I will be the God of all the families of Israel, and they shall be my people...I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with loving-kindness have I drawn thee' (Jer. xxxi. 1, 3). 'I have loved you, saith the Lord, yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us? Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord; yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau' (Mal. i. 2, 3); a passage, which, as explained by St. Paul (Rom. ix. 13), clearly expresses God's purpose to choose the seed of Jacob in preference to that of Esau, irrespectively of the goodness of the one or the other.

The Arminian hypothesis, therefore, of foreseen faith is clearly inapplicable to the election spoken of in the books of the old Testament. The cause and ground of it was plainly God's absolute irrespectivè decree. But then *to what* was the election so often mentioned there? We have discovered its ground; can we discover the correct idea to be attached to the action itself?

It is evident that the whole Jewish nation, and none but they, were the objects of God's election. 'O children of Israelyou only have I known of all the families of the earth' (Amos iii. 1, 2). 'Thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God; the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto Himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth' (Deut. vii. 6). 'The Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and He chose their seed after them, even you among all people, as it is this day' (Deut. x. 15). 'The Lord hath avouched thee this day to be His peculiar people, as He hath promised thee, and that thou shouldest keep all His commandments; and to make thee high above all nations which He hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour; and

that thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord thy God' (Deut. xxvi. 18, 19). And, 'What one nation in the earth is like thy people, like Israel, whom God went to redeem for a people to Himself?...For Thou hast confirmed to Thyself Thy people Israel, to be a people unto Thee for ever: and Thou, Lord, art become their God' (2 Sam. vii. 23, 24). 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom He hath chosen for His own inheritance' (Psal. xxxiii. 12). 'The Lord hath chosen Jacob unto Himself, and Israel for His peculiar treasure' (Psal. cxxxv. 4). 'Thou, Israel, art My servant, Jacob, whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham My friend....I have chosen thee and not cast thee away' (Isai. xli. 8, 9). 'Yet now hear, O Jacob My servant; and Israel, whom I have chosen' (Isai. xlv. 1). 'For Jacob, My servant's sake, and Israel Mine elect' (Isai. xlv. 4). 'Considerest thou not what this people have spoken, saying, The two families which the Lord hath chosen, He hath even cast them off?' (Jer. xxxiii. 24).

All these passages tell exactly the same tale, and explain to us the nature and object of God's election, as propounded under the old Testament. Were the Jewish people, who are thus constantly called God's elect, elected to an unfailing and infallible salvation of their souls? Most assuredly not. Nay, they were not elected to *infallible* possession even of all the *temporal* blessings of God's people. Victory over their enemies, entrance into, in the first place, and then quiet possession of, the promised land were made contingent on their obedience to God's will (see Deut. vii, viii. *passim*). But that, to which they were chosen, was to be God's 'peculiar people'—to be 'a holy people,' consecrated to the service of God—to have the covenant and the promises, and to be the Church of God. Yet still there was 'set before them life and death, cursing and blessing:' and they were exhorted to 'choose life;' 'that they might dwell in the land which the Lord sware to their fathers' (Deut. xxx. 19, 20).

We see therefore, first, that the cause of God's election was arbitrary; secondly, that the election itself was to blessing indeed, but it was the blessing of privilege, not of absolute possession. And even of those chosen to be brought out of Egypt, and to become God's people in the wilderness, by abusing their privileges, all but two perished before they reached the promised land: and those chosen to live in Canaan, as God's Church and people then on earth, were continually provoking God's indignation, and bringing down a curse instead of a blessing upon them.

The seed of Abraham then, the children of Israel, were the only elect people of God at that time upon earth; but their election was to the privilege of being God's Church, the subjects of His Theocratic kingdom, the recipients of His grace, and the depositaries of His truth. This is the whole nature of election, as propounded to us, in the Law and in the Prophets. If there were any farther election, and of what nature it may have been, as far as the old Testament went, was one of the 'secret things, which belong to the LORD our God.'

Some people indeed argue, that, if one person or body of persons is predestined to light and privilege, and another is debarred from them, it is one and the same thing as if one was predestined to salvation and another to damnation; for, if the one is not certainly saved, the other is certainly lost: and so, if election to glory be not taught, reprobation to damnation is. But this is, first of all, an example of that mode of induction, which is so objectionable in questions of this sort. And next, it remains to be proved, either that privilege leads of necessity to salvation, or that absence of privilege leads inevitably to damnation. However, it will, no doubt, be generally conceded, that the Jew was placed in a more favourable state for attaining salvation than the Gentile; and *that*, as we have seen, from an arbitrary decree of God. This, it will be said, is as inconsistent with our ideas of justice, as anything in the system of

Calvin or Augustine. Admit this, and you may as well admit all. The question, however, still remains the same; not what men are willing to admit, but what the Bible reveals. This election to light and privilege is evidently analogous to those cases which we see in God's ordinary Providence; some born rich, others poor; some nursed in ignorance, others in full light; some with pious, others with ungodly parents; and now too, some in a Christian, others in a heathen land; some with five talents, others with but one. Why all this is we cannot tell; why God is pleased to put some in a position where vice seems all but inevitable, others where goodness seems almost natural, we know not; nor again, as has been said before, why He does not ordain that all, who He foresees will be wicked, should die in infancy. We know and see that such is His pleasure. The secret motives of His will we are not told, and we cannot fathom. We are left to believe that, though hidden from us, they must be right. What we are taught is, how to avail ourselves of the privileges, whatever they may be, which we have; to escape the dangers, and profit by the advantages of our position. This is practical, and this is revealed truth.

To return to the old Testament. As we have seen, we there read much of election; and it is always election of a certain body of persons, by an arbitrary decree, to the blessings and privileges of being of the Church of God. And we observe another thing, namely, that, whereas none but the Israelites were elected to such privileges then, there were yet many prophecies of a time when other persons, individuals of other nations, should be chosen by God, and made partakers of the same privileges with the Jews—the same privileges enhanced and exalted. Nay, the Jews are threatened, as a body, with rejection from privilege for their sins; a remnant only of them being to be retained in the possession of blessing; and with that remnant, a host from other nations to be brought in and associated.

When we come to the *new Testament*, we must bear in mind that the Apostles were all Jews, but their mission was to proclaim that the Jewish Church had passed away, and to bring in converts to the Christian Church. Especially, St. Paul had to found a Church among the Gentiles, and to bring the Gentiles into the fold of Christ. Nothing therefore could be more natural, or more in accordance with the plan of the Apostles, than, as it were, to apologize to the Jews, and to explain to the Gentiles the new condition, which the Almighty had designed for His Church in the world. It would be most natural that they should enlarge upon the truth, that in God's eternal counsels there were general purposes of mercy for mankind, to be effected by means of bringing persons into Christ's Church, and therein by the graces of His Spirit conforming them to the likeness of His Son; that though hitherto His mercy in this respect had been confined to the Jews, His further plans having been hid for ages and generations, yet now it was revealed that the Gentiles should with the Jews be fellow-heirs (see Col. i. 25, Eph. iii. 5, 6); that, therefore, whereas heretofore the seed of Abraham had been the only chosen people of God, yet now the whole Catholic Church, composed of both converted Jews and Gentiles, were his chosen people; and God, who, of His good pleasure, for a time elected only the Jews, had, by the same good pleasure, now chosen individuals, both of Jews and Gentiles, to be members of His Church and heirs of the grace of life. In thus reasoning, it is most natural that the Apostles should constantly compare the state of Christians with the state of the Jews, and so continually use old Testament language; adopting the very expressions of Moses and the prophets, and simply applying them to the altered condition of the world, and to the enlarged condition of the Church. Thus, were the Jews constantly spoken of as a holy people, as called and chosen of God? In like manner, St. Paul begins scarce any Epistle without call-

ing the Church addressed in it either holy, called, or elect (see Rom. i. 6, 7;¹ 1 Cor. i. 9, 24; 2 Cor. i. 1; Eph. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 1; 1 Thess. i. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 13; 2 Tim. i. 8—10; Heb. iii. 1, &c.). Were the Jews spoken of as ‘a peculiar people, a kingdom of priests, a holy nation’ (Exod. xix. 5, 6)? St. Peter addresses the Christian Church as ‘a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, that they should shew forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness into His marvellous light: which in times past were not a people, but now are the people of God².’ So too, in his very first salutation of the Church, composed as it was of Jewish and Gentile converts, he calls them ‘strangers or sojourners, scattered abroad, elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father’ (1 Pet. i. 2); where, like St. Paul, he no doubt uses this expression with special reference to the objection which the Jews made to the calling of the Gentiles. They thought that God’s plan was only to call the children of Israel. But no! the Apostle speaks of the *Church* (a Gentile as well as a Jewish Church) as chosen and preordained, by a foreknown and predestinated counsel of God, kept secret hitherto, but now made manifest³.

This mode of treating the question is nowhere more apparent than in the opening of the Epistle to the Ephesians. There St. Paul is addressing a Gentile Church. Having first saluted its members, as ‘the holy persons in Ephesus, and the faithful in Christ Jesus,’ he at once proceeds to give God thanks for having blessed the Christian Church with all spiritual

¹ ἁγίοις, ἁγίοις, not as in our version, ‘called to be saints,’ but, ‘called, holy,’ as the Syriac.

² 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10. St. Peter has here adopted the very words addressed to the Jewish people in Exod. xix. 5, 6; xxiii. 22, as rendered by the LXX. “Ἐσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων.... ὑμεῖς δὲ ἱερεῖς τοῦ βασιλείου ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον.

³ Comp. 1 Pet. v. 13; where he speaks of the *whole Church* at Babylon as ‘elect together with’ those churches to whom he writes.

blessings in Christ Jesus, according as He had chosen that Church in Him before the foundation of the world; the object of such election being that it might be made holy and without blame before him in love; God having predestinated its members to the adoption of children (as the Jews had of old been children of God), through Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace (Eph. i. 3—6). He then proceeds to speak of the Church's blessing in having redemption through the Blood of Christ, and says, that now God has made known His hitherto hidden will, that in the dispensation of the fulness of time all things were to be collected together under one Head in Christ, both things in heaven and things on earth (vv. 9, 10). And he continues, that in Him '*we* (that is, those who have believed from among the Jews) have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to his purpose,' &c. 'In whom ye also (ye Gentile Christians) trusted, after that ye heard of the word of truth' (vv. 11—13)¹.

The Apostle next proceeds to give thanks for their conversion and faith, and to pray for their further grace and enlightenment (Eph. i. 15, ii. 10). He reminds them of their former Gentile state, when they were without Christ, and

¹ The force of the 14th verse is almost lost in our translation; its peculiarity consisting in its use and adaptation of the old Testament language to the Christian Church. The words rendered in our version, 'until the redemption of the purchased possession,' mean more likely, 'with reference to the ransom of God's peculiar people, *or*, of the people whom God hath made His own;' *εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως*. See Exod. xix. 5, 6; xxiii. 22. So the LXX. read Malachi iii. 17, where it appears prophetic of the Gentile Church. Compare the language of St. Peter, quoted in the last note but one, who calls the Church *λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν*. St. Paul, (Acts xx. 28) speaking to the Ephesians, calls them the Church of God, *ἣν περιποίησατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*. The expression appears to mean 'the people whom God made His own,' so first applied to the Jewish, afterwards to the Christian Church. See Schleusner on this word; Hammond, Rosenmüller and Macknight on Ephes. i. 14, and on 1 Pet. ii. 9.

aliens from the commonwealth of Israel (ii. 11, 12) ; and tells them, that now they are brought nigh by Christ, who hath broken down the partition wall between Jews and Gentiles, and reconciled both Jews and Gentiles to God in one body, preaching peace to the Gentiles, who were far off, and to the Jews, who were nigh (vv. 13—17). He says that they are therefore now no longer far off from God, but are made fellow-citizens of the same city, the Church, with the saints, and of the same household of God, and are built on the same foundation, and all grow together to one holy temple in the Lord (vv. 18—22). All this was a mystery, in other ages not made known, but now revealed to apostles and prophets by the Spirit, viz. that it had been part of God's eternal purpose of mercy, that Gentiles should be fellow-heirs with Jews, both members of the same body, the Church, and partakers of the same promise in Christ by the Gospel (iii. 3—6).

The Churches which the Apostles thus addressed as elect, and on which they impress the blessings and privileges of their election, are still treated by them as in a state of probation ; and their election is represented, not merely as a source of comfort, but also as full of responsibility. Thus, to the Ephesians, of whose election we find St. Paul spoke so strongly in the first chapter, he says, 'I . . . beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called' (Ephes. iv. 1). And he thenceforth continues through the whole of the remainder of the Epistle, teaching them how to live so as not to forfeit their blessings—not to be 'like children, tossed to and fro' (iv. 14)—not to 'walk henceforth as other Gentiles' (17)—not to grieve the Spirit (30)—not to be partakers with fornicators and unclean liver, who have no inheritance in God's kingdom (v. 1—7)—to 'have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness' (11)—to 'walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise' (15)—not to be 'drunk with wine, but to be filled with the Spirit' (18)—to 'put on

the whole armour of God, that they might be able to stand against the wiles of the devil,' knowing that they had a contest against wicked spirits; that so they might 'be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand' (vi. 11, 12, 13).

Just similar is his language to other Churches. Thus, the Philippians, whom he calls 'saints,' he bids to 'work out their own salvation with fear and trembling' (Phil. ii. 12; compare iii. 12—16). The Colossians, whom he speaks of as having been 'translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son,' he bids 'to put on, as the elect of God, holy and beloved,' all Christian graces (iii. 12—17); and to avoid all heathen vices (iii. 5—9); and *that*, on the very principle that they were to consider themselves as brought into a new state in Christ (iii. 9, 10). The Thessalonians, whom he tells that he 'knows their election of God' (1 Thess. i. 4), he warns against sloth and sleep (1 Thess. v. 6), urges them to put on Christian armour (v. 8, 9), exhorts them not to '*quench* the Spirit' (v. 19). And to Timothy he says of himself, that he 'endures all things for the elects' sake;' and *that*, not because the elect are *sure* of salvation, but in *order that* 'they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory' (2 Tim. ii. 10).

In exactly the same manner, St. Peter, as we have seen, addresses those to whom he writes as 'elect,' and calls them 'an elect generation,' (1 Pet. i. 2; ii. 9): but he still urges them to 'abstain from fleshly lusts,' (ii. 11); to 'pass the time of their sojourning here in fear,' (i. 17); to be 'sober and watch unto prayer,' (iv. 17); to 'give diligence to make their calling and election sure,' (2 Pet. i. 10); to 'beware lest, being led away with the error of the wicked, they fall from their own stedfastness.' (2 Pet. iii. 17).

All this is in the same spirit and tone. It is, allowing for the change of circumstances, just as the prophets addressed the

Jews. The prophets addressed the Jews, and the apostles addressed Christians, as God's chosen people, as elect, predestinated to the Church, to grace, to blessing. But then, they urge their blessings and election, as motives, not for confidence, but for watchfulness. They speak to them as having a conflict to maintain, a race to run; and they exhort them not to quench the Spirit, who is aiding them, to beware lest they fall from the steadfastness of their faith, to be sober and watch to the end.

Let us turn next to the Epistle to the Romans. In the ninth chapter more especially, St. Paul considers the question of God's rejecting the unbelieving Jews, and calling into His Church a body of persons, elected from among Jews and Gentiles. The rejection of his fellow-countrymen he himself deeply deplores; but there was a difficulty and objection arising, which he sets himself directly to solve. God had chosen Israel for His people. He had given them 'an everlasting covenant, even the sure mercies of David.' Could then the rejection of the Jews be explained consistently with God's justice, His promises and His past dealing with His people? Objections of this kind the Apostle replies to. And he does so by shewing, that God's dealings now were just as they had always been of old. Of old, He gave the promise to Abraham, but afterwards limited it to his seed in Isaac. Then again, though Esau and Jacob were both Isaac's children, He gave the privileges of His Church to the descendants of Jacob, not to those of Esau; and that, with no reference to Jacob's goodness; for the restriction of the promise was made before either Jacob or Esau were born; exactly according to those words by Malachi, where God, speaking of His calling of the Israelites, says, 'Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.' (Rom. ix. 6—13). This restriction therefore of God's promises, first to Isaac, then to Jacob, corresponded exactly with His purposes now revealed in the Gospel, viz. to bring to Christian and Church-privileges that *portion* of the Jews who embraced the Gospel, and to cast off the rest,

who were hardened in unbelief. From verse 11 to verse 19, St. Paul states an objection to this doctrine of God's election, which he replies to in verse 20. The objection He states thus, 'Shall we say then that there is injustice with God?' For the language of Scripture seems to imply that there is; God being represented as saying, 'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy,' which shews that it is of God's mercy, and not of man's will. Again, it is said to Pharaoh, 'For this cause have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee.' So that it seems to be taught us, that God shews mercy on whom He will, and hardens whom He will. It may therefore be reasonably said, why does He yet find fault with the sinner; 'for who hath resisted His will?' (ver. 14—19). This objection to God's justice the Apostle states thus strongly, that he may answer it the more fully. His reply is, that such complaints against God, for electing the Jewish people, and placing Pharaoh in an exalted station, and bearing long with his wickedness, are presumptuous and arrogant. 'Nay, but O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?' (vv. 20, 21)¹. Shall man complain, because

¹ See Jer. xviii. 2—10. 'The scriptural similitude of the potter and the clay is often triumphantly appealed to as a proof that God has from eternity decreed, and what is more, has *revealed to us*, that He has so decreed the salvation or perdition of each individual, without any other reason assigned than that such is His will and pleasure: "we are in His hands," say these predestinarians, "as clay is in the potter's, who hath power of the same lump to make one vessel to honour and another to dishonour;" not observing, in their hasty eagerness to seize on every apparent confirmation of their system, that this similitude, as far as it goes, rather makes against them; since the potter never makes any vessel for the *express purpose* of being broken and destroyed. This comparison accordingly agrees much better with the view here taken; the potter, according to his own arbitrary choice, makes "of the same lump one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour," i. e. some to nobler and

God ordained the Jews for a place of eminence in His Church, or raised Pharaoh as king of Egypt to a position of honour, and yet a position in which he would only the more surely exhibit his wickedness? We know not the secret motives of God's will. What, if the real reason of all this were, that 'God, willing to manifest His wrath and to make His power known,' as He did with Pharaoh, so now also has endured with much long-suffering the unbelieving Israelites, who are 'vessels of wrath' already 'fitted to destruction,' in order 'that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which He had afore prepared for a position of honour, even on us, who are that Church of Christ, which He hath now called not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles,' (vv. 20—24).

If we will cast aside preconceived doctrines and conventional phraseology, it will surely appear that such is the plain meaning of this memorable chapter. The Apostle is explaining the justice of God's dealings, in having long borne with the Jewish race, and now casting them off and establishing a Church composed partly of the remnant of the Jews, partly of Gentile converts. Herein He only acted as He had ever done, calling first the seed of Abraham His chosen, then the seed of Isaac, elected from the elect, and again (elected once more out of them) the seed of Jacob; and as He had borne long with Pharaoh's wickedness, that He might make him the more signal monument of His vengeance, so perhaps it was with the Jews. He had

some to meaner uses; but all for *some* use; none with the design that it should be cast away and dashed to pieces: even so the Almighty, of His own arbitrary choice, causes some to be born to wealth or rank, others to poverty and obscurity; some in a heathen and others in a Christian country; the advantages and privileges bestowed on each are various, and, as far as we can see, arbitrarily dispensed; the final rewards or punishments depend, as we are plainly taught, on the use or abuse of these advantages.'—Archbp. Whately, *Essays on the Writings of St Paul*. Essay III. on Election, an essay full of clear and thoughtful statements and elucidations.

borne long with them, partly in mercy, and partly that He might magnify His power, and shew the severity of His justice.

The same subject is kept in view, more or less, throughout the two following chapters. In the 11th he again distinctly recurs to the bringing of a portion of the Jewish race into the Church of Christ, not indeed the whole nation—but restricted again, as it once was in Isaac, and afterwards in Jacob. He instances the case in which all Israel seemed involved in one common apostasy, and yet God told Elias that there were seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Even so it was at the time of the Gospel. All Israel seemed cast off, but it was not so: a remnant remained, a remnant was called into the Church, chosen or elected into it by the grace of God. ‘Even so at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace,’ Rom. xi. 5.

We may now proceed to the passage which, even more than any of the preceding, may be considered as the stronghold either of the Calvinist or the Arminian. Both claim it as unquestionably their own. The passage is Rom. viii. 29, 30: ‘For whom He did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them He also glorified.’

The Calvinist contends that the passage plainly speaks of predestination to eternal glory; the various clauses shewing the progress, from the first purpose of God, through calling and justifying, to the final salvation of the elect soul. The Arminian replies, that, though it is true that the passage speaks of predestination to eternal glory, yet it is evidently on the ground of foreseen faith; for it begins with the words ‘whom He did foreknow;’ shewing, that His foreknowledge of their acceptance of His grace was the motive of His predestination of their glory. That the Arminian has scarcely ground for this argu-

ment seems clear from the use of the word 'foreknew' in Rom. xi. 2; where 'Hath God cast away His people whom He foreknew?' can scarcely mean otherwise than 'whom He had predestinated to be His Church of old.' But then, though it seems that the passage speaks of an *arbitrary purpose*, yet it cannot be proved to have any *direct* reference to *future* glory. The verbs are all in the *past* tense, and none in the *future*, and therefore cannot certainly be translated as *future*. Either 'whom He hath justified, them He hath glorified,' or 'whom he *justifies*, them He also *glorifies*,' would correctly render it; since the aorist expresses either a *past* or a *present*. Hence the passage was uniformly understood by the ancients as referring not to *future* glory of Christians in the world to come, but to that *present* glorification of the elect, which consists in their participation in the high honour and privilege bestowed by God upon His Church². And, as they viewed it, so grammatical accuracy will oblige us to understand it. And if so, then we must interpret the passage in correspondence with the language in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and in the chapter already considered in the Epistle to the Romans. 'Those whom God in His eternal counsels chose before the foundation of the world, His elect people, the Church, He designed to bring to great blessings and privileges; namely, conformity to the likeness of His Son, calling into His Church, justification, and the high honour and glory of being sons of God and heirs of the kingdom of heaven³.'

¹ οὓς δὲ ἐδικαίωσε, τοὺς καὶ ἐδόξασε.

² See Faber, *Prim. Doct. of Election*, who quotes from Whitby, Origen, Chrysostom, Œcumenius, Theodoret, Theophylact, pseudo-Ambrosius, and Jerome, as concurring in this interpretation of 'glorified.'

³ I have myself little doubt that this is the meaning of the passage, divested of conventional phraseology, which cramps our whole mind in these inquiries. But I should wish to guard against dogmatizing too decidedly on such passages. I think this passage, and one other (John vi. 37—39) to be the strongest passages in favour of the theory of St.

It would exceed our limits, if we were to consider all the passages bearing on this doctrine in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. The parable of the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1—16), and of the wedding feast (Matt. xxii. 1—14), evidently speak the language of ecclesiastical election, the calling of the Jews, and then the election of the halt and maimed heathen from the highways and hedges into the Christian Church¹.

In the Acts, we read of God's 'adding to the Church such as should be saved,' (τοὺς σωζομένους, those who were being saved), where the words plainly mean, that God brought into His Church those whom He chose to the privileges of a state of salvation² (Acts ii. 47).

In Acts xiii. 48, we hear of persons 'believing, as many as were ordained to eternal life,' which sounds at first much like the doctrine of Calvin. But in the first place, the word here rendered *ordained*, is no where else employed in the sense of *predestinated*; and if it is to be so interpreted here, we must perforce understand it as meaning that they were predestinated to the reception of that Gospel, which is itself the way to eternal

Augustine; and their full weight ought to be given them. Some sound and learned divines have thought that the new Testament evidently speaks of election to grace, and that most of the passages on the subject relate to this, but that there are also passages which relate to a further election out of the elect, to glory.

¹ The words, with which these two parables end, seem, at first sight, an exception to the use of the word *elect* in the Scriptures; viz. 'Many are called, but few chosen:' πολλοὶ μὲν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐλεκτοί. It is, however, merely a different application of the same term. Many are called to Christian privileges, but only those who make a good use of them are chosen to salvation. Notwithstanding, then, a different application of the word *chosen*, the principle laid down appears to be precisely the same.

² τοὺς σωζομένους. Dr. Hammond (on Luke xiii. 23, and 1 Pet. ii. 6, in which he is followed by Lowth on Isaiah i. 9, Ezek. vii. 6,) considers this expression as synonymous with the 'remnant' or 'escaped,' רֵשִׁיט, so often spoken of in the old Testament. The Syriac renders the words by ܩܝܠܝܢ ܕܥܝܠܝܢ ܕܥܥܬܐ qui salvi fiebant in costu vel ecclesia.

life, and which, if not abused, will surely lead to it. Otherwise the passage would prove, that all those who heard the Apostles and embraced the Gospel and the Church, must have been finally saved; a thing in the highest degree improbable, and wholly inconsistent with experience¹.

In the Gospel of St. John we have two or three passages, supposed to speak markedly the language of Calvinism.

1 'All that the Father giveth Me shall come to Me; and him that cometh to Me I will in no wise cast out' (John vi. 37).

2 'And this is the Father's will which hath sent Me, that of all which He hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day' (John vi. 39).

3 'Have not I *chosen* you twelve, and one of you is a devil?' (John vi. 70).

4 'My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no (man) is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand' (John x. 27—29).

5 'Because ye are not of the world, but I have *chosen* you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you' (John xv. 18).

6 'Holy Father, keep through Thine own Name those whom thou hast given Me, that they may be one, as We are. While I was with them in the world, I kept them in Thy Name: those that Thou gavest Me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the Scripture might be fulfilled' (John xvii. 11, 12).

Some of these passages, taken by themselves, undoubtedly bear a very Calvinistic aspect; especially the second and the

¹ See Hammond on this verse, and also his notes on Luke xiii. 23; 1 Pet. ii. 6.

fourth. But if we take them altogether they explain each other. The whole then seems a connected scheme. The Father gives a Church of disciples to His Son; who also Himself chooses them from the world. Those, that the Father thus gives to the Son, assuredly come to Him, and are joined unto His fellowship¹. It is not the will of God that any of these should perish. 'He willeth not the death of a sinner.' 'It is not the will of the Father that one of these little ones should perish.' Whilst our blessed Lord was on earth with His Church, He preserved and guarded it by His presence; and when He left it, He prayed the Father that He would guard and support His disciples, 'not taking them from the world, but keeping them from the evil' (John xvii. 15). The faithfulness of God is pledged to support His tempted servants, and His greatness secures them against all dangers, and assures them that none shall be able to take them out of Christ's hands. Yet that their final perseverance and salvation are not so certainly secured, as that, because they have been given to Christ, they can never at last be condemned, is evidenced by the case of Judas Iscariot, who, in the third and sixth of the above passages, is numbered with Christ's elect², and with those whom the Father had given Him; yet still is mentioned as one who, notwithstanding Christ's own presence and guidance, had fallen away and perished. He, like the rest, had been of Christ's sheep, elect to discipleship and grace; but having quenched the Spirit, and been unfaithful, he was not chosen to salvation³.

¹ Compare John x. 16: 'Other sheep I have, that are not of this fold' (Gentiles, not Jews); 'them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.'

² Compare, 'I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen,' (meaning Judas). John xiii. 18.

³ I cannot see that any force is put upon the passages from St. John by the explanation and paraphrase in the text. It seems to me that, when all are compared together, no other sense can be attached to them.

Whatever then be philosophically true concerning man's freedom and God's sovereignty and foreknowledge ; the question which is practical to us, is, How far has God revealed in His word the grounds of His dealings with us ? If the foregoing investigation has been fairly conducted, we must conclude, that the revelation, which has been given us, concerns His will and purpose to gather together in Christ a Church chosen out of the world, and that to this Church, and to every individual member of it, He gives the means of salvation. That salvation, if attained, will be wholly due to the grace of God, which first chooses the elect soul to the blessings of the baptismal covenant, and afterwards endues it with power to live the life of faith. If, on the other hand, the proffered salvation be forfeited, it will be in consequence of the fault and wickedness of him that rejects it. Much is said of God's will, that all should be saved, and of Christ's death as sufficient for all men ; and we hear of none shut out from salvation but for their own faults and demerits. More than this cannot with certainty be inferred from Scripture ; for it appears most probable that what we learn there concerns only predestination to grace, there being no revelation concerning predestination to glory.

The old Testament, our blessed Lord, St. Paul, St. Peter and St. John, and after them the earliest Christian Fathers, seem thus in perfect harmony to speak of God's election of individuals to His Church. Of any further election we cannot say that they did speak. New and more subtle questions were brought in by philosophers, like Clement and Origen, which were more fully worked out by the powerful intellect of St.

Yet, as above noted, the passages marked 1 and 2, and Romans viii. 29, 30, are the passages most favourable to the theory of St. Augustine. And it is so fearful a thing to put a strained interpretation on the words of Christ, in order to adapt them to a system, that I would not willingly err, by pressing on others those interpretations which seem to me to be undoubtedly true.

Augustine; whose contact with philosophic heretics tempted him to philosophic speculations. In later times the disputations of the schoolmen still mingled metaphysics with theology; till the acute but over-bold mind of Calvin moulded into full proportion a system which has proved the fertile source of discord to all succeeding generations. In the hands of the great Genevan divine it was not allowed to be quiet and otiose, but became the basis and groundwork of his whole scheme of theology. Much of that scheme was sound and admirable; but it was so made to bend and square itself to its author's strong view of predestination, that it lost the fair proportions of Catholic truth.

Deep learning and fervent piety have characterized many who have widely differed in these points of doctrine. It is well for us, disregarding mere human authority and philosophical discussions, to strive to attain the simple sense of the Scriptures of God. But it is not well that, when we have satisfied ourselves, we should condemn those who may disagree with us; nor, because we see practical dangers in certain doctrines, to believe that all who embrace those doctrines must of necessity fall into evil, through the dangers which attach to them. Discussions on subjects such as this do not, perhaps, so much need acuteness and subtilty as humility and charity.

ARTICLE XVIII.

*Of obtaining Eternal Salvation only
by the Name of Christ.*

THEY also are to be had accursed that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

*De speranda æterna salute tantum
in nomine Christi.*

SUNT et illi anathematizandi, qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esso servandum, modo juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate vixerit, cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

THE early fathers with great unanimity assert that salvation is only to be had through Christ, and in the Church of Christ. So Ignatius says, 'Let no one be deceived. Even heavenly beings and the glory of angels, and principalities, visible and invisible, unless they believe in the Blood of Christ, even for them is condemnation¹.' 'If any one be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God².'

Irenæus says, 'The Church is the entrance to life, all who teach otherwise are thieves and robbers³.' 'They are not par-

¹ Μηδεις πλανήσθω· καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια, καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὁρατοὶ τε καὶ ἀόρατοι, εἰ μὴ πιστεύσωσιν εἰς τὸ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κακίαις κρίσις ἐστίν.—*Ad Smyrn.* vi.

² 'Εὰν μὴ τις ἦ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἀρτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.—*Ad Ephes.* v.

³ 'Hæc (h. e. ecclesia) est enim vitæ introitus; omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones.'—*Adv. Hær.* iii. 4.

takers of the Spirit who do not come into the Church, but they defraud themselves of life¹.'

Origen says, 'Let no one deceive himself; out of this house i.e. the Church, no one is saved².'

Cyprian, in speaking of the unity of the Church, says, that 'Whoever is separated from the Church is separated from the promise of the Church; that if a man have not the Church for his mother, he has not God for his Father; and that, as to be saved from the deluge it was needful to be in the ark, so to escape now, we must be in the Church³.'

Lactantius writes that, 'if a person have not entered into, or have gone out of the Church, he is apart from salvation⁴.'

Statements in great number to the same purport might be quoted. The necessity of cleaving to Christ, of being baptized, and of belonging to the Church, are much and constantly dwelt upon; and so the rejection of baptism is often spoken of as excluding from life.

In the Recognitions of Clement, a spurious but still a very early work, we find it argued from St. Matthew, that 'if a person is not baptized, not only will he be deprived of Heaven,

¹ 'Spiritus; cujus non sunt participes omnes qui non concurrunt ad ecclesiam, sed semetipsos fraudant a vita . . . ubi enim ecclesia ibi et Spiritus Dei.'—*Ibid.* iii. 40. See the whole chapter.

² 'Nemo ergo sibi persuadeat, nemo seipsum decipiat; extra hanc domum, id est, extra ecclesiam, nemo salvatur.'—*Homil. in Jesum Nave*, iii. num. 5.

³ 'Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a premissis ecclesiæ separatur. Nec pervenit ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est. Habere jam non potest Deum Patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra arcam Noe fuit, et qui extra ecclesiam foris fuerit, evadet.'—*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*. Oxf. 1682, p. 109.

⁴ 'Sola Catholica Ecclesia est quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei, hoc templum Dei: quo si quis non intraverit, vel a quo si quis exierit, a spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est.'—Lactant. Lib. iv. c. 30; see Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 350.

but will not be without danger in the resurrection, however good his life may have been¹.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem says, 'No one can be saved without baptism except the martyrs².'

St. Gregory Nazianzen held that infants who die without baptism 'will neither be glorified, nor yet be punished³.'

And so the pseudo-Athanasius says, 'it is clear that baptized children of believers go spotless and as believers into the kingdom. But the unbaptized and heathen children neither go to the kingdom, nor yet to punishment, seeing they have not committed actual sin⁴.'

When the Pelagian controversy had arisen, the question was considerably agitated as to how far it was possible for the unbaptized to be saved. And as the Pelagians underrated baptism, their opponents naturally insisted on it more strongly.

St. Augustine, the great anti-Pelagian champion, denounces, as a Pelagian error, the opinion that unbaptized infants could be saved⁵. He denies that any can be saved without Baptism and the Eucharist⁶. The Pelagians seem to have promised to infants unbaptized a kind of mean between heaven and hell. This Augustine utterly condemns⁷; and he himself positively asserts that no one apart from the society of Christ

¹ 'Si quis Jesu Baptisma non fuerit consecutus, is non solum cœlorum regno fraudabitur, verum et in resurrectione mortuorum non absque periculo erit etiamsi bonæ vitæ et rectæ mentis prærogativa muniatur.'—Coteler. I. p. 501, c. 55; see also p. 551, c. 10.

² εἴ τις μὴ λάβῃ τὸ βάπτισμα, σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἔχει πλὴν μόνου μαρτύρου, οἱ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ὕδατος λαμβάνουσι τὴν βασιλείαν.—*Cateches.* III. 7.

³ τοὺς δὲ μῆτε δοξασθήσεσθαι, μῆτε κολασθήσεσθαι περὶ τοῦ δικαίου Κυρίου, ὡς ἀσφραγίστους μὲν, ἀπονήρους δὲ, ἀλλὰ παθόντας μᾶλλον τὴν ζημίαν ἢ δραστήοντας.—*Oratio* XL. Tom. I. p. 653. Colon.

⁴ τὰ δὲ ἀβάπτιστα καὶ τὰ ἐθνικὰ, οὔτε εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσέρχονται· ἀλλ' οὔτε πάλιν εἰς κόλασιν. ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔπραξαν.—*Quæstiones ad Antiochum*, Quæst. cxiv.

⁵ See *De Gestis Pelagii*, c. xi. Tom. x. p. 204.

⁶ *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, Tom. x. p. 15.

⁷ *De Anima et ejus origine*, c. 9, Tom. x. p. 343.

can be saved¹. Baptized infants, he says, at death passed into eternal life, unbaptized into eternal death².

In the work of the pseudo-Ambrosius, which is generally attributed to a writer of the name of Prosper, who is evidently a follower of St. Augustine, we read of some infants as regenerate to eternal life, others, unregenerate, passing to perpetual misery³.

The earlier fathers however, though, as we have seen, strongly stating that baptism, faith in Christ, union with the Church, are the only appointed means of safety, held language far less severe than St. Augustine's, on the possibility of salvation to the heathen and the unbaptized. Justin Martyr, for instance, appears to have had the notion, that ancient philosophers received some revelation from the Son of God, and so were led to oppose Polytheism⁴. Similar views must have occurred to Tertullian, who looked on Socrates as having some insight into Divine truth⁵; and thought that a kind of inspiration had reached the ancient philosophers⁶. Yet he seems to have believed the heathen generally under the dominion of the powers of darkness; and the Bishop of Lincoln thinks his opinion of the necessity of baptism must, if he had entertained the question at all, have led him to decide against the salvability

¹ *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, c. 11, Tom. x. p. 80.

² *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, c. 30, 31, Tom. x. p. 337.

³ *De Vocatione Gentium*, Lib. i. cap. 7; Lib. ii. cap. 8. Vossius attributes it to Prosper, bishop of Orleans in the sixth century, not to Prosper of Aquitaine, the disciple of St. Augustine.

⁴ Οὐ γὰρ μόνον Ἕλλησι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ λόγου (i. e. ratione) ἡλεγχθὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κληθέντος.—*Apol.* i. p. 56. *Comp. Dial.* pp. 218, 220.

⁵ *Idem* (Socrates) et quum aliquid de veritate sapiebat, deos negans,' &c.—*Apol.* c. 46.

⁶ 'Taceo de philosophis, quos superbia severitatis et duritia disciplinæ ab omni timore securos, nonnullus etiam afflatus Veritatis adversus Deos erigit.'—*Ad Nationes*, Lib. i. c. 10. See Bishop Kaye's Tertullian, pp. 174, 345.

of the heathen¹. There may, however, exist a strong persuasion of the necessity of baptism, without a decided dogmatizing on the condition of those to whom it has not been offered; and in any case on subjects so profound as this, we cannot always insist that any author shall be consistent with himself. Clement of Alexandria, whose sympathies were strong with the ancient philosophers, speaks of the Law as given to the Jews, and philosophy to the Greeks, before the coming of Christ. He considers philosophy as having borrowed much from Revelation, and thinks it was capable by God's appointment of justifying those who had no opportunity of knowing better².

This charitable hope concerning the salvability of the heathen, though naturally less entertained by divines who, like Augustine, were engaged in opposing Pelagianism, is not confined to the earliest fathers. St. Chrysostom, in commenting on St. Paul's argument in the second chapter of Romans, verse 29, evidently implies that the religious and virtuous gentile might have been saved, whilst the ungodly Jew would be condemned³. On the contrary, St. Augustine, with reference to the same passage, understood by the Gentile which does *by nature* the things of the Law, not the uninstructed heathen, but the gentile Christian, who does *by grace* the things of the Law⁴.

We have seen that Gregory Nazianzen and the pseudo-Athanasius believed in an intermediate state between Heaven and hell for heathens and infants unbaptized. In this they are

¹ See as above, p. 345.

² Ἦν μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην Ἑλλήσιν ἀναγκαία φιλοσοφία.—*Strom.* i. p. 331. φιλοσοφία δὲ ἡ Ἑλληνική, ὅλον προκαθαίρει καὶ προεθίζει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς παραδοχὴν πίστεως.—*Strom.* vii. p. 839. εἰκότως οὖν Ἰουδαίοις μὲν νόμος, Ἑλλήσι δὲ φιλοσοφία μέχρι τῆς παρουσίας, ἐπεὶ οὖν δὲ ἡ κλήσις ἡ καθολικὴ εἰς περιούσιον δικαιοσύνης λαόν.—*Strom.* vi. p. 823.

³ Chrysost. *Hom.* vi. in *Epist. ad Rom.*

⁴ *De Spiritu et Litera*, § 43, Tom. x. p. 108. *Comp. contra Julianum*, Lib. iv. 23, 24, 25, Tom. x. p. 597.

followed by Pope Innocent III., and some of the schoolmen : and no doubt out of this arose the belief in a *limbus* for those children who die before baptism and before the commission of actual sin.

To proceed to the period of the Reformation ; the Council of Trent anathematizes all who deny that baptism is necessary to salvation¹; which, however is not the same thing as deciding on the state of the unbaptized.

Among the foreign reformers, Zuinglius believed all infants and heathens might partake of God's mercies in Christ². Luther denies in plain terms remission of sins to any without the Church³. But the Lutheran Confessions do not appear to say much on this head. Calvin, though appearing to think baptism the only means whereby elect infants could be regenerate and so saved, if they died⁴, yet argues forcibly against such as consign all unbaptized infants to damnation⁵. Still he says of the visible Church, that we have no entrance into life, unless she, our Mother, conceives us in her womb ; and without her bosom is no remission of sins or salvation to be hoped for⁶.

Cranmer's Catechism was published by him, A. D. 1548. It was translated from the Latin of Justus Jonas, a Lutheran divine. Sometimes in the translation alterations were introduced by Archbishop Cranmer, or under his direction, which are peculiarly calculated to shew his own opinions. One strong passage on the subject of this Article is translated literally and with all the force of the original : ' If we should have heathen parents and die without baptism we should be damned ever-

¹ Sess. VII. Can. v. *De Baptismo*.

² See on this subject under Art. XVII.

³ *Catechismus Major*. Op. Tom. v. p. 629.

⁴ *Institut*. IV. xvi. 17.

⁵ *Ibid*. IV. xvi. 26.

⁶ ' Non alius est in vitam ingressus nisi nos ipsa (h. e. visibilis ecclesia) concipiat in utero, nisi nos pariat, &c. Extra ejus gremium nulla est operanda peccatorum remissio, nec ulla salus.'—IV. i. 4.

lastingly¹. But another passage, which cannot be considered stronger, if so strong, is left out in the translation, apparently because Cranmer was unwilling so decidedly to dogmatize on this question².

In the first Book of Homilies we read, 'If a heathen man clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and do such other like works; yet because he doth them not in faith for the honour and love of God, they be but dead, vain, and fruitless works to him. Faith it is that doth commend the work to God; for as St. Augustine saith, whether thou wilt or no, that work which cometh not of faith is naught; where the faith of Christ is not the foundation, there is no good work, what building soever we make³.'

Noel's Catechism is a work drawn up long after the putting forth of the Articles, and therefore not, like the writings of Cranmer and Ridley or the first Book of Homilies, historically calculated to elucidate the Articles; yet from the approbation it received in the reign of Elizabeth, it has been looked on as of high authority in the Church of England. Its words on this subject are:

'M. Is there then no hope of salvation out of the Church?

¹ Cranmer's *Catechism*, Oxford, 1829, p. 39 of the Latin, p. 51 of the English. See Preface, p. xvi.

² The passage is in the Latin, p. 106: 'Et ut firmiter credamus has immensas, ineffabiles, infinitas opes et thesauros veros, primitias regni celorum et vitæ æternæ, tantum in ecclesia esse, nusquam alibi, neque apud sapientes et philosophos gentium, neque apud Turcicam illam tot millium hominum colluviem, neque apud papisticam illam et titulo tenus ecclesiam inveniri.' These words are omitted in page 125 of the English; yet the following words occur in the same page: 'Without the Church is no remission of sin.' In the *Confutation of Unwritten Verities* (*Works*, Vol. iv. p. 510) Cranmer says, 'To that eternal salvation cometh no man but he that hath the Head Christ. Yea, and no man can have the Head Christ which is not in His Body the Church.'

³ First Part of *Homily on Good Works*. Compare the language of St. Augustine, *Contra Julianum*, Lib. iv. quoted under Art. XIII. Vol. i. p. 437.

A. Without it there can be nothing but damnation and death¹.

The above-cited passages shew that the English reformers strongly held the doctrine that without Christ, without baptism, apart from the Church, no salvation is offered to man, and that, if we reject them, we have no right to look for it. It might even seem that they took the strong views of St. Augustine against the salvability of the heathen or of infants unbaptized, under any circumstances. Yet there are some indications of reluctance to assume so decided a position. It has already been observed, that it is very possible to assert strongly that no other means of salvation are *offered*, that no other hope is *held out*, without determining positively that all, who are cut off from the means of grace, inevitably perish. Many of the fathers appear to have thought this a consistent view of the case. Calvin, as we have seen, denied salvation out of the visible Church, and yet would not allow that all unbaptized infants perish. And so Cranmer, though translating one strong passage from Justus Jonas, has left another out of his Catechism, probably because he would not pronounce definitely on the state of heathens and persons in ignorance.

As to the wording of the Article itself, it comes naturally and properly between the Article on God's election of persons into His Church, and the Article which defines the Church itself. It condemns that latitudinarianism, which makes all creeds and all communions alike, saying that all men may be saved in their own sect, so they shape their lives according to it, and to the law of nature. The ground, on which it protests against this view of matters, is, that the Scriptures set forth no other name but Christ's whereby we may be saved. The opinion here condemned therefore is, not a charitable hope that persons

¹ 'M. Nullane ergo salutis spes extra Ecclesiam? A. Extra eam nihil nisi damnatio, exitium atque interitus esse potest.'

who have never heard of Christ, or who have been bred in ignorance or error, may not be inevitably excluded from the benefit of His atonement ; but that cold indifference to faith and truth, which would rest satisfied and leave them in their errors, instead of striving to bring them to faith in Christ and to His body the Church, to which alone the promises of the Gospel are made, and to which by actual revelation God's mercies are annexed.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

THE teaching of the Article will be sufficiently established, if we shew :

I. That Holy Scripture sets out to us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men may be saved.

II. That salvation is therefore offered only in the Church.

III. That accordingly, we have no right to say, that men shall be saved by their own law or sect, if they be diligent to frame their life according to that law and the light of nature.

I. The first proposition appears from such passages as these, 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him' (John iii. 36).

'No man cometh unto the Father, but by me' (John xiv. 6).

'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. iii. 11).

'There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all' (1 Tim. ii. 5, 6).

'He is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world' (1 John ii. 2).

'This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life' (1 John v. 12).

Compare Mark xvi. 15, 16; John i. 29; iii. 14, 15, 17;

v. 40; x. 9; xx. 31; Acts xiii. 38; Rom. vii. 24, 25; 2 Cor. v. 18, 19; 2 Tim. i. 10; Heb. v. 9; xi. 6; xii. 2.

‘Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under Heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved’ (Acts iv. 12).

‘To Him give all the prophets witness, that through His name whosoever believeth in Him shall receive remission of sins’ (Acts x. 43).

‘Sirs, what must I do to be saved? And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house’ (Acts xvi. 31, 32).

II. The second proposition appears from this:

When our Lord had offered the propitiation, by which He became the Saviour of mankind, He commissioned His Apostles to preach the Gospel and to found the Church; and ‘He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned’ (Mark xvi. 15, 16).

Accordingly, when St. Peter’s sermon at the feast of Pentecost had produced a wonderful effect on those that heard it, so that they cried, ‘Men and brethren, what shall we do? then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins’ (Acts ii. 37, 38). And so, in like manner, whensoever persons were converted to the faith, they were at once baptized into the Church. Compare Acts viii. 12, 13, 36, 39; ix. 18; x. 47, 48; xvi. 33; xix. 5; xxii. 16, &c.

Hence, St. Peter (1 Pet. iii. 21) speaks of baptism as saving us, like the ark of Noah; for baptism places us within the Church, which, like Noah’s ark, is the place of refuge for Christ’s disciples in the flood of ungodliness around it. And St. Paul tells us, that, ‘as many as are baptized into Christ

have put on Christ' (Gal. iii. 27). And as thus, baptism, by placing us within the Church, puts us in a place of safety, a state of salvation, so it is the Church only which is said to be saved. Christ is called 'the Head of the body the Church' (Col. i. 18), and so is said to be 'the Saviour of the body' (Ephes. v. 23), of which He is the Head. He represents Himself as the Vine, and all members of His Church as branches of that Vine; and then says, 'I am the Vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without Me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered.' (John xv. 5, 6).

Again we read that 'Christ loved the *Church*, and gave Himself for it; that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church:' &c. (Ephes. v. 25, 26, 27). And accordingly, when first God's grace by the preaching of the Apostles was bringing men to Christ, and to the Christian faith, we are told that 'the Lord added unto the Church daily such as were being saved' (τοὺς σωζομένους) (Acts ii. 47).

III. As to believe in Christ, to be baptized into His Name, and incorporated into His Church, are the appointed means to salvation, so to reject Him and continue in unbelief is the way to be lost. When the Gospel was to be preached, our Lord promised that those who believed so as to be baptized should be saved, or placed in a state of salvation; but He added, 'He that believeth not shall be damned' (Mark xvi. 16). So He said of those that rejected Him, 'He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed on the Name of the only-begotten Son of God; and this is the condemnation, that Light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil' (John iii. 18, 19): 'He that rejecteth Me, and receiveth not My words, hath

one that judgeth him ; the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him at the last day' (John xii. 48). And to St. John He declared that 'the unbelieving . . . shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone' (Rev. xxi. 8).

It is unnecessary to multiply proofs, that, as there is no salvation offered but by Christ and to those who believe and are baptized in His Name, so those who reject Him shall be rejected ; and that therefore we cannot hold out the hope of salvation to those who adhere to another sect or law as though they might be saved by that, if only they lived up to its requirements. If it were necessary to add more, we might refer to those passages in which it is declared that after the Gospel was come, the Law of Moses, being done away, could never give salvation to those who lived under it, (see Rom. iii. 9, 23 ; ix. 31, 32 ; Gal. ii. 16, 21 ; iii. 21, 22 ; v. 2, 4, &c.). If the Law of Moses could not justify, a law which did come from God ; much less can we believe any other creed of man's device could be safe for any to abide in.

The question concerning the salvability of the heathen need hardly be discussed. It is quite certain that Scripture says very little about them. Its words concern and are addressed to those who can hear and read them, not to those who hear them not. The fact appears to be, that no religion but Christ's, no society but His Church, is set forth as the means of our salvation. Those who have these means proposed to them, and wilfully reject them, must expect to be rejected by Christ. Whether there be any mercy in store for those who, nursed in ignorance, have not had the offer of this salvation, has been a question ; and it is not answered in this Article. If we have some hope that they may be saved, still we must certainly conclude, *not that their own law or sect will save them*, but that Christ, who tasted death for every man, and is the propitiation

for the sins of the whole world, may have mercy on them, even though they knew Him not¹.

¹ Passages, such as Psalm ix. 17, 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God,' are brought forward as proving that all heathen nations shall be damned. On the other hand, Rom. ii. 11—16, Acts xvii. 26, 27, 30, appear to prove that it is not impossible they may be capable of salvation. No doubt the reason why so little is said about them, is, that it is impossible that what is said can reach them. 'I hold it to be a most certain rule of interpreting Scripture that it never speaks of persons, when there is a physical impossibility of its speaking to them So the heathen, who died before the word was spoken, and in whose land it was never preached, are dead to the word; it concerns them not at all; but, the moment it can reach them, it is theirs, and for them.'—Dr. Arnold's *Life and Correspondence*, Letter LXV.

ARTICLE XIX.

Of the Church.

THE visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

De Ecclesia.

ECCLESIA Christi visibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, et Sacramenta quoad ea quæ necessario exiguntur juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena; ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda, et cæremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

AFTER speaking of God's election, probably meaning thereby election to the blessings of His Church; after declaring that the promise of salvation is not to be held out to all persons of all sects and religions; the Articles proceed to define the Church itself, into which God predestinates individuals to be brought, and which is appointed as the earthly home of those who embrace the Gospel and would be saved.

A distinct definition was naturally called for at the Reformation, when great schisms were likely to arise, and when the Church of Rome claimed to be the only true Church of God, and made communion with the Pope a necessary note of the

Church. Such distinct definitions we may not always meet with in earlier times.

Ignatius calls the Church, 'the multitude or congregation that is in God¹;' says of the three orders of clergy, that 'without these there is no Church²;' and, 'whosoever the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude also be; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church³.'

Justin Martyr identifies the Church with those called Christians, partakers of the name of Christ; speaks of it as one synagogue and one assembly; and says, it is as the daughter of God⁴.

Irenæus speaks of the Church as consisting of 'those who have received the adoption; for this is the synagogue of God, which God the Son has assembled by Himself⁵. It is the Paradise of God planted in the world; and the fruits of the garden are the Holy Scriptures⁶. It is spread throughout the world, sown by Apostles and their followers, holding, from them; the one faith in the Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption, and general Judgment⁷. It is one, though universal⁸. Its Head is Christ⁹. It is a visible body, animated by one Spirit, everywhere preaching one and the same faith, one and the same way of salvation¹⁰. The tradition, or doctrine of the Apostles is

¹ τὸ ἐν Θεῷ πλήθος.—*Trall.* 8.

² χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.—*Ibid.* 3.

³ ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλήθος ἔστω· ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ ἡ Χριστός· ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.—*Smyrn.* 8.

⁴ Ὅτι τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν, ὥς οὐσι μὴ ψυχῇ καὶ μὴ συναγωγῇ, καὶ μὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥς θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ γενομένη, καὶ μετασχούσῃ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ (Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ πάντες καλούμεθα), κ. τ. λ.—*Dial.* p. 287.

⁵ *Hær.* III. 6.

⁶ v. 20.

⁷ I. 2 (where the faith of the Church is given nearly in the words of the Creed) v. 20.

⁸ I. 3. III. 11. v. 20.

⁹ III. 18. v. 18.

¹⁰ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρεληφνῦα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, ὥς προέφημεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὥς ἑνα ὁκόν δικοῦσα, καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις ὥς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν

carefully preserved in the Church, and the succession of pastors and bishops from the Apostles¹. He says, the successors of the first bishops might be enumerated in many Churches; and singles out more particularly the Churches of Rome and Smyrna, giving a catalogue of the bishops of Rome from St. Peter and St. Paul².

Tertullian speaks of the Church as composed of all the Churches founded by Apostles, or offsprings of Apostolic Churches, and living in the unity of the same faith and discipline³.

The Church, according to Clement of Alexandria, is the assembly of the elect; the congregation of Christian worshippers⁴, the devout Christians being, as it were, the spiritual life of the body of Christ⁵, the unworthy members being like the carnal part⁶.

Origen says, the Church is the body of Christ, animated by the Son of God, the members being all who believe in Him⁷. The visibility of the Church he expresses, by saying, that we should give no heed to those who say 'There is Christ,' but shew Him not in the Church, which is full of brightness from the East to the West, and is the pillar and ground of the truth⁸.

ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἐν στόμα κεκτημένη.—Lib. I. cap. 3; also Lib. v. cap. 20.

¹ Lib. III. cap. 3.

² Ibid.

³ *De Præscript. Hæretic.* 20, 21.

⁴ Οὐ γὰρ τὸν τόπον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ.—*Strom.* VII. p. 846.

⁵ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων. 'The congregation of those who dedicate themselves to prayer.'—*Strom.* VII. p. 848.

⁶ Σῶμα δὲ ἀλληγορεῖται ἡ ἐκκλησία Κυρίου, ὁ πνευματικὸς καὶ ἅγιος χορὸς· ἐξ ὧν οἱ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπικεκλημένοι μόνον, βιοῦντες δὲ οὐ κατὰ λόγον, σάρκες εἰσὶ.—*Strom.* VII. p. 885.

⁷ Λέγομεν ὅτι Σῶμα Χριστοῦ φασὶν εἶναι οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι, ὑπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ψυχούμενον, τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, μέλη δὲ τούτου τοῦ Σώματος εἶναι ὡς ὅλου τοὺς δὲ τινὰς τοὺς πιστεύοντας.—*Contra Celsum*, VI. 48.

⁸ 'Non debemus attendere eis qui dicunt, Ecce hic Christus, non autem

Cyprian calls the Church the Mother of all the children of God; compares it to the ark of Noah, in which all, who would be saved, should take refuge; and says that, whilst it puts forth its rays through all the world, yet it is but one light¹.

Athanasius we find speaking of Christ as the foundation of the Church²; and of unfaithful Christians, as the tares among the good seed³.

Cyril of Jerusalem says, The Church is called *Ecclesia* (assembly), because it calls out and assembles together all; just as the Lord says, 'Assemble all the congregation to the door of the tabernacle of witness' (Lev. viii. 3). The Church is called Catholic, because it is throughout all the world; because it teaches universally all truth; because it brings all classes of men into subjection to godliness; because it cures all spiritual diseases, and has all sorts of spiritual graces. It is distinguished from sects of heretics, as the Holy Catholic Church, in which we ought to abide, as having been therein baptized⁴.

Gregory Nazianzen calls it the Vineyard, into which all are summoned as to their place of work, as soon as they are brought to the faith; into which, however, they actually enter by baptism⁵. St. Ambrose says, The faith is the foundation of

ostendunt Eum in Ecclesia, quæ plena est fulgore ab oriente usque ad occidentem, quæ plena est lumine vero, quæ est columna et firmamentum veritatis.'—*Comm. in Matthæ.* c. xxiv. See Palmer *On the Church*, Vol. 1. part i. ch. iii.

1 'Ecclesia Domini luce perfusa per orbem totum radios suos porrigit, unum tamen lumen est.... Habere jam non potest Deum Patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra arcam Noe fuit; et qui extra ecclesiam foris fuerit, evadet,' &c.—*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, pp. 108, 109, Fell.

2 *Contra Arian.* III. p. 444, Colon.

3 *De Sementis*, p. 1064.

4 *Cateches.* xviii. 11, which see at length.

5 *Oratio Quadragesima*, p. 650, Colon.

the Church; not St. Peter, but St. Peter's faith; for the Church is like a good ship beat against by many waves; but the true faith, on which the Church is founded, should prevail against all heresies¹.

As the remains of the great fathers, who flourished late in the fourth and early in the fifth century, are far more voluminous than those of their predecessors; so also the increase of heresies and especially the schism of the Donatists, led to their speaking oftener and more fully of the Church and its blessings; and this is observable more in the Latin than in the Greek writers.

With Chrysostom, the Church is Christ's Body, and the thought of this ought to keep us from sin. And though the Head is above all principality and power, yet the body is trampled on by devils—so unworthy are members of Christ². This body consists of all believers, some honourable, some dishonourable members³. It is both one and yet many; and the regenerating Spirit is given to all in baptism⁴.

With Ruffinus, the true Church is that in which there is one faith, one baptism, and a belief in the one God, Father, Son and Spirit; and the Church, thus pure in the faith, is spotless⁵.

With Jerom and Augustine, the Church is the ark of Noah, which St. Peter said was a type of our salvation by baptism. But, as there were evil beasts in the ark, so bad Christians in the Church⁶. The meaning of *Church* (*Ecclesia*)

¹ 'Fides ergo est Ecclesiæ fundamentum. Non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt: sed confessio vincit infernum. Nam cum Ecclesia multis tanquam bona navis fluctibus sæpe tundatur, adversus omnes hæreses debet valere Ecclesiæ fundamentum.'—*De Incarnationis Sacramento*, cap. 7.

² Hom. III. in *Epist. ad Ephes.*

³ Hom. X. in *Ephes.*

⁴ Hom. XXX. in 1 *Corinth.*

⁵ *Expositio in Symbolum Apostol.* Art. *Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam.*

⁶ Hieronym. *Adv. Lucifer.* Epist. 78. Tom. II. pp. 195, 196; August. *Enarr. in Psalm.* xxiv. Tom. IV. p. 131.

is, according to Jerom, *congregation*¹. It is not held together by walls, but by the truth of its doctrines. And where the true faith is, there is the Church². Its Head is in heaven, but its members upon earth³. It is built on prophets and apostles⁴; and there is no Church without a priesthood⁵.

Augustine says, 'The Church (*Ecclesia*) is so named from vocation or calling⁶.' It is the New Jerusalem⁷; the Robe of Christ⁸; the City of the Great King⁹; the City of God¹⁰. It is the field of God¹¹; in which, however, spring both tares and wheat¹². It is not only visible, but bright and conspicuous. It is a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid¹³. It may be as clearly known, and as certainly recognized, as was the risen Body of Christ by St. Thomas¹⁴. The Church below consists of all believers; the Church above, of the angels of heaven¹⁵. The Church is not all pure, and free from stain; the just are mingled with the unjust¹⁶. The Church indeed now is washed with water by the word (Eph. v. 16); yet not to be 'without

¹ *Comment. Lib. III. in Proverb. c. xxix.*; *Ecclesia enim congregatio vocatur. Tom. VIII. p. 263. Paris. 1602.*

² '*Ecclesia non parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate; Ecclesia ibi est, ubi fides vera est.*'—*Comm. in Psalm. cxxxiii. Tom. VII. p. 388.*

³ '*Caput in cœlo, membra in terra.*'—*Ps. xc. Tom. VII. p. 271.*

⁴ *Comment. in Ps. xvii. Tom. VII. p. 57; Comm. in Ps. cii. Tom. VII. p. 300.*

⁵ '*Ecclesia non autem, quæ non habet sacerdotes.*'—*Cont. Lucifer. Epist. 78, Tom. II. p. 195.*

⁶ '*Ecclesia ex vocatione appellata.*'—*In Epist. ad Roman. Inchoata Expositio, Tom. III. Part. II. p. 925.*

⁷ *De Civitate Dei, Tom. VII. p. 594.*

⁸ *Ibid. p. 452.*

⁹ *Ibid. p. 479.*

¹⁰ *Ibid. pp. 335, 510.*

¹¹ *Enarr. in Ps. cxxxiv. Tom. IV. p. 1497.*

¹² *Serm. xv. de 8 v. Psalm. xxv. Tom. V. p. 89; Serm. cxxiii. In Vigilis Paschæ, Tom. V. p. 967.*

¹³ *Enarr. in Psalm. lvii. Tom. IV. p. 547; Serm. xxxvii. De Proverb. cap. xxxi. Tom. V. p. 181.*

¹⁴ *Enarr. in Ps. cxlvii. Tom. IV. p. 1664.*

¹⁵ '*Ecclesia deorsum in omnibus fidelibus, Ecclesia sursum in angelis.*'—*Enarr. in Psalm. cxxxvii. Tom. IV. p. 1527.*

¹⁶ *De Civitate Dei, I. 35; xviii. 48, 49; Tom. VII. pp. 30, 531.*

spot or wrinkle' (Eph. v. 25), till the Resurrection¹. After the Resurrection, the bad members shall be taken away, and there shall be none but the good². No doubt, baptism cleanses those who receive it from all sin; but after baptism fresh sins may be committed; and therefore, from that to the Judgment, there is constant need of remission³. So essential are the Sacraments to the existence of the Church, that Augustine says the Church is formed by the two Sacraments, which flowed from the side of Christ, just as Eve was formed out of the side of Adam, who was a type of Christ⁴.

It naturally strikes us, that the above and similar statements of the fathers concerning the Church are not, for the most part, of the nature of logical definitions. They are essentially practical, and even devotional in their character. Yet by comparing them together, we may find that the very definitions of our own Article are implicitly given by them. Thus we have heard their teaching—that the Church is a visible body, capable of being known and recognized—that the very word Church means congregation—that it is a congregation of believers, or of the faithful—that its great support and characteristic is the true faith preserved by it—that baptism admits to it—that it is essential to its existence to have a rightly ordained ministry, who are able to minister the Sacraments—which Sacraments are even spoken of as forming the Church⁵.

¹ *De Perfectione Justitiae*, Tom. x. p. 183.

² *Serm. cclii. In Diebus Pasch.* Tom. v. p. 1041.

³ *De Gestis Pelagii*, Tom. x. p. 206.

⁴ 'Quod latus lancea percussus in terra sanguinem et aquam manat; procul dubio sacramenta sunt quibus formatur Ecclesia, tanquam Eva facta de latere dormientis Adam, qui erat forma futuri.'—*Serm. ccxix. cap. 14, In Vigiliis Paschæ*, Tom. v. p. 962. The same idea is expressed by St. Chrysostom, *Homil. in Johan.* 85, Tom. II. p. 915. See under Art. XXV.

⁵ When St. Augustine says the Church is formed by the Sacraments, he means that we are first joined to the Church by baptism, and preserved in spiritual life and church-communion by the Eucharist.

The Creeds do not exactly define, but give titles to distinguish the Church. The Apostles' Creed calls it the Holy Catholic Church; and the Constantinopolitan Creed calls it One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic. Its *unity* depends on unity of foundation, unity of faith, unity of baptism, unity of discipline, unity of communion. Its *holiness* springs from the presence of Christ, the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, the graces conferred upon its members by partaking of its Sacraments and living in its communion. Its *apostolicity* results from its being built on the foundation of Apostles and prophets, continuing in the doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles, holding the faith of the Apostles, governed and ministered to by a clergy deriving their succession from the Apostles.

The designation *Catholic*, used in all the Creeds and throughout the writings of the fathers, originated probably in the universality of the Christian Church as distinguished from the local nationality of the Jewish synagogue. The same Christian Church, one in its foundation, in its faith, and in its Sacraments, was spread universally through all nations. But as sects and heresies separated by degrees from the one universal Church, forming small and distinct communions among themselves, the term *Catholic*, which at first applied to all who embraced the religion of Jesus, was afterwards used to express that one holy Church which existed through all the world, undivided, and intercommunicating in all its branches, as contradistinguished from heretics and schismatics. Hence *Catholic*, in one view of the term, became nearly identified with orthodox. And so, whilst the one Catholic Church meant the true Church throughout the world, yet the true and sound Church in a single city would be called the Catholic Church of that city¹, its members would be called Catholic Christians, and the faith,

¹ Thus Constantine writes to the Church of Alexandria: 'Constantine the Great, Augustus, to the people of the Catholic Church of Alexandria.'—See Athanasii *Opera*, i. 772, 773, 779; Colon. Suicer, ii. 14.

which they held in common with the universal Church, was the Catholic faith. Accordingly St. Cyril admonishes his people, that, if ever they sojourned in any city, it was not sufficient to inquire for the Church, or the Lord's house; for Marcionists and Manichees, and all sorts of heretics, professed to be of the Church, and called their places of assembly the House of the Lord; but they ought to ask, Where is the Catholic Church? For this is the peculiar name of the Holy Body, the Mother of us all, the Spouse of the Lord Jesus Christ¹.

The unity and catholicity of the Church were imminently perilled by the schism of the East and West, when the entire Latin Church ceased to communicate with the entire Eastern Church. From that time to this there has been no communion between them; though possibly neither branch has utterly rejected the other from a share in the unity of the Church and of the faith².

The gradual corruption in the Western Church perilled still further unity and catholicity. The unity of communion was preserved through the West of Europe; but important points of faith and practice were corrupted and impaired. Hence the many protests and divisions in Germany, England, and other parts of Europe, ending in that great disruption, known as the general Reformation.

At that period, some even of those who were sensible of the corruptions, felt that to adhere to the communion of Rome was essential, if they would abide in the fellowship of the Apostles and the unity of the Catholic Church. Others, as Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, held that sound faith and purity of doctrine were more essential to catholicity, than undivided communion even with the bishops and existing Church of their own land; arguing that a Church could not be Catholic,

¹ Catechos. xviii. 12.

² On this subject consult Palmer, *On the Church*, Vol. i. Part i. ch. ix. Sect. 2.

which did not soundly hold the Catholic faith, and duly administer the holy Sacraments. Luther indeed never wished to separate from the Church, but ever appealed to a true general council; and the Confession of Augsburg declared, that the Lutherans differed in no Article of faith from the Catholic Church¹, holding that the Churches ought *jure divino* to obey their bishops. Bishops, it is said, might easily retain their authority, if they would not command things contrary to good conscience. All that was sought was that unjust burdens should not be imposed, which were novel, and contrary to the custom of the Catholic Church².

Our own reformers had a less difficult part to play, for though, in order to return to primitive purity of faith, they were obliged to separate from most of the continental Churches, they were themselves, for the most part, the bishops and clergy of the national Church; and there was therefore no internal secession from the jurisdiction of the Episcopate, though there was necessary alienation from the great body of the Church.

In this unhappy state of things, the Church which remained in communion with Rome arrogated to itself the name (too often since conceded to it) of the Catholic Church; maintaining that she was the one true Church, from which all others had separated off—that communion with the see of St. Peter was essential to the unity, catholicity, and to the very existence of the Church, and that all who were separated from that communion were heretics and schismatics.

This led naturally to definitions of the Church on the part of the reforming clergy and the reformed Churches. The VIIth Article of the Confession of Augsburg is evidently the origin of the XIXth Article of our own Church. There we find it said that, 'There is one Holy Church to abide for

¹ *Confess. August.* A.D. 1531, Art. xxi. *Sylloge*, p. 133.

² *Syll.* p. 157. See also Palmer, Vol. i. Part i. ch. xii. § 1, p. 361.

ever. And the Church is a congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administered¹.'

Luther, in commenting on the Article in the Creed concerning the Holy Catholic Church, says, 'Church, or *Ecclesia*, means properly the congregation or communion of Christians:' and expounds that article of the Creed thus, 'I believe that there is a certain congregation and communion of saints on earth, gathered together of holy men under one Head, Christ; collected by the Holy Spirit, in one faith and one sentiment, adorned with various gifts, but united in love, and accordant in all things, without sects or schism....Moreover, in this Christianity we believe that remission of sins is offered, which takes place by means of the Sacraments and absolution of the Church².'

Calvin defines the Visible Church as 'the multitude of men diffused through the world, who profess to worship one God in Christ; are initiated into this faith by baptism; testify their unity in true doctrine and charity, by participating in the Supper; have consent in the Word of God, and for the preaching of that Word maintain the ministry ordained of Christ³.'

The English reformers have given, in works of authority, some definitions of the Visible Church besides that contained in this Article. The second part of the Homily for Whitsunday (set forth early in Elizabeth's reign, therefore, after the Articles of 1552, but before the final sanction of the XXXIX Articles by the Convocation of 1562 and 1571) gives the following, as the notes of the Church: 'The true Church is an universal

¹ *Conf. August. Art. vii. Sylloge*, p. 125, also p. 171.

² *Catechismus Major. Opera*, Tom. v. p. 628.

³ 'Universalem hominum multitudinem in orbe diffusam quæ unum se Deum et Christum colere profitetur: Baptismo initiatur in Ejus fidem: cœnæ participatione unitatem in vera doctrina et caritate testatur: consensionem habet in verbo Domini atque ad ejus prædicationem ministerium conservat a Christo institutum.'—*Institut. Lib. I. s. 7.*

congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone, Ephes. ii. And it hath always these notes or marks, whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the Sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline.'

Very similar are the statements of the Catechism of Edward VI. A.D. 1553, the year after the first draught of the Articles. 'The marks of the Church are, first, pure preaching of the Gospel: then brotherly love: thirdly, upright and uncorrupted use of the Lord's Sacraments, according to the ordinance of the Gospel: last of all, brotherly correction and excommunication, or banishing those out of the Church that will not amend themselves. This mark the holy fathers termed discipline¹.'

Noel's Catechism also enumerates, first, sound doctrine and right use of the Sacraments, and then the use of just discipline².

Bishop Ridley gave a definition exactly conformable to the above: 'The holy Catholic or universal Church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of God, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this Church I believe, according to the Creed: this Church I do reverence and honour in the Lord. The marks whereby this Church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these—the sincere preaching of God's Word; the due administration of the Sacraments; charity; and faithful observance of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the Word of God³.'

The difference, which strikes us between these definitions

¹ *Enchirid. Theologium*, Vol. i. p. 26.

² *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 276.

³ Conferences between Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, Ridley's *Works*, Parker Society edition, p. 123.

and that of the Article is, that in them there is added to the notes in the Article, 'the observance of ecclesiastical discipline,' or, as the Homily terms it, of 'the ecclesiastical keys.' Now it is probable that the compilers of the Articles, who elsewhere made this use of the keys one note of the Church, omitted it in the Article itself, as considering that it was implied in the due administration of the Sacraments. For what is the power of the keys and the observance of discipline, but the admission of some to, and the rejection of others from, the Sacraments and blessing of the Church? Where, therefore, the Sacraments are duly ministered, there too discipline must exist¹.

It may be right to say something of the *invisible* Church. The Article says nothing of the *invisible* Church; but as it uses the term '*visible* Church,' it implies a contradistinction to something invisible. Now '*invisible Church*' is not a Scriptural term, but a term of comparatively late origin; and there are two different views of its meaning. Some persons by it understand the saints departed, who, in Paradise or the unseen place (Hades), are no longer militant and visible, but form part of the true Church of God—the Church in fact in its purified and beatified condition, freed from its unsound members, and 'without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.'

Others, however (and the Reformers were mostly of this opinion), believed, that within the visible Church we might conceive to exist a body of true saints, persons not only communicating with the outward Church, but, moreover, really sanctified in heart, who not only now partook of Church-privileges, but

¹ The definition of the Church by the Roman Catholic divines does not materially differ from those of the Reformers, except in one important point. Bellarmine gives it as follows: '*Nostra sententia est ecclesiam unam tantum esse, non duas, et illam unam et veram esse cœtum hominum ejusdem Christianæ fidei professione et eorundem sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac præcipue unius Christi in terris Vicarii Romani pontificis.*'—*Controvers. General.* Tom. II. p. 108, Lib. III. *De Ecclesia*, c. 2.

would for ever reign with Christ. These formed the invisible Church, whom none knew but God; whereas the visible Church was composed of faithful and unfaithful, of tares and wheat¹.

It is however certain, that the Article confines itself to the consideration of the visible Church, and gives us no authoritative statement concerning the invisible Church. And, indeed, the reformers themselves vary considerably in their statements on the subject, though the sad corruptions in the visible Church in their days led them naturally to apply some of the promises in Scripture to a secret body, and not to the universal Church. There does not appear anything in the Liturgy or formularies of the Church, which specially alludes to this distinction of the visible and invisible Church. The Church spoken of there, is the Body of Christ, the ark of Christ's Church, and still the congregation of all who profess and call themselves Christians, the congregation of Christian people dispersed through the world, built on the foundation of Apostles and prophets, the blessed company of all faithful people, into which a child is incorporated by baptism, of fellowship with which the adult is assured by communion, and for all members of which we pray that they may be led into the way of truth, and so walk in the light of truth, that at last they may attain to the light of everlasting life. And so we pray 'for all estates of men in God's Holy Church, that

¹ Calvin expounds this doctrine at length, *Inst.* Lib. iv. cap. i. It may be seen in the writings of the English Reformers, e. g. *The Institution of a Christian Man*. See *Formularies of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII.* p. 52; Edward VI. Catechism; *Enchir. Theol.* p. 24; Noel's Catechism, *Ibid.* p. 272; Cranmer's *Works*, Vol. III. p. 19; Ridley's *Works*, p. 126.

The fathers do not appear to have recognized this distinction, although in St. Augustine and some others there are frequent and evident allusions to the difference of the body of the really faithful and the mere outward communion of the Church. St. Augustine mentions it as an error of the Pelagians, that they looked on the Church as composed of perfectly holy persons, *Hæres.* 88. And afterwards, Calvin attributes the same opinion to the Anabaptists, *Inst.* iv. 1, 13.

every member of the same, in his vocation and ministry, may truly and godly serve Him¹,’ that is, may be faithful, not unworthy members of the Body.

II. The latter part of the Article concerns the errors of one portion of the Church, the Church of Rome.

The Church of Rome claimed to be the whole Catholic Church. Here we declare our belief that she is but one branch

¹ Collect for Good Friday.

The following are the other principal expressions in the Liturgy and Prayers concerning the Church:—

‘That it may please Thee to rule and govern Thy holy Church universal in the right way,’ &c. (Litany). ‘More especially we pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church, that it may be so guided and governed by Thy good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth,’ &c. (Prayer for all Conditions of Men). ‘Who hast purchased to Thyself an universal Church by the precious Blood of Thy dear Son....Who of Thy Divine Providence hast appointed divers orders in Thy Church’ (Prayers for Ember Weeks). ‘Merciful Lord, we beseech thee to cast Thy bright beams of light upon Thy Church, that it being enlightened by the doctrine of Thy blessed Apostle and Evangelist St. John, may so walk in the light of Thy truth that it may at length attain to the light of everlasting life’ (Collect for St. John’s day). ‘O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical Body of Thy Son Christ our Lord’ (Collect for All Saints). ‘O Almighty God, who hast built Thy Church upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone’ (Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude). The Prayer ‘for the whole state of Christ’s Church militant here in earth’ is a prayer for all states of men, kings and councils, bishops and curates, all the people in health or sickness. The first prayer for the child to be baptized asks, ‘that he, being delivered from Thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ’s Church.’ And after the baptism we thank God that He hath ‘incorporated him into His holy Church.’ So in the Post-communion, we thank God for feeding us in the Sacrament, thereby assuring us that we are very members incorporate in the mystical Body of His Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people.’ In the bidding prayer ministers are enjoined to move the people to join them in prayer in this form: ‘Ye shall pray for Christ’s holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland,’ &c. (Canon 55).

or portion of the Catholic Church, and that an erring branch, erring not only in practice and discipline, but in matters of faith. This is illustrated by reference to the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, all of which are said to have erred in doctrine as well as discipline; and, like them, the Church of Rome is said to have erred. In what points Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch may be considered as having erred in matters of faith, is a question which has been mooted by expositors of this Article. Dr. Hey thinks it was in favouring Arianism and condemning Origen. The great point, on which the Western Church separated from the Eastern, was the doctrine of the Procession of the Third Person of the Trinity. It was an acknowledged fact in the West, that on this point the Eastern Churches had erred. When therefore the Article, writing in condemnation of errors in the Church of Rome, speaks first of the errors of the Eastern Churches, perhaps it specially alludes to that point, in which the Church of Rome would hold, in common with the Church of England, that these Churches had erred. So the statement would be a kind of *argumentum ad hominem*, a premiss sure to be granted. But this part of the Article is directed against Romanist, not against Eastern or Alexandrian errors, which are only introduced *obiter*. Some might expect the Article to have denounced the Church of Rome, not as a Church in error, but as the Synagogue of Antichrist, an antichristian assembly, not an erring Church. No doubt, at times such is the language of the reformers, who, in their strong opposition to Romanist errors, often use the most severe terms in denouncing them. But in their most sober and guarded language, not only our own, but Luther, Calvin, and other continental reformers, speak of the Church of Rome as a Church, though a fallen and corrupt Church.

Thus Luther says, 'We call the Church of Rome holy, and the bishops' sees holy, though they be perverted and their

bishops impious. In Rome, though worse than Sodom and Gomorrha, there are still Baptism and the Sacrament, the Gospel, the Scripture, the ministry, the name of Christ and God. Therefore the Church of Rome is holy.' 'Wherever,' he adds, 'the Word and Sacraments substantially remain, there is the holy Church, notwithstanding Antichrist reigns there, who, as Scripture witnesseth, sits not in a stable of demons, or a pigsty or an assembly of infidels, but in the most noble and holy place, even the temple of God¹'.

Calvin writing to Lælius Socinus, maintains the validity of Popish baptism, and says, that he does not deny some remains of a Church to the Papists². In another epistle to the same he writes, 'When I allow some remains of a Church to the Papists, I do not confine it to the elect who are dispersed among them; but mean, that some ruins of a scattered Church exist there; which is confirmed by St. Paul's declaration, that Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God³'.

As to the writings of our reformers, to begin with the reign of Henry VIII., the *Institution of a Christian Man* has, 'I do believe that the Church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called the true Catholic Church, but only a particular member thereof'. . . . 'and I believe that the said Church of Rome, with all the other particular Churches in the world, compacted and united together, do make and constitute but one Catholic Church or body⁴.' So the *Necessary Doctrine*, 'The Church of Rome, being but a several Church, challenging that name of *Catholic* above all other, doeth great wrong to all other

¹ *Comment. in Galat. i. 2*; Opp. Tom. v. p. 278, 279.

² Calv. *Zosim. Epistolæ*, p. 51, Amstelod. 1667.

³ 'Quod ecclesiæ reliquias manere in papatu dico, non restringo ad electos qui illic dispersi sunt: sed ruinas dissipatæ ecclesiæ illic extare intelligo. Ac ne mihi longis rationibus disputandum sit, nos Pauli auctoritate contentos esse decet, qui Antichristum in templo Dei sessurum pronunciat.'—*Epist.* p. 57. See also *Institut.* iv. 11, 12.

⁴ *Formularies of Faith*, p. 56.

Churches, and doeth only by force and maintenance support an unjust usurpation¹.'

In Cranmer's Catechism, after a denunciation of the great sin of worshipping images of the saints, it is said; 'Thus, good children, I have declared how we were wont to abuse images; not that I herein condemn your fathers, who were men of great devotion, and had an earnest love towards God, although their zeal in all points was not ruled and governed by true knowledge; but they were seduced and blinded, partly by the common ignorance that reigned in their time, partly by the covetousness of their teachers²;' &c. Here the members of the Church before the Reformation are spoken of as pious, though ignorant and misled. So Cranmer frequently charges popery, not on the people, but on the Pope and the friars who deluded them³. In his appeal at his degradation, he says, 'Originally the Church of Rome, as it were the lady of the world, both was and also was conceited worthily, the mother of other Churches.' He then proceeds to speak of corruptions introduced into the Roman, and afterwards into other Churches, 'growing out of kind into the manners of the Church their mother;' he says, there is no hope of reformation from the Pope, and therefore from him appeals to a 'free general council' of the whole Church: and adds, that he is 'ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy Catholic Church⁴.'

So then, although the English, like the foreign reformers, frequently called the papal power Antichrist, the Man of sin, the Beast, &c., deplore and condemn the idolatrous state of the Church before the Reformation, and of the Church which con-

¹ p. 247.

² *Catechism*, pp. 26, 27.

³ *Works*, Vol. III. p. 365. 'I charge none with the name of papists but that be well worthy thereof. For I charge not the hearers, but the teachers, not the learners, but the inventors of the untrue doctrine.'

⁴ *Works*, IV. pp. 125, 126, 127.

tinue in union with Rome after the Reformation ; and in consequence often use language which appears to imply that the Church of Rome was no true Church at all, still they often speak, as this Article does, of the Church of Rome as yet a Church, though a corrupt, degenerate, and erring Church. Accordingly, the XXXth Canon declares ; ‘ So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things that they held or practised, that, as the *Apology of the Church of England* confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men ; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders.’

The tone and temper of the Church of England appears therefore to be that of a body earnestly and stedfastly protesting against Romanism, against all the errors, abuses and idolatries of the Church of Rome, and the usurpation of the See of Rome ; but yet acknowledging that, with a fearful amount of error, the Churches of the Roman communion are still branches, though corrupt branches, of the universal Church of Christ.

The divine, who has been most commonly considered as the most accredited exponent of the principles of the Church of England, thus speaks in her behalf : ‘ In the Church of Christ we were (i. e. before the Reformation), and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none, but only such as we see in Judah ; which, having sometime been idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition....The indisposition of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God ; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform

our duty. Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held, and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God (Rom. xi. 28); in like sort with Rome we dare not communicate touching her grievous abominations, yet, touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ¹.

This is not the language of one great man; but most consistent with it have been the sentiments of almost all those eminent writers of our Church, who are known and revered as the great types of Anglican piety, learning, and charity². It is infinitely to be desired that there should be no relaxation of our protest against error and corruption; but the force of a protest can never be increased by uncharitableness or exaggeration. Let Rome throw off her false additions to the Creed, and we will gladly communicate with her; but, so long as she retains her errors, we cannot but stand aloof, lest we should be partakers of her sins.

¹ Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* III. 1, 10.

² The student may consult Palmer, *On the Church*, ch. xi. where he will find quotations from Bp. Hall, Archbp. Usher, Hammond, Chillingworth, Field, &c.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

THE word ἐκκλησία, rendered Church, should, according to its derivation, signify persons called out from among others for some purpose. At Athens, the *Ecclesia* was the general assembly of the people, convened by the crier for legislation. In the old Testament, the word is often used by the LXX to translate the Hebrew קָהָל, which commonly expresses the assembly or congregation of the people of Israel¹. Accordingly, when adopted in the new Testament it is used to signify the whole assembly, or congregation of the people of God under the Gospel, as it had been before to signify the congregation of the people of God under the Law. And as συναγωγή, *Synagogue*, was the more frequent word for the congregation of the Jews, so perhaps our Lord and His Apostles adopted, by preference and for distinction's sake, the word ἐκκλησία, *Church*, for the congregation of Christians.

1 Now it is well known and obvious that the word *Congregation*, as read in the old Testament, not only meant an assembly of people gathered together at a special time for worship, but was constantly used to express the whole body of worshippers, the whole people of Israel, the congregation which the Lord had purchased (*s. g.* Ex. xii. 19; Lev. iv. 15; Num. xvi. 3, 9, xxvii. 17; Josh. xxii. 18, 20; Judg. xxi. 13, 16; Ps. lxxiv. 2).

¹ קָהָל is often rendered ἐκκλησία, as Deut. ix. 10; xviii. 16; Judges xxi. 8; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Chron. vii. 8, 12; often it is rendered συναγωγή, as Exod. xvi. 1—3; Lev. iv. 13, 14, 21; Num. xvi. 3; xx. 6. In Psalm xxii. 22. 'In the midst of the *Congregation* will I praise Thee,' is rendered by the Apostle, 'In the midst of the *Church* will I praise Thee' (Heb. ii. 12.) So St. Stephen speaks of 'the Church in the wilderness' (Acts vii. 38), meaning the congregation of the Israelites.

This too, *mutatis mutandis*, is the ordinary acceptation of the word *Church* in the new Testament. It applies to the society of Christians, to those who believe in Christ, to those who live in Christian fellowship, and partake of Gospel privileges. For example: 'Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God' (1 Cor. x. 32)¹. 'On this rock I will build My Church' (Matt. xvi. 18). 'Saul made havoc of the Church' (Acts viii. 3). 'Persecuted the Church of God' (1 Cor. xv. 9). 'The Lord added to the Church such as should be saved' (Acts ii. 47). 'Fear came on all the Church' (Acts v. 11). 'The Church is subject unto Christ' (Eph. v. 24). 'God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily prophets,' &c. (1 Cor. xii. 28).

2 But it also signifies the Church, or body of Christians in a particular town or country. Thus we read of 'the Church which was at Jerusalem' (Acts viii. 1); 'the Church which was at Antioch' (Acts xiii. 1); 'the elders of the Church at Ephesus' (Acts xx. 17); 'the Church of God which is at Corinth' (1 Cor. i. 2. Compare Rom. xvi. 2, 4; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; Col. iv. 16; Rev. ii., iii., &c. &c.)

3 It is used even for a single family of Christians, or a single congregation meeting for worship, as the first Christians did, in a private house, *e.g.* 'Priscilla and Aquila, and the Church that is in their house' (Rom. xvi. 5, 1 Cor. xvi. 19); 'Nymphas and the Church which is in his house' (Col. iv. 15); 'The Church in thy house' (Philem. 2). And accordingly, at times we find the word used in the plural, as signifying the various congregations of Christians, whether in one single city, or throughout the world; as Acts ix. 31, xv. 41; Rom. xvi. 4; 1 Cor. vii. 17, xi. 16, xiv. 33, xvi. 1, 19; Rev. i. 4, 11, ii. 23, &c.

¹ In this passage the 'Church' is used to distinguish Christians from Jews and heathens.

We may say therefore, that as the *Congregation* among the Jews signified either a body of worshippers, or more often the great body of worshippers assembled at the temple or tabernacle, or the great body of the Jewish people considered as the people of God ; so the *Church* amongst Christians signifies, in the new Testament, either a single congregation of Christians, or the whole body of Christians in a particular place, or the whole body of Christians dispersed throughout the world.

In our Article the word *Church* is interpreted *Congregation*, probably on the ground of the above considerations ; viz. because such is the original meaning of the word, and such its application many times in Scripture. The Church is called ' a Congregation of faithful men,' *coetus fidelium*, because those of whom the Church is composed are the professed believers in Jesus Christ, that body of people ' first called Christians in Antioch ' (Acts xi. 26).

The name which our Lord Himself most frequently uses for the Church is, ' the kingdom of God,' or ' the kingdom of heaven.' The prophets constantly spoke of the Messiah as the King who should reign in righteousness (Isai. xxxii. 1), the King who should reign and prosper (Jer. xxiii. 5), the King of Israel, who should come to Zion, ' just, and having salvation ' (Zech. ix. 9). Daniel foretold that, when the Assyrian, Medo-Persian, and Grecian empires had passed away, and after the fourth great empire of Rome had been established, ' the God of heaven should set up a kingdom, which should never be destroyed ' (Dan. ii. 44) ; that the Son of Man should have given Him ' dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve Him ' (Dan. vii. 14). These prophecies led the Jews to expect that Messiah should set up a temporal kingdom, with all the glory and splendour of the kingdoms of this world. Our Lord Himself, therefore, uses the language of the Prophets, and the language current among the Jews, continually calling the Church, which He was to establish,

by the name of Kingdom; 'My kingdom,' 'kingdom of God,' 'kingdom of heaven;' though often correcting the mistaken views entertained of it, and explaining that His kingdom was not of this world. (See Matt. iii. 2, iv. 17, xii. 28, xiii. 38; Mark i. 14, iv. 11, 26, 30, x. 15; Luke iv. 43, vii. 28, viii. 1, ix. 2, 62, xvi. 16; John iii. 3; Acts i. 3; &c.)

Having premised thus much concerning the names or titles of that body, of which the Article treats, we may next proceed to consider how the Scriptures prove the various statements of the Article.

- 1 That the Church is a visible body of believers.
- 2 That the pure word of God is held and preached in it.
- 3 That the Sacraments are duly ministered in it, according to Christ's ordinance.

- 1 First, then, the Church is a visible body of believers.

This, we have already observed, does not interfere with the belief that there is a body of persons within the Church, known only to God, who differ from the rest, in being not only in outward privilege, but also in inward spirit, servants of Christ; whom some have called the invisible Church, and who being faithful unto death, will enter into the Church triumphant. Nor does it interfere with a belief that the saints who are in Paradise, and perhaps also the holy angels of heaven, are members of the Church invisible, the company of God's elect and redeemed people. What we have to deal with here, is the Church of God, considered as Christ's ordinance in the world, for the gathering together in one body of all believers in Him, and making them partakers of the various means of grace.

It is argued indeed *in limine*, that the Church and kingdom of Christ cannot be visible, because our Lord said, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you' (Luke xvii. 20, 21). This, however, proves no more

than this. The Pharisees, who had asked 'when the kingdom of God should come?' expected a kingdom of earthly glory, pomp, and splendour. Our Lord answered, that this was not the way in which His kingdom should come, not with observation, nor so that men should point out, Lo here! as to a splendid spectacle. On the contrary, God's reign in the Church should not be like an earthly king's, but in the hearts of his people¹.

But it is plain, both from prophecy and the new Testament, that the Church was to be, and is, a visible company. 'The mountain of the Lord's house was to be established on the top of the mountains, and all nations were to flow unto it' (Isai. ii. 2). Among the earthly kingdoms, Christ's kingdom was to grow up gradually, like a stone hewn without hands, till it became a mountain and filled the earth, breaking in pieces and consuming the worldly empires (Dan. ii. 35, 44). The kingdom of heaven in the Gospels is compared to a field sown with good and bad seed growing together till the harvest; to a marriage supper, where some have no wedding-garments; to a net taking good and bad fish, not separated till the net be drawn to shore; by which we cannot fail to understand the outward communion of Christians in this world, in which the faithful and unfaithful live together, not fully separated till the Judgment (Matt. xiii. 24—30, 47—50; xxii. 11, 12). Such parables would be inapplicable to an invisible company, and can only be interpreted of a visible body.

Our Lord distinctly commanded that, if a Christian offended

¹ Many consider that the passage ought to be rendered not 'within you,' but 'amongst you,' *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν*, i. e. Though you expect to see some sign of a kingdom, yet in truth the kingdom of God is already come amongst you, and you have not recognized it. But it is to be noted that in the new Testament the words *kingdom of God* signify three things:—
 1 The reign of Christ in His Church on earth. 2 The reign of Christ in the hearts of his people. 3 The reign of Christ in the eternal kingdom of glory.

against his brother, the offence should be told to the Church (Matt. xviii. 17). But if the Church were not a visible and ascertainable body, such a thing could not be. Accordingly our Lord addresses His Church, as 'the light of the world, a city set on a hill that cannot be hid' (Matt. v. 14). St. Paul gives Timothy directions how to act as a bishop, that he might 'know how to behave himself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Tim. iii. 15). This would be unintelligible, if the Church was only an invisible, spiritual society of faithful Christians, and not an outward organized body. So, when first persons were brought in large numbers to believe the Gospel, we are taught that all those who were placed in a state of salvation were 'added to the Church' (Acts ii. 47); evidently, from the context, by the rite of baptism. This again plainly intimates that the Church was a definite visible body of men. The same appears from such expressions as the following: 'Fear came on all the Church' (Acts v. 11); 'a great persecution against the Church' (Acts viii. 1); 'assembled themselves with the Church' (Acts xi. 26); 'God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily prophets' (1 Cor. xii. 28). The clergy are called 'the elders of the Church' (Acts xx. 17, James v. 14) who are 'to feed the Church of God' (Acts xx. 28), to 'take care of the Church of God' (1 Tim. iii. 5). People are spoken of as cast out of the Church (3 John, 10). The same thing appears again from what is said of local or national Churches, which, being branches of the one universal Church, are evidently and constantly spoken of as the visible society of Christians in their respective cities or countries. (See Acts xi. 22; xiii. 1; xiv. 23; xv. 3, 22; Rom. xvi. 1, 16, 23; 1 Cor. vi. 4; vii. 17; xi. 16; xiv. 33; xvi. 1, 19; Gal. i. 22; 1 Thess. ii. 14; Rev. i. 4, &c.)

Accordingly, St. Paul, when he speaks of the unity of the Church, speaks not only of spiritual, but of external unity also;

for he says, 'There is one *body*, and one spirit' (Eph. iv. 4). And our blessed Lord, when praying for the unity of His disciples, evidently desired a visible unity, which might be a witness for God to the world; 'that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe,' &c. (John xvii. 21).

We conclude therefore that, as the primitive Church always held, so Scripture also teaches, that the Church is not merely a spiritual and mystical communion of faithful Christians known only to God, but is a visible body of those who are outward followers of Christ, consisting partly of faithful, partly of unfaithful, but all professed believers in the Gospel.

2 The first characteristic given us of this body is that the pure Word of God, or, in other language, the true faith, is kept and preached in it.

The Church is called by St. Paul 'the pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Tim. iii. 15); whence it is manifest that a main province of the Church is to maintain and support the truth. Our blessed Lord prayed for His disciples, that the Father would 'sanctify them through His truth' (John xvii. 17). He promised to the Apostles, that 'the Spirit of truth should guide them into all truth' (John xvi. 13). He bade them 'go and teach all nations' (Matt. xxviii. 19). And we learn of the first converted Christians, that they 'continued in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship' (Acts ii. 42). Accordingly, the Apostles speak of the faith as *one* (Ephes. iv. 5); of the faith once delivered to the saints (Jude, 3); urge Christians 'earnestly to contend for' it (Jude, 3); and desire their bishops 'to rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith' (Tit. i. 13).

Hence, to introduce false doctrine or heresy into the Church is described as damning sin. St. Peter speaks of those 'who privily shall bring in damnable heresies' (2 Pet. ii. 1). St. Paul classes heresies among the works of the flesh (Gal. v. 20).

He says, 'If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema' (Gal. i. 9). He bids Timothy withdraw himself from those 'who teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness' (1 Tim. vi. 3, 5). And to Titus he says, 'A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject' (Tit. iii. 10). St. John bids, 'If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into thine house, neither bid him God speed' (2 Joh. 10). He says, 'Whosoever abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God' (2 Joh. 9). And calls all who 'deny the Father and the Son,' or 'deny that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh,' not Christians, but Antichrists (1 Joh. ii. 22, 2 Joh. 7).

Thus Scripture represents the Church as a body holding the truth, nay, 'the pillar and ground of the truth:' and heretics, or persons holding vital error, are spoken of as apart from God, to be rejected, and not received as fellow-Christians or members of Christ's Church.

The wording of our Article, 'the pure word of God,' may be somewhat difficult. Some would confine the meaning of it within very narrow limits, others would extend it to an indefinite latitude. We must notice, that the expression is not, 'the word of God is purely preached,' but, 'the pure word of God is preached.' If the former words had been used, we might have doubted in what body of Christians God's Word was always purely preached, with no mixture of falsehood or error. But 'the pure Word of God' is preached, wherever the main doctrines of the Gospel are preserved and taught. The question, however, of 'fundamentals,' has always been considered difficult; and different persons have chosen to make different doctrines fundamental, according to their own peculiar views of truth. Hence, some have excluded almost all Christians except themselves from holding the pure Word of God;

others have scarcely shut out Arians, Socinians, or even Deists. We may be sure the Church intended to maintain the purity of Christian truth, yet, without the narrowness of sectarian bigotry. The way in which her own formularies are drawn up—the first five Articles being almost a repetition and enforcement of the chief Articles of the Creed, and the eighth containing the Creeds themselves—the question addressed to all members of the Church before admission to baptism, in the Catechism and in sickness, as to whether they believe the Creed—the repetition on every Sunday and holyday of two of the Creeds, and once every month of the third in the public service by the congregation—the expressed adherence by the reformers to the decrees of the first four General Councils, the general agreement to the same effect by the primitive Church, with which the reformers declared themselves to be in perfect accordance and unison:—these, and the like considerations, make it nearly certain that the compilers of the Article would have, and must have intended, that all, who truly believed the Creeds of the Church, were so far in possession and belief of ‘the pure word of God,’ as not to have forfeited the character of Christians, or the fellowship of the Christian Church.

3 The next mark of the Church is, that ‘the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ’s ordinance.’ We know that, among the Jews, circumcision and the passover were essential to the existence of the people as the congregation of the Lord, and that he, who rejected or neglected either, was to be cut off from His people (Gen. xvii. 14, Exod. xii. 15). When the Lord Jesus founded His Church, He appointed the two Sacraments to supersede the two great ordinances of the Synagogue, viz. baptism, to initiate the convert or the child, the Eucharist, to maintain communion with Himself and with His people.

The command, which He gave to His Apostles, was to

‘make disciples of all nations by baptizing them’ (Matt. xxvii. 19): that is to say, persons from all nations who believed the Gospel, were to be admitted into the number of the disciples, the Church of Christ, by the Sacrament of baptism. We know that the Apostles acted on this command; ever receiving by the rite of baptism all who had been converted to the truth. (See Acts ii. 38, 41; viii. 12, 13, 36—38; ix. 18; x. 47, 48; xvi. 14, 15, 33; xix. 3, 5; Rom. vi. 3, 4; Gal. iii. 27; Col. ii. 11, 12; 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21, &c.) Nay! our Lord Himself declared, ‘Except a man be born of *water* and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God’ (John iii. 5). Whence it is quite clear, that a Christian Church must administer baptism according to our Lord’s command and the example of the Apostles, for otherwise its members could not be ‘born of water.’

But our blessed Lord, moreover, commanded His Apostles to break the bread and bless the wine in remembrance of Him; and declared the bread broken and the cup poured out to be His Body and Blood (Matt. xxvi. 26—30). Moreover, He declared that, except a Christian received the grace of His Body and Blood, he had no life in him (Joh. vi. 53). Accordingly, we ever find that the Apostles and the Apostolic Churches ‘continued stedfastly in the breaking of bread’ (Acts ii. 42; xx. 7, 11; 1 Cor. x. 16, 17; xi. 17, &c.); believing and declaring, that the ‘cup which they blessed was the communion of the Blood of Christ, and the bread which they brake was the communion of the Body of Christ’ (1 Cor. x. 16).

These two Sacraments, therefore, Baptism and the Holy Communion, were the ordinance of Christ, essential to the existence of His Church, steadily administered by His first ministers, and received by His early disciples, as completely as Circumcision and the Passover in the old dispensation of the Jews. The Article therefore justly asserts, that it is a neces-

sary note of the Church, that the Sacraments should be duly ministered, according to the ordinance of Christ.

4 There is still one more point to be noticed. The Article says, the 'pure word of God' is not only to be held, but to be '*preached*;' and that the Sacraments are to be '*DULY ministered*, according to Christ's ordinance.' The first expression at once suggests the question, 'How shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?' The second expression suggests the inquiry, How can sacraments be *DULY ministered*? and, whom has Christ authorized to minister them? The definition evidently implies the consideration of a ministry: even as we saw both fathers and reformers mentioning a duly ordained ministry as essential to the character of a Church. The present Article may possibly have less distinctly enunciated this, because in two future Articles the subject is specially treated of.

It is a truth hardly questioned, that our Lord did ordain a ministry for the preaching of the word, and that those so ordained did exercise that ministry, and considered themselves as sent by Christ to fulfil it. (See Matt. x.; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Luke x. 1, 16; Joh. xx. 21, 23; Acts xx. 20; xxvi. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 1; ix. 16, 17; xii. 28; 2 Cor. i. 1; Gal. i. 1; Eph. iv. 11, 14; Phil. i. 1; Col. iv. 17; 1 Tim. iii. 1; Tit. i. 5; 1 Pet. v. 1, &c. &c.) It is also quite certain, that those to whom He gave authority to baptize, and those whom He commanded to bless the cup and break the bread in the Communion, were His commissioned and ordained Apostles (see the institution of the Eucharist in Matt. xxvi., and of Baptism in Matt. xxviii.). Moreover, we never hear of any one in the new Testament, except a minister of God, attempting to baptize or to administer the Holy Communion. We know equally well that the practice and belief of the Primitive Church was, that none but bishops and presbyters should minister the Communion, and,

ordinarily *at least*, none but bishops, priests or deacons, should preach or baptize.

Thus then we conclude, that to the right preaching of the Word, and to the due administration of the Sacraments according to Christ's ordinance, a ministry, such as Christ ordained, is necessary, and therefore is included in the definition of this Article.

Moreover, as Baptism was to be with water, and the Eucharist with bread and wine, these elements must be used in order that they be duly administered; and, with the elements, that form of words which Christ has prescribed, at least in the case of Baptism, where a distinct form has been given. And so, the Sacraments, to be duly administered, need first the right elements, then the right form of words, and lastly, a ministry according to the ordinance of Christ.

5 It has been already noticed, that the definitions of the Article may be fairly considered as including the statement given in the Homily and in other partly authoritative documents, that one note of the Church is discipline, or the power of the Keys. For, if the Sacraments be duly ministered, unfit persons must be shut out from them, and if there be a duly constituted ministry, that ministry must have the power of the Keys committed by Christ to His Church. But, as this subject falls more naturally under Article XXXIII., we may defer its fuller consideration for the present.

The formularies of our Church have expressed no judgment as to how far the very being of a Church may be imperilled by a defect in this particular note of the Church; as by mutilation of the Sacraments, imperfect ordination, or defective exercise of the power of the Keys. At the present time, these questions force themselves on us. But the English Church has been content to give her decision as to the right mode of ordaining, ministering Sacraments, and exercising discipline, without ex-

pressing an opinion on the degree of defectiveness in such matters, which would cause other communions to cease from being Churches of Christ.

II. 'The Church of Rome hath erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.'

So many of the Articles specially enter upon the errors of the Church of Rome, that the subject may require very brief notice here. By 'matters of faith,' probably it is not intended to express articles of the Creed. Had the Church of Rome rejected the Creeds, and those fundamental articles of the faith contained in them; the Church of England would probably have considered her distinctly as a heresy, and not as a corrupt and erring Church. But there are many errors which concern the faith of Christ, besides those which strike at the very foundation, and would overthrow even the Creeds themselves.

Amongst these we may reckon all those novelties and heresies contained in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., or of the Council of Trent. They are thus reckoned up by Dr. Barrow : 1 Seven Sacraments. 2 Trent doctrine of Justification and Original Sin. 3 Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass. 4 Transubstantiation. 5 Communicating under one kind. 6 Purgatory. 7 Invocation of Saints. 8 Veneration of Relics. 9 Worship of Images. 10 The Roman Church to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches. 11 Swearing Obedience to the Pope. 12 Receiving the decrees of all synods and of Trent¹.

It is true that these do not involve a denial of the Creeds, but they are additions to the Creeds, and error may be shewn in excess, as well as in defect of belief. They are to be received by all members of the Church of Rome as articles of faith. They are not with them mere matters of opinion. Every

¹ Barrow, *On the Pope's Supremacy*, p. 290, conclusion.

priest is required to swear that they form parts of the Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved¹. Now the Church of England holds all of them to be false : several of her Articles are directed against these very doctrines as fabulous and dangerous ; and therefore she must conclude that 'the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in' those very points which she herself has declared to be 'matters of faith.'

¹ The Creed of Pope Pius IV. begins with a declaration of firm faith in the various Articles of the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan Creed ; and then continues with a like declaration of firm faith in the twelve novelties enumerated in the text. It finally rejects and anathematizes all things rejected and anathematized by the Council of Trent. And concludes with a solemn vow and profession of all this as 'the true Catholic faith, out of which no one can be saved.' 'Hanc veram Catholicam fidem extra quam nemo salvus esse potest. . . . sponte profiteor ac veraciter teneo spondeo, roveo ac juro. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.'—*Concil. Trident. Canones et Decreta*, pp. 370—373, Monast. Guestphalorum, 1845.

ARTICLE XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

THE Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ; yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

De Ecclesie Autoritate.

HABET Ecclesia ritus sive cæremonias statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis autoritatem; quamvis Ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

THE history of this Article is famous, owing to the dispute concerning the first clause of it; 'The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.' The Article of 1552 (then the XXist Article) had not the clause. Moreover, the first draught of the Articles in Elizabeth's reign (A.D. 1562) had it not. In this form the Articles were signed by both houses of convocation; and the original document, so signed, is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Yet this document had never synodical authority, for it never received the ratification of the crown. Before the royal assent was given, some alterations were made: viz. the addition of this clause, and the omission of Article XXIX. The clause itself was taken from the 'Lutheran Con-

fession of Wurtemberg, from which source Archbishop Parker derived most of the additions which were made in Queen Elizabeth's reign to the Articles drawn up by Cranmer in the reign of Edward VI.¹ It is supposed, that the Queen's wish induced the council to make this alteration. And when it had been made, the Latin edition of R. Wolfe was published in 1563, printed by the Queen's command, and with a declaration of her royal approval. This copy, therefore, is considered as possessed of full synodical authority. The fine *English* edition, printed by Jugge and Cawood in 1563, had not the clause², and this is very probably the copy of the Articles which was submitted to Parliament, which passed an Act (13 Eliz. Cap. 12), giving the authority of statute law to what had already received the authority of the Queen and convocation.

After this, the printed copies varied, some omitting, but most retaining the clause. It does not appear that any English copy received the authority of Convocation till 1571, and then, no doubt, the copy corresponded with one of those printed by Jugge and Cawood, with the date 1571. Dr. Cardwell gives an accurate reprint of one of these, containing the disputed clause³. Yet there were other editions, put forth by the same printers, with the same date, 1571, some retaining, others omitting the clause. From that time the greater number of editions have the clause. Dr. Cardwell enumerates editions of 1563, 1571, as omitting it; and as retaining it, editions of 1563, 1571, 1581, 1586, 1593, 1612, 1624, 1628, and all sub-

¹ In the Wurtemberg Confession are the words: 'Credimus et confitemur quod . . . hæc ecclesia habeat jus judicandi de omnibus doctrinis . . . quod hæc ecclesia habeat jus interpretandæ Scripturæ.'—Laurence, *Bamp. Lect.* p. 236.

² Though it had not this clause, inserted at the Queen's desire, yet it omitted Art. XXIX., expunged by the Queen's desire. The Articles were therefore, as so passed by Parliament, only thirty-eight in number. They are given by Dr. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, i. p. 53.

³ *Synodal.* Vol. i. p. 98.

sequent editions¹. All subscriptions, therefore, and acts of Parliament, after this period, had reference to the Article with the first clause as forming part of it; and not to the form in which it was first passed by convocation, before the Queen's sanction was obtained.

Important as the question concerning this clause has been thought, it is truly observed, that that portion of it concerning rites and ceremonies is fully expressed in Article XXXIV.; and that that portion which concerns controversies of faith is virtually contained in the latter part of this Article itself.

It is not necessary to spend much time in proving that the primitive Church claimed a certain authority, both in matters of ceremony and in controversies of faith. This is self-apparent from the fact, that, when any disputes arose, whether of doctrine or of discipline, synods and councils continually met to decide upon them, and declare the judgment of the Church. Where a judgment is pronounced, authority must be claimed. The first general council of Nice was assembled for the express purpose of giving the judgment of the Church, represented by the fathers of that council, on a most important point of doctrine, viz. the Deity of the Son of God, and on a matter of ceremony, viz. the time of keeping Easter. The epistle of Constantine to the Churches, written as it were from the council, urges all Christians to receive the decrees of the bishops so assembled as the will of God².

The fathers certainly taught that the authority of the Church was to be obeyed and received with deep respect. Irenæus says, 'Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, . . . but the Spirit is truth³.' Tertullian, 'Every doctrine is to be

¹ See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. i. pp. 34, 53, 73, 90, &c.; and the authorities referred to by him.

² Euseb. *De Vitis Constantin.* III. 20.

³ 'Ubi enim ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia. Spiritus autem veritas.'—Lib. III. cap. 40.

judged as false which is opposed to the truth taught by the Churches, the Apostles, Christ, and God¹. St. Cyril says, 'The Church is called Catholic, because it teaches universally, and without omission, all doctrines needful to be known².' Passages to the same purport might be abundantly multiplied, if evidences of so well-known a fact could be required.

When controversies arose, whether about doctrine, or about rules and ceremonies and Church-ordinances, such as the keeping of Easter, the rebaptizing of heretics, or the enforcing of discipline on the lapsed; it could hardly be but that the Church should exercise some discretion, and pronounce some judgment. Most of the canons of the early councils will be found to be on matters of discipline; and as Scripture generally left them undecided, it was necessary for the representatives of the Church to use the best judgment they could upon them. To this end they strove, looking for the guidance of the Spirit, following Scripture, where it gave them light; and on those points on which Scripture was silent, following that rule unanimously adopted at Nice, 'Let the ancient customs prevail,' *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω*³.

Yet, that the fathers held the authority of Scripture to be primary and paramount, and considered that the Church had no power to enact new articles of faith, nor to decree any thing which was contrary to the Scriptures, has already been shewn sufficiently, and the proof needs not to be repeated here⁴.

¹ 'Omnem vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam quæ sapiat contra veritatem Ecclesiarum et Apostolorum et Christi et Dei.'—*De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 21.

² διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς ἅπαντα τὰ εἰς γνώσιν ἀνθρώπων ἔλθειν ὀφειλόντα δόγματα.—*Cateches.* XVIII. 11. See Palmer, *On the Church*, Vol. II. pt. IV. ch. IV.

³ The principle of observing traditional ceremonies, where Scripture is silent, is laid down by Tertullian, *De Corona*, c. 3, 4, 5. See Palmer, Vol. II. pt. III. ch. IV.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 190, seq. Article VI. Sect. I. III.

The power of the Church they held, not as an authority superior or equal to the Scriptures, but as declaratory of them when doubtful, and decreatory on matters of discipline.

The reformers in general did not deny such authority to the Church to interpret Scripture in case of disputes upon doctrine, nor to adopt or retain ceremonies of ancient custom or human institution, not contrary to the teaching of Scripture. Thus the Confession of Augsburg says, 'We do not despise the consent of the Catholic Church nor are we willing to patronize impious opinions, which the Church Catholic has condemned¹.' It declares that there are indifferent ceremonies, which ought to be observed, for the good order of the Church². But on the other hand, it pronounces that 'the bishops have no power to decree any thing contrary to the Gospel³.'

Calvin, denying that the Church has any power to introduce new doctrines, yet gladly admits, that when a discussion concerning doctrine arises, no more fit mode of settling it can be devised than a meeting of bishops to discuss it. And he mentions with approbation the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus⁴.

The language of the English reformers is still plainer. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer gives reasons why the Church abolished some, and retained other ceremonies; and though it speaks of ceremonies as but small things in themselves, it yet declares that the wilful transgression 'and breaking of a common rule and discipline is no small offence before God.'

Cranmer appealed to a general council, protesting, 'I intend to speak nothing against one holy Catholic and Apostolic

¹ 'Non enim aspernamus consensum catholicæ Ecclesiæ . . . nec patrocinari impiis aut seditiosis opinionibus volumus, quas ecclesia Catholica damnavit.'—*Confess. August.* 1540. Art. 21; *Sylloge*, p. 189.

² Pars I. Art. xv 1531; *Sylloge*, p. 127; 1540, p. 174.

³ *Sylloge*, p. 154.

⁴ *Inst.* IV. IX. 13.

Church, or the authority thereof; the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey¹.' and declaring, 'I may err, but heretic I cannot be; forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy Catholic Church².' He declares his agreement with Vincentius Lirinensis, who taught that 'the Bible is perfect and sufficient of itself for the truth of the Catholic faith, and that the whole Church cannot make one article of faith; although it may be taken as a necessary witness of the same, with these three conditions, that the thing, which we would establish thereby, hath been believed in all places, ever, and of all men³.' In short, his judgment appears to have been clearly, that 'every *exposition of Scripture*, in which the whole Church agreed,' was to be received; but that the Church had no power to decree *Articles of faith* without the Scripture, though rites indifferent she might decree⁴.

The origin of the dispute about the first clause in this Article, was the repugnance of the Puritan divines to the use of the surplice and other Church ordinances. This feeling arose in the reign of Edward VI., and the controversies gendered by it continued to rage fiercely in Elizabeth's. The Puritans contended not only that the Church could not enact new articles of faith, but that no rites nor ceremonies were admissible but those for which there was plain warrant in the New Testament. It is probable that Elizabeth and her councillors wished to have a definite assertion of the power of the Church to legislate on such points; and therefore insisted on the distinct enunciation of the principle by the clause in

¹ Appeal at his Degradation, *Works*, Vol. iv. p. 121.

² *Ibid.* p. 127.

³ Answer to Smythe's Preface, Vol. iii. p. 23.

⁴ See especially Vol. iv. p. 229, quoted above, in Vol. i. p. 242, under Article VI. See also *Works*, Vol. iii. pp. 509, 517; Vol. iv. pp. 77, 126, 173, 223, 225, &c.

question, notwithstanding that it was virtually included in other statements or formularies. The controversy reached its height in the reign of Charles I.: and one of the charges against Archbishop Laud was, that he had introduced this clause into the Articles, it not having been previously to be found there¹. On the subject itself the great work of Hooker was composed; one main and principle object of that work being, to prove the right which the Church Catholic and particular national Churches have to legislate on matters indifferent, and to enact such rites and ceremonies as are not repugnant to the teaching of Holy Writ.

¹ That this charge was unfounded has already appeared.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

THERE are contained in this Article three positive or affirmative, and two negative or restraining assertions.

I. The affirmative are :

- 1 The Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ.
- 2 The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies.
- 3 The Church hath authority in controversies of faith.

II. The restraining assertions are :

- 1 It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's Word written.
- 2 Besides the written Word she ought not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

I. 1 The Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, forasmuch as that unto it, as unto the Jews of old, 'are committed the oracles of God' (Rom. iii. 2). As the Jews had the Old Testament Scriptures 'read in the synagogues every Sabbath-day' (Acts xv. 21); so the Christian Church has the Scriptures of both Testaments read continually in her assemblies. In no way can she more truly fulfil her office of 'pillar and ground of the truth,' than by preserving and maintaining those Scriptures, in which the truth is to be found. The Scriptures are a sacred deposit left to the Church, to guard and to teach. The manner in which the ancient Churches collected and preserved the sacred writings, and handed them down to us, and the abundant evidence which we have that they have been received by us in their integrity, was considered at length under Art. VI.¹

We, the children of the Church, must, in the first instance at least, receive the word of God from her. She, by our

¹ See Art. VI. Sect. II.

parents and her ministers, puts the Bible into our hands even before we could seek it for ourselves. To her care her Lord has entrusted it. She keeps it, and testifies to us that it is the word of God, and teaches us the truths contained in it. Her ministers are enjoined 'to hold fast the form of sound words' (2 Tim. i. 13); 'to preach the word instant in season and out of season' (2 Tim. iv. 2). And so she leads us, by preaching and catechising, and other modes of instruction, to take the Bible in our hands, and read it for ourselves.

In these and many similar modes the Church is a witness as well as a keeper of Holy Writ. We can hardly conceive a state of things in which it could be otherwise. If the Church had not carefully guarded the Scriptures at first, they would have been scattered and lost, and spurious writings would have partially taken the place of the true. If she did not, by her teaching and her ministry, witness to us that the Scriptures were from above, and so lead us to read and reverence them; we should be obliged to wait till the full maturity of reason and manhood before we could learn what was the word of truth, and should then have patiently to go through for ourselves all the evidence which might be necessary to convince us that the Bible, and not the Koran or the Veda, was that which contained 'the lively oracles of God.'

2 The Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies.

In the term 'rites and ceremonies,' of course we do not include things of the same nature as Sacraments, or other ordinances of the Gospel. Two Sacraments were ordained of Christ, and the Church cannot make others like them. Ordination is from Christ's authority, and we learn from Scripture that it is to be performed by imposition of hands. The Church cannot alter this, either by dispensing with it, or putting something different in its room. By 'rites and ceremonies,' therefore, are meant things comparatively indifferent in themselves—the adjuncts and accidents, not the essence and substance of holy things.

Certain rules are specially prescribed to us in Holy Scripture for regulating public worship, and for ministering the ordinances of God. But these rules are mostly general, and the carrying out of them must be regulated by some authority or other. The rules given are such as the following: 'Let all things be done decently and in order' (1 Cor. xiv. 26, 40.) Yet how to arrange all things so that they should be done decently and in order, we are not always told. Occasionally, indeed, the Apostles give something like specific directions; as for instance, St. James' command not to allow the poor to sit in a low place, and the rich in a good place (James ii. 1, 10); St. Paul's directions about the seemly administration of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 17—33); and again, St. Paul's command that men should be uncovered and women veiled (1 Cor. xi. 4—16), and that women should keep silence in the churches (1 Cor. xiv. 34). Yet, though in these few points there may be something like fixed rules laid down, the Church is generally left to arrange so that in her public worship all things should be done 'decently, in order, and to edifying,' without specific directions for every particular. Indeed St. Paul, when so strongly insisting on men being uncovered and women covered, concludes by arguing that, if any people are disposed to be contentious on this head, they ought to yield their own judgment to the customs of the Church. 'If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God' (1 Cor. xi. 16). Thus, therefore, the very principle laid down in Scripture seems to be, that the Church should order and arrange the details of public worship so as may be most calculated to honour God and edify the people; just as St. Paul left Titus at Crete, 'that he might set in order the things which were wanting' in the Church of that land (Tit. i. 5). Indeed, unless by authority some rules for public worship were made, decency and order could never exist. Thus, whether prayer should be of set form or extempore—whether the minister should wear a peculiar dress—whether baptism should be by immersion or by pouring—whether

at the Eucharist we should kneel or sit, and numerous other like questions, have all reference to rites and ceremonies. If the public authority of the Church could not enjoin anything concerning them, what utter confusion might exist in our assemblies! At one time prayer might be extempore, and at another from a prayer-book. One minister might wear a surplice, another an academic gown, a third his common walking dress, and a fourth a cope, or some fantastic device of his own. One person might kneel, another stand, and another sit at receiving the Communion. Would any one coming in to such an assembly, 'report that God was in us of a truth?' And with the variety of opinion and feeling among Christians, much worse than this might easily occur, if the Church had no power to decree its rites and ceremonies. Yet we are taught concerning this very matter of decent solemnity, that 'God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints' (1 Cor. xiv. 33).

Thus then the injunctions of the Apostles, and the absolute necessity of the case, lead to the conclusion, that the Church must have 'power to decree rites and ceremonies.' And we may add, that all bodies of Christians, however opposed to ceremonial, have yet exercised the power of decreeing rites for their own bodies. However bare and free from ornament their public worship may be, yet in some way or other it is ordered and regulated, if it be public worship at all. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are ministered with some degree of regularity; preaching and praying are arranged after some kind of order; and how simple soever that order may be, it is an order derived from the authority of their own body, and not expressly prescribed in Scripture. Scripture teaches all things essential for salvation; but all minutiae of ceremonial it neither teaches nor professes to teach. Such therefore must be left, in some degree, to the authority and wisdom of the Church¹.

¹ See on this subject more especially Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* Book iii.

3 The Church has, moreover, authority in controversies of faith.

This statement of the Article as necessarily follows from the nature of the case, as the two already considered. It is only necessary to keep in mind the qualifications which the latter part of the Article suggests.

Our Lord gave authority to His Church to bind and to loose, and to excommunicate those who would not hear the Church. The Apostles enjoined that heretics, persons that teach false doctrine or deny the truth, should be shunned, excommunicated, and put out of the Church¹. Now, if the Church has no power to determine what is true and what is false, such authority would be a dead letter, and the Apostles' injunctions would be vain. All heretics claim Scripture as on their side. If the Church is not allowed to exercise authority in controversies of faith, she could never reject heretics, unless indeed they went so far as to deny the truth of Scripture altogether. In order therefore to exercise that discipline and power of the keys which Christ committed to her, the Church must have authority to decide on what is truth and what is falsehood.

The Church is a society founded by God for the very purpose of preserving, maintaining, and propagating the truth. If she had no power to discern truth from error, how would this be possible? Her ministers are enjoined to teach and to preach the truth of the Gospel; not simply to put the Bible into the hands of the people, and leave them to read it. Their commission is, 'Go and teach all nations...teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you' (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20). They are 'by sound doctrine to convince the gainsayers' (Tit. i. 9). They are 'to feed the Church of God' (Acts xx. 28): to give 'the household of God their portion of meat in due season' (Luke xii. 42). The chief pastors of the Church are

¹ Matt. xviii. 17, 18; Acts xx. 30; 2 Thess. iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3; Tit. i. 11, iii. 10. See Art. XIX. Sect. ii. 5.

to 'commit to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also,' that truth which they have themselves received (2 Tim. ii. 2). And they are enjoined to 'rebuke men sharply, that they may be sound in the faith' (Tit. i. 13).

All this implies authority—authority to declare truth, to maintain truth, to discern truth from error, to judge when controversies arise, whether one party is heretical or not, and to reject from communion such as are in grievous falsehood and error.

There are promises to the Church, and titles of the Church, which confirm these arguments. The Church is called 'an holy temple in the Lord...a habitation of God through the Spirit' (Eph. ii. 21, 22). Individual Christians believe that they shall be guided into truth by the indwelling Spirit of God; how much more therefore that Church which is not only composed of the various individual Christians, who are partakers of the Spirit, but is also itself built up for God's Spirit to dwell in it? Our blessed Lord promises to His Church that 'the gates of hell shall never prevail against it' (Matt. xvi. 18); and that He will be with its pastors 'always, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 20). Such a promise implies the constant presence, assistance, and guidance of Him who is the Church's Head, and His assurance that the power of evil shall never be able to destroy the faith of the Church or take away God's truth from it; for if once the faith of the Church should fail, the Church itself must fail with it. Hence the Church, having always the presence and guidance of Christ, the indwelling of His Spirit, and the assurance that the gates of hell shall never prevail against her, we must conclude that the Church will be guarded against anything like universal or fundamental error. And so we may say, that she not only is authorized to give judgments in matters of faith, but also has a promise of direction in judging.

This further appears from the Church being called 'the pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Tim. iii. 15). Bishop Burnet

contends that this is a metaphor, and we must not argue too much on metaphor. But, if we never try to understand the figures of Scripture, we must neglect a very large and most important portion of Scripture. Indeed, almost all that is taught us about God and the world of spirits, is taught us in figurative language, because it is above our common comprehension, and therefore conveyed to us by parables and metaphors. And the figure here is a very obvious one. It may mean a little more, or a little less, but its general meaning is plain enough. And that meaning surely is, that God has appointed His Church in the world, that it may hold fast, support, and maintain the truth: and not only is it *ordained* for this end, but as all God's ordinances are surely fitted for their purpose, so the Church is *qualified* also to uphold the truth which is committed to it.

Therefore we conclude that by God's appointment, and according to plain language of Scripture, 'the Church hath authority in controversies of faith.'

II. But the authority of the Church is not a supreme and independent authority. In matters of faith, it is the authority of a judge, not the authority of a legislator. Truth comes from God, not from the Church. The written word of God is the record of God's truth; and no other record exists. He alone is the Legislator, and the Scriptures contain the code of laws which He has ordained. To maintain those laws and the truth connected with them, and, so far as possible to enforce them, is the duty of the Church. But she has no authority either to alter or to add to them.

She may judge therefore, but it must be according to the laws which have been made for her. She has authority, but it is an authority limited by the Scriptures of truth.

Such is the nature of all judicial power. We say the judges of the land have authority to pronounce judgments; but they must pronounce their judgments according to the law. They have no power to alter it, no power to go beyond it. The

only power which they have is to enforce and administer it ; and, where it is obscure or doubtful, to do their best to interpret it¹.

This is exactly the limitation which we find that the Article truly assigns to the authority of the Church. She has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith ; but in thus doing :

1 She must not ordain anything contrary to God's word written, nor explain one place of Scripture so as to contradict another.

2 Besides the written word, she ought not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

The first limitation is self-apparent, if we admit the word of God to be the word of God. For whatever authority be assigned to the Church, it would be fearful impiety to give it authority superior to God Himself. It is probable that this limitation is more particularly intended to apply to the power of ordaining ceremonies, as the second applies to articles of faith. If so, it means that the Church may ordain ceremonies in themselves indifferent ; but she may not ordain any which would be repugnant to the written word. Thus for example, it would mean, that forms of prayer, clerical vestments, and the like, are within the province of the Church to decide upon ; but image-worship, or the adoration of the host, being contrary to the commandments of God, are beyond her power to sanction or permit.

The second limitation applies to doctrine, and is almost a repetition of a portion of Article VI. already considered². It

¹ In the early councils it was customary to place the Gospels on a throne or raised platform in the midst of the assembly, to indicate that in them were contained the rules by which the decisions of the council must be framed.

² 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be

denies to the Church the power to initiate in matters of faith. She may not enforce upon her children new articles for which there is no authority in the Bible; but may interpret Scripture, and enforce the articles of faith to be deduced from thence.

Hence we may see, that the Article determines, that there is but one supreme primary authority, that is to say, the written tradition of the will of God, the holy Scriptures, His lively oracles. The authority of the Church is ministerial and declaratory, not absolute and supreme. And the decisions of the Church must always be guided by, and dependent on, the statements and injunctions of the written word of God¹.

required of any man, or be thought required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.'—Art. VI.

¹ Neither the right nor the duty of *Private Judgment*, if properly understood, is interfered with by the statements of this Article. It is the duty of every Christian to search the Scriptures in order to learn God's will from them. Yet this neither supersedes the propriety of individuals paying deference to the judgment of the whole Church, nor does it preclude the Church from forming a judgment. It is the right and the wisdom of every citizen to acquaint himself with the laws of his country, and to endeavour to render them an intelligent obedience. Yet this does not take away from a competent authority or tribunal the right of pronouncing according to them. The following words of an eminent English divine seem to put the whole question in its true light, and in the light in which our Church has constantly viewed it: 'Far am I, by what I have now said, from endeavouring to weaken or undermine the rights of ecclesiastical authority. We do readily acknowledge that every Christian Church in the world has a right and authority to decide controversies in religion that do arise among its members, and consequently to declare the sense of Scripture concerning those controversies. And though we say that every private Christian hath a liberty left him of examining and judging for himself, and which cannot, which ought not to be taken from him; yet every member of a Church ought to submit to the Church's decisions and declarations so as not to oppose them, not to break the communion or the peace of the Church upon account of them, unless in such cases where obedience and compliance is apparently sinful and against God's laws.'—Archbishop Sharp, *Works*, Vol. v. p. 63. Oxf. 1829.

ARTICLE XXI.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

GENERAL Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scriptures.

De Autoritate Conciliorum generalium.

GENERALIA concilia sine jussu et voluntate Principum congregari non possunt; et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes Spiritu et Verbo Dei reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errarunt etiam in his quæ ad Deum pertinent; ideoque quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent, neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possint e sacris literis esse desumpta.

WE saw, in considering the last Article, that our Lord Jesus Christ had given a certain promise of guidance and indefectibility to His Church, by which we may conclude that the whole Church shall never utterly fail or be absorbed in one gulph of error. We saw too that the Church had a right to judge in controversies of faith, so as to expel from her communion those whom she determined to be fundamentally wrong.

If these premises be true, the voice and judgment of the Church universal must be of great value and importance, not as superseding, but as interpreting Scripture. And this voice of the Church has been considered to be audible in the general consent of Christians of all, and more especially of early times. Those doctrines which the Church of Christ at all times, everywhere, and universally, has received, have been esteemed

the judgment of the Catholic Church. This is the universality, antiquity and agreement, the 'semper, ubique et ab omnibus' of Vincentius Lirinensis¹. It is true, no doctrine of the faith has been received so universally that it never has been spoken or written against. But a large number of doctrines (all, in fact, clearly enunciated in the Creeds) have been upheld by the vast majority of Christians from the beginning to the present day. There never was a time, not even the short-lived but fearful reign of Arianism, in which the Church in general did not hold all these doctrines; and those who dissented from them formed a comparatively small, if not always an insignificant, minority. And as regards these fundamental truths, there would never be any difficulty in following the rule which Vincentius gives in explanation of his own canon, viz. 'If a small part of the Church holds a private error, we should adhere to the whole. If the whole be for the time infected by some novel opinion, we should cleave to antiquity. If in antiquity itself there be found partial error, we should then prefer universal decisions before private judgments².' This rule will embrace all the Articles of the Creeds of the Church. But new errors may arise, and men's minds may be sadly perplexed by them, and difficulties of various kinds may spring up, in which the voice of the Christian Church may never have plainly spoken; and the question may, almost of necessity, occur, Shall the abettors of such or such an opinion be esteemed heretics or not, be con-

¹ Vincentius Lirinens. *Commonit.* c. 2.

² 'Quid igitur faciet Christianus Catholicus, si se aliqua ecclesie particula ab universalis fidei communione præciderit? Quid utique nisi ut pestifero corruptoque membro sanitatem universi corporis anteponat? Quid si novella aliqua contagio non jam portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc etiam providebit, ut antiquitati inhæreat, quæ prorsus jam non potest ab ulla novitatis fraude seduci. Quid si in ipsa vetustate, duorum aut trium hominum, vel certe civitatis unius aut etiam provincie alicujus error deprehendatur? Tunc omnino curabit ut paucorum temeritati vel inscitie si qua sunt universaliter antiquitus universalis Concilii decreta proponat,' &c.—*Commonit.* c. 3.

tinued in, or rejected from, the communion of Christians? In such cases, which may be cases of great emergency, the only way in which the Church can speak is by a council of representatives.

Among the Jews questions of importance and difficulty were referred to the Sanhedrim, a council of seventy-one Elders, which sat at Jerusalem. In the Christian Church, the first example of such an assembly is what has by some been called the first general council, held by the Apostles and elders and brethren at Jerusalem, concerning the question of circumcising the Gentile converts (Acts xv.).

Afterwards we hear of no council for some considerable period. But during the third century several provincial synods sat for the determining of matters either of doctrine or discipline. Thus Victor held a council at Rome, A. D. 196, concerning the keeping of Easter; in which year other councils were held, in other places, on the same subject. St. Cyprian held several councils at Carthage, on the subject of the lapsed, and the rebaptizing of heretics (A. D. 253, 254, 255). Councils were held at Antioch, A. D. 264, 265, to condemn and excommunicate Paul of Samosata. And many others for similar purposes were convened in their respective provinces during the third and early part of the fourth century. Yet hitherto they were but partial and provincial, not general councils of the whole Church. At last, during the disturbances which were created by the propagation of the Arian heresy, Constantine the Great, having been converted to Christianity, and giving the countenance of the imperial government to the hitherto persecuted Church of Christ, summoned a general council of all the bishops of Christendom, to pronounce the judgment of the Church Catholic concerning the Divinity of the Son of God. The council met A. D. 325. The number of bishops that assembled at this great synod is generally stated to have been 318, besides priests and deacons. The council decided by an im-

mense majority for the doctrine of the *ὁμοούσιον*, drew up the Nicene Creed, and published twenty canons on matters of discipline.

1 This was the first general or œcumenical council. Following this were five others, also generally received as œcumenical. 2 The council of Constantinople, summoned by the Emperor Theodosius, A.D. 381, which condemned Macedonius, and added the latter part to the creed of Nice. 3 The council of Ephesus, called by the younger Theodosius, A.D. 431, which condemned Nestorius. 4 The council of Chalcedon, called by Marcianus, A.D. 451, which condemned Eutyches. 5 The second of Constantinople, summoned by the Emperor Justinian, A.D. 553, confirmatory of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. 6 The third of Constantinople, convened by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, A.D. 680, which condemned the Monothelites.

These six are the only councils which have been acknowledged by the universal Church. There are two or three others, called œcumenical by the Greek Church, and many called œcumenical by the Latin Church, which, however, have never received universal approval¹. Even the fifth and sixth have not been quite so universally esteemed as the first four. The fifth, though generally acknowledged in the East, was for a time doubted by several of the Western bishops. Gregory the Great said, he revered the first four synods as he did the four Evangelists; evidently considering those four as far more important than those which followed them². And the reformers, both foreign and Anglican, and probably the divines of the English Church in general, have more unhesitatingly received the first four, than the fifth and sixth councils; though it has been thought that the reason for this may be, that the fifth and

¹ The Greeks number eight general councils, adding to the above six the second council of Nice under Irene and her son Constantine, A.D. 787, and the fourth of Constantinople, A.D. 869, under the Emperor Basil.

² Gregor. *Epist. ad Joann. Constantinop. Epist. Epistol.* Lib. I. c. 24.

sixth were considered as merely supplementary to the former two, and therefore as virtually included in them.

1 These few well-known and unquestioned facts are, of themselves, sufficient to give us an insight into the nature, constitution, and authority of general councils. In the first three centuries no general council was ever held. The reasons of this may be manifold. In the first century Apostles were yet alive, whose inspired authority could have been subject to no appeal. Indeed the meeting of Apostles and elders at Jerusalem may be called a council; but its force is derived not merely from Christ's promise of guidance to His Church, but also from His assurance of inspiration to His Apostles. Then, too, the Church was small; Jerusalem was the visible centre of unity; the Apostles gathered together there could readily, by common consent, meet and unite in expression of their decisions. But a century later, and the Church was spread from India in the east, to Gaul and Lusitania in the west; from Ethiopia southward, to the remotest northern Isles of Britain. There was singular difficulty in all its bishops meeting in one spot. A general gathering of all the spiritual heads of Christendom would have been, like enough, a signal for general persecution. There was no one power which could summon all together, and which all would be bound to obey¹. And therefore it would have been morally, and perhaps physically impossible to gather a council from all portions of the Church. But when not only was the Roman empire subject to one man, but that one man became the patron and protector of the Church, his power enabled him to enjoin all bishops who were his subjects to meet him, or to send deputies to a general synod; and his safe-conduct assured against the violence, at least of heathen persecutors. Hence, by the very nature of

¹ I must assume that the Bishop of Rome had not that supremacy, which the Pope has since claimed and exercised; though this is not the place to prove the assumption.

the case, general councils were at first never summoned; and when summoned, it was by 'the commandment and will of princes.'

Formidable heresies had risen before, but at first they were sufficiently met by the zeal and energy of catholic bishops; then local synods condemned and suppressed them. But the rise of Arianism required a more stringent remedy, and a more distinct declaration of the voice of the Church. The evils of Arianism were not confined to Arius and his followers. Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, all sprang out of the same grievous controversies; and the six general synods were successively summoned, for the end of pruning off these various offshoots of the one noxious plant.

So then general synods were the result of peculiar exigencies, and were summoned by the only power which could constrain general obedience—obedience that is of meeting to deliberate, not, it is to be hoped, of deciding according to the imperial standard of truth. This constituted them, so far as they were so, general and œcumenical. When the Bishop of Rome had attained to the full height of his sacerdotal and imperial authority, claiming an universal dominion over the Church of Christ, by virtue of succession to the primacy of St. Peter; he began to exercise the power, for many centuries enjoyed only by the emperors, of calling together general councils of the Church, himself presiding in them. The question of presidency we may lay aside, as we have to deal only with the right to summon. Now, it is quite true that there was no inherent and inalienable right in the Roman emperor, nor in any other secular prince, to summon ecclesiastical synods. Therefore the bare fact of their being summoned by the emperor, gave them no special authority. But the imperial was the only power, which could command general obedience. Hence, when the emperor summoned, all portions of Christendom obeyed; and so a council, as nearly as possible œcumenical, was gathered together.

But when the Pope claimed the same authority, the result was not the same. The bishops of the Roman obedience felt bound to attend, when the chief pontiff summoned them; but the eastern prelates felt no such obligation, and the bishops belonging to the ancient patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, refused to attend to a command issuing from the Patriarch of Rome. The ground, therefore, on which this Article asserts that princes only have a right to summon general councils, is that such only have power to compel attendance at them. Neither the Greek nor the reformed Churches admit the authority claimed by the pope, and therefore their bishops would not assemble at his command. There is no single individual governor, nor any ten or twelve ecclesiastical governors, which, if they agreed together, could with authority summon a council. All bishops are *de jure* equal and independent, and might refuse to obey citations from other bishops; and their refusals would invalidate the authority of the council called.

At the time of the Reformation there was a great effort to call a free general council. Luther appealed to such. So did our own Cranmer. But it was to a real and free council. The pope summoned the Council of Trent; but the reformers refused to acknowledge his authority to call it, or to admit that, so called, it was a real council of the whole Church. Soon after the Church of England had thrown off the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, declarations to the above effect were made by English bishops and by convocation. The words of the latter are, 'We think that neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any one prince of what estate, degree, or pre-eminence soever he be, may, by his own authority call, indict, or summon any general council, without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian princes¹.' Their argument is, that when the

¹ 'The judgment of Convocation concerning general Councils.' It is signed by 'Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cantuariensis, Johannes London,

Roman emperor had absolute and universal control, his commandment alone was sufficient to insure the attendance of bishops from all quarters of the world. But now there is no such supreme authority. The pope claims it; but it is an usurpation. The only conceivable mode of insuring universality now would be, that all Christian princes in all parts of Christendom should agree together to send bishops to represent their respective Churches; and such an agreement would correspond with the ancient mode of convoking councils, as nearly as in the present state of things is possible¹. A supreme spiritual authority, such as is claimed by the pope, we do not acknowledge; but as all bishops are subject to their respective sovereigns, the joint will of all Christian princes might produce an œcumenical synod; but no other plan of proceeding seems likely to do so.

2 But when councils are gathered together, from whence do they derive their authority? There is no distinct promise of infallibility to councils in Scripture. Nay! there is probably no distinct allusion to councils at all. To the bishops and rulers of the Church indeed there is a promise of guidance and presence, and Christians are enjoined to 'obey' and 'follow the faith' 'of those who have the rule over them².' Hence the judgment of our own spiritual guides is much to be attended to; and when our spiritual rulers meet together and agree on matters either of doctrine or discipline, there is no question but that their decisions are worthy of all consideration and

with thirteen bishops; and of abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, proctors, clerks, and other ministers, forty-nine.' See Appendix to Cranmer's *Works*, Vol. iv. p. 258; also Burnet, *Reform.* Vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 5; Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* Vol. ii. App. 2037.

¹ See also 'The Opinion of certain of the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, subscribed with their hands touching the general Council,' probably A. D. 1537. It is signed by Cranmer as archbishop, eight other bishops, the Abbot of Westminster, and three others.—Jenkyn's *Cranmer*, Vol. iv. p. 266.

² Heb. xiii. 7, 17. Compare Acts xx. 28—31; Tit. i. 13; iii. 10, &c.

respect. Yet infallibility is certainly not promised to any one bishop or pastor, and though they are assured of Christ's presence and guidance, yet promises of this kind are all more or less conditional; and it is only to the universal Church that the assurance belongs, 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Individual bishops, we know, may err. Hence assemblies of individual bishops may err; because, though they have the grace of ordination, yet all may not be pious men, 'governed with the Spirit and word of God'.¹

If indeed all the chief pastors of the Church could meet together, and all agree, we might perhaps be justified in considering their decision as the voice of the universal Church; and the promises of Christ to His Church are such as might lead us to believe that that Church could not universally be heretical, and therefore that its universal judgment must be sound. But no synod ever had, nor perhaps ever can have, such conditions as these. Those hitherto held have consisted of a minority of the bishops of the whole Church, and most important portions of the Church have been but very slenderly represented. Though, therefore, one bishop may be supposed to represent many others; yet even in political matters we often feel an assembly of deputies to speak but imperfectly the voice of a people, and in ecclesiastical and spiritual things this must be much more probable. We cannot say then, that the whole Church speaks by the voices of a minority of her bishops, even when they are quite agreed.

Again, it is not quite certain, that our Lord's promises to His Church render it impossible, that the major part of that Church should for a time be corrupted by error. God gave many and great promises to Israel; and yet at one time there were but seven thousand knees that had not bowed to Baal.

¹ See the sentiments of Bishop Ridley to this effect, corresponding to the wording of the Article.—Ridley's *Works*, p. 180, Parker Society edition, Cambridge, 1841.

The promises indeed assure us, that the Church shall not become totally corrupt, nor continue so finally. But we have seen that Vincentius himself supposes the possibility of the Church for a time being largely, and indeed in the greater part of it, led astray by some novelty of doctrine. Now a council composed of a minority of bishops of the Church might, in a corrupt age, consist of those very bishops who had embraced the novelties from which the great body of the Church was not then exempt. What would then be the value of the decisions of such a council? We may perhaps reasonably hope that the gracious and superintending Providence of Christ would never allow the Church, which is His Body, and of which He is the present and animating Head, to be so represented, or misrepresented. But there is nothing in the nature of councils to assure us against such an evil. Councils have hitherto always consisted of a minority. Even that minority has not always been unanimous; and it might be, that the same minority might represent the worse instead of the sounder part of the Church, in a corrupt and ignorant age.

We hear enough of councils even in the best ages, to know that the proceedings at them have not always been the wisest, or the most charitable; that some of those who attended them were not the most highly to be respected; and that other motives, besides zeal for the truth, have had too much influence in them. The words of Gregory Nazianzen are famous: 'If I must write the truth,' he says 'I am disposed to avoid every assembly of bishops; for of no synod have I seen a profitable end; rather an addition to, than a diminution of, evils; for the love of strife and the thirst for superiority are beyond the power of words to express¹.' Every reader of Church history must feel that there is too much truthfulness in this picture.

¹ ἔχω μὲν οὕτως, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς γράφειν, ὥστε πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν ἐπίσκοπων, ὅτι μηδεμίας συνόδου τέλος εἶδον χρηστόν· μηδὲ λύσω κακῶν μάλ-

The question then arises, of what use are universal synods? and what authority are we to assign them? The answer is, that so far as they speak the language of the universal Church, and are accredited by the Church, so far they have the authority, which we saw under the last Article to be inherent in the Church, of deciding in controversies of faith. Now we can only know that they speak the language of the Church, when their decrees meet with universal acceptance, and are admitted by the whole body of Christians to be certainly true. Every general council, which has received this stamp to its decisions, may be esteemed to speak the language of the universal Church; and as in some cases the judgment of the universal Church could not otherwise have been elicited, therefore we must admit their importance and necessity. Now the first six, or at least the first four, general councils have received this sanction of universal consent to their decisions. Their decrees were sent round throughout the Christian world; they were received and approved of by all the different national Churches of Europe, Asia, and Africa; the errors condemned by them were then, and ever have been, counted heresies; and the creeds set forth by them have been acknowledged, revered, and constantly repeated in the Liturgy, by every orthodox Church from that time to this¹.

Thus then the true general synods have received an authority which they had not in themselves. 'It is,' as the Lutheran Confession expresses it, 'the legitimate way of healing dissension in the Church to refer ecclesiastical controversies to

λον ἐσχηκίας, ἥ προσθήκην. Αἱ γὰρ φιλονεικίαι καὶ φιλαρχίαι· ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδὲ φορτικὸν ὑπολάβῃς οὕτω γράφοντα· καὶ λόγου κρείττονες, κ. τ. λ.—*Epist.* 55, *Procopio*. Tom. i. p. 814, Colon. 1690.

¹ Not only episcopal churches have so admitted the decrees of the general councils, but that the reformers and reformed bodies of Christians in Germany, Switzerland, &c. have admitted them, may appear both from their confessions and the writings of their divines—*e. g.* see *Confession August.* Art. xxi.; *Sylloge*, p. 189; Calvin, *Institut.* iv. ix. 8, 13.

synods¹. But those synods have universal authority, only when they receive catholic consent. When the Church at large has universally received their decrees, then are they truly general councils, and their authority equal to the authority of the Church itself.

Supposing then a synod to assemble, and to draw up articles of doctrine, or rules of discipline, even though it have been legally assembled by an authority qualified to convene it, and to insure attendance at it, still we hold it possible that it should err, not only in its mode of reasoning, or in matters indifferent, but 'even in things pertaining to God.' Hence, when its decrees came forth, especially if they concerned things 'necessary to salvation;' we should not esteem them to have strength nor authority 'until they were compared with Holy Scripture, and could be declared to be taken out' of it. The council itself would be bound to decide on the grounds of Scripture, no power having the right to prescribe anything as 'requisite or necessary to salvation, which is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby.' The Church would be bound to examine the decisions of the council itself, on the grounds of Scripture, and would not be justified in receiving those decisions, unless it found that they were 'taken out of Holy Scripture.' But when the Church had fully received, and stamped with its approval the acts of the council, then would they assume the form of judgments of the Church concerning the doctrines of Scripture². This was the case with the great Councils of Nice, Constanti-

¹ 'Hæc est usitata et legitima via in ecclesia dirimendi dissensiones, videlicet ad synodos referre controversias ecclesiasticas.'—*Conf. August.* ubi supra.

² Calvin, as above referred to, says: 'Sic priscas illas synodos, ut Nicænam, Constantinopolitanam, Ephesinam primam, Chalcedonensem, ac similes, quæ confutandis erroribus habitæ sunt, libenter amplectamur, reveremurque ut sacrosanctas, quantum attinet ad fidei dogmata: nihil enim continent quam puram et nativam Scripturæ interpretationem quam sancti patres, spirituali prudentia, ad frangendos religionis hostes,

nople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. They put forth their decisions as their interpretations of the Word of God. They enjoined nothing 'as necessary to salvation,' but what they 'declared to have been taken out of Holy Scripture.' All Christendom received their interpretations as sound and true; and, from that day to this, they have been admitted by the Catholic Church as true articles of faith. This has stamped them with an authority of Scriptural truth, and Catholic consent, of which the constitution of the Councils themselves could not give us full certainty and assurance¹.

3 Concerning the assertion of the Article, that 'some general councils have erred,' Bishop Burnet justly observes, that it 'must be understood of councils that pass for such.' The later councils summoned by the Pope, and acknowledged only by the Western Churches and those in obedience to Rome, were commonly called General Councils at the time of the Reformation, as they still are in the Roman Church, though never acknowledged by the Churches of the East².

Of these, the fourth Council of Lateran, under Innocent III. A. D. 1215, asserted the doctrine of Transubstantiation³. The Council of Constance, A. D. 1414, forbade the cup to the laity⁴. The Council of Florence, A. D. 1439, decreed the doctrine of Purgatory⁵. The Council of Trent added to the Nicene Creed

qui tunc emerserant, accommodarunt.'—*Institut.* iv. ix. 8. Compare *Confess. Helvet.* Art. xi.; *Sylloge*, pp. 41, 42.

¹ On the subject of the authority of general synods, see Palmer, *On the Church*. Part iv. ch. 8; whose view is the same as that taken in the text.

² According to the Roman Church the First Council of Lateran summoned by Pope Calixtus II. A. D. 1123, was the 9th general Council. The other general councils allowed by the Latin Church are, Second Lateran, A. D. 1139. Third Lateran, 1179. Fourth Lateran, 1215. Lyons, 1245. Lyons, 1274. Vienne, 1311. Constance, 1414. Basle, 1431. Florence, 1439. Fifth Lateran, 1512. Trent, 1546.

³ Conc. Lateran, iv. Can. 1.

⁴ Sess. xiii.

⁵ Concil. Florent. *De Purgat.*

a confession of belief in seven Sacraments, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Image-worship, &c. &c.

The decrees of these councils, though called general, have never received the assent of the Eastern Churches, and cannot therefore be of universal authority. None of the above-mentioned doctrines, which they sanctioned, can be found in Scripture, but may all be proved to be contrary to Scripture. They are all denied in those Articles of our own Church which we have next to consider, and which we shall have to justify from Holy Writ. Hence, we can have no difficulty in concluding that some (so-called) General Councils have erred, even in things pertaining to God.

ARTICLE XXII.

Of Purgatory.

THE Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images, as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

De Purgatorio.

DOCTRINA Romanensium de purgatorio, de indulgentiis, de veneratione, tum imaginum, tum reliquiarum, necnon de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur; immo verbo Dei contradicit.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

THE three preceding Articles concerned the Church visible.
This treats of the Church invisible.

The only difference between the wording of this Article and the XXIIIrd of Edward VI. is, that whereas this has, 'The Romish doctrine,' that had 'The doctrine of the school-authors.'

The Article is so comprehensive that many volumes might be written upon it. It will be necessary therefore to study brevity. It evidently treats of two principal points. I. Purgatory, and the pardons or indulgences connected with the doctrine concerning it. II. The Worship of images and relics, and the Invocation of Saints.

I. 1 Purgatory.

Under the IIIrd Article we saw, that the Jews and the early Christians uniformly believed in an intermediate state between death and judgment. But their language and expectations, at least those of the earliest fathers, are inconsistent with

a belief that any of the pious were in a state of suffering, or that the sufferings of the wicked were but for a time only.

Clemens Romanus says, that 'Those who have finished their course in charity, according to the grace of Christ, possess the region of the godly, who shall be manifested in the visitation of the Kingdom of Christ¹.' Justin Martyr says, 'The souls of the godly remain in a certain better place, the unjust and wicked in a worse, awaiting the day of judgment².' Irenæus argues from the parable of Dives and Lazarus, that 'each sort of men receive, even before the judgment, their due place of abode³.' Tertullian speaks of Paradise 'as a place of divine pleasantness destined to receive the spirits of the just⁴.' So Cyprian, 'It is for him to fear death who is unwilling to go to Christ⁵.' 'Do not suppose death the same thing to the just and the unjust. The just are called to a refreshing, the unjust are hurried away to torment; speedily safety is given to the faithful, to the unfaithful punishment⁶.' This, he shews, is not peculiar to martyrs or eminent saints. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, did not suffer martyrdom, yet were honoured first among the patriarchs; and to their company every one is gathered who is believing and righteous and praiseworthy⁷.

¹ ἔχουσιν χάραν εὐσεβῶν.—Clem. *ad. Cor.* i. 50.

² τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ψυχὰς ἐν χρεστροῖ ποὶ χάραν μένειν, κ. τ. λ.—*Dial.* p. 222; *Conf. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. Justino. Imputat.* qu. 5.

³ 'Dignam habitationem unamquamque gentem percipere etiam ante judicium.'—Lib. II. 63. Compare Lib. V. 31, quoted above, Vol. I. p. 122.

⁴ 'Locum divinæ amœnitatis recipiendis sanctorum spiritibus destinatum.'—*Apol.* I. 47.

⁵ 'Ejus est mortem timere qui ad Christum nolit ira.'—Cyp. *De Mortalitate*, p. 157, Oxon. 1682.

⁶ 'Non est quod putetis bonis et malis interitum esse commune. Ad refrigerium justi vocantur, ad supplicium rapiuntur injusti: datur velocius tutela fidentibus, perfidis pœna.'—*Ibid.* p. 161.

⁷ 'Ad quorum convivium congregatur quisquis fidelis et justus et laudabilis invenitur.'—*Ibid.* p. 163.

The reasoning of the whole treatise *De Mortalitate* is of the same kind, and quite inconsistent with a belief that good men going out of this

We may, however, early trace a belief that, as death itself was a part of the curse, so every one was to look forward, not for the rest of the intermediate state, but for the joys of the resurrection; a delay of the resurrection, and a continuance of the death of the body, being esteemed in itself penal, and the result of sin. Indeed, St. Paul (2 Cor. v. 2, 4, 6) taught, that to be unclothed was an evil; though it would be better to be 'absent from the body,' since thereby we might be 'present with the Lord.' Hence, Irenæus speaks of the time between death and judgment as 'a period of condemnation, resulting from man's disobedience¹.' And Tertullian says, that 'sin, though small in amount, may be to be punished by delay of the resurrection²:' of which passage more hereafter.

This leads to the consideration of *Prayer for the Dead*. There can be no question that this custom very early prevailed among Christians. It is first mentioned by Tertullian, who speaks of the common practice of the Church, to make oblations for the dead on the anniversary of the day of their death, which they called their birth-day; who says also, that widows prayed for the souls of their husbands, that they might have refreshment and a part in the first resurrection³. The like is mentioned by Origen⁴, Cyprian⁵, Cyril of Jerusalem⁶, Gregory Nazianzen⁷, Ambrose⁸, Chrysostom⁹, and others of the earliest

life have a penal state to undergo, before attaining to rest and happiness.

¹ 'Ut quemadmodum caput resurrexit a mortuis, sic et reliquum corpus omnis hominis qui invenitur in vita, impleto tempore condemnationis ejus, quæ erat propter inobedientiam, resurgat.'—Iren. iii. 21.

² 'Modicum quoque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum.'—*De Anima*, c. 58.

³ 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus.'—*De Corona Milit.* c. 3. 'Pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus.'—*De Monogamia*, c. 10.

⁴ Lib. ix. in *Rom.* xii.

⁵ Epist. 34, Edit. Fell, 39, p. 77.

⁶ *Catech. Myst.* v. 6, 7.

⁷ *Orat. in Cæsar. justa fin.*

⁸ Epist. ii. 8, ad *Faustinum*.

⁹ Hom. 41, in 1 ad *Corinth.*

fathers; and prayers and thanksgivings for the dead occur in all the ancient Liturgies, as in that to be found in the Apostolical Constitutions, in the Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, &c. &c.

On this early practice, dating unquestionably from the second century, the school-authors and the Romanist divines ground one of their strongest arguments to prove that a belief in Purgatory was primitive and apostolic. For why, say they, were prayers offered for the dead, unless they could profit them? and how could they profit them, except by delivering from the pains of Purgatory, or shortening their duration?

Yet it is to be observed, that many of the very prayers, alleged by the Roman Catholic controversialists, do of themselves prove that those who composed them could not have believed the persons prayed for to be in purgatory. The prayers for the dead in the ancient liturgies are offered for all the greatest saints, for the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and martyrs, whom even the Roman Church has never supposed to be in purgatory. Thus the Clementine Liturgy, found in the Apostolical Constitutions¹, has the words, 'We offer to Thee (i. e. we pray) for all the saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world; the patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs,' &c. The Liturgy called St. Chrysostom's prays for all departed in the faith, patriarchs, prophets, Apostles, &c.: and 'especially for the holy, immaculate, blessed Theotokos, and ever-virgin Mary².' This alone is sufficient to prove that prayer for the dead did not presuppose Purgatory, and was in no degree necessarily connected with it. Indeed, many of the ancients, who speak of praying for the dead, positively declare their firm belief that those for whom they prayed were in peace, rest and blessedness, and therefore certainly not in fire

¹ *Constitut. Apostol.* Lib. viii. cap. 12.

² ἐξαίρετως τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης δεισποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.—Chrysost. *Liturg. Græc.*

and torment¹; and it is not too much to affirm, that none of the ancient prayers had any thing like an allusion to a Purgatory. Nay, even in the ancient Roman missals were the words, ‘Remember, O Lord, thy servants which have gone before us with the sign of faith, and *sleep in the sleep of peace*; To them, O Lord, and to all *that are at rest in Christ*, we beseech Thee to grant a place of refreshment, of light and peace².’

It has been so common to admit the false premiss of the Romanist divines (viz. that prayer for the dead presupposes a Purgatory), that it is to many minds difficult to understand on what principles the early Christians used such prayers. One of those principles was doubtless, that all things to us unknown are to us future. Present and future are but relative ideas. To God nothing is future; all things are present. But to man that is future, of which he is ignorant. As then we know not with absolute certainty the present condition or final doom of those who are departed; their present condition is relatively, and their final doom absolutely, future to our minds. Hence we are justified in praying that it may be good, even though the events of their past life may have already decided it. Again, the Resurrection is yet to come, and therefore the full bliss of the departed is yet future. Hence the ancients prayed for a hastening of the Resurrection, much in the spirit of our own Burial Service, and of the petition in the Lord’s Prayer, ‘Thy Kingdom come³.’ Thus St. Ambrose prayed for the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian, that God would ‘raise them up with

¹ See this shewn in very numerous instances by Archbishop Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, ch. vii., and by Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. xv. ch. iii. § 16.

² ‘Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur.’—*Bibl. Patr.* Gr. Lat. Tom. II. p. 129, quoted by Usher and Bingham, as above.

³ See Bp. Bull, Sermon III. *Works*, Vol. I. p. 71, Oxf. 1827.

⁴ ‘Te quæso, summe Deus, ut charissimos juvenes matura resurrec-

a speedy resurrection.' And the Liturgies constantly ask a speedy and a happy resurrection to those who have died in the Lord¹.

Another portion of these prayers was Eucharistic or thanksgiving; whereby they gave God thanks both for the martyrs and for all that had died in the faith and fear of God²: and these commemorations of the departed were thought most important, as testifying a belief in the doctrine of 'the Communion of Saints,' and that the souls of those who are gone hence are still living, still fellow-heirs of the same glory, and fellow-citizens of the same kingdom with ourselves³.

These were the chief reasons for prayers for the dead in public Liturgies. In the more private devotions, the solicitude, which had existed for beloved objects whilst on earth, was still expressed for their souls, when they had gone hence, and were in the middle state of the dead. For, though they held that 'what shall be to every one at the day of judgment, is determined at the day of his death⁴,' yet they thought it not unreasonable to pray that even those, whom they hoped were safe, might not lose that portion of blessedness, which they supposed to be in store for them⁵. There were also some private opinions

tionem suscites et resuscites.'—Ambros. *De Obi. Valentini, in ipso fine*; Usher, as above.

¹ See numerous examples, quoted by Usher, as above.

² 'The term of εὐχαριστήριος εὐχή, "a thanksgiving prayer," I borrow from the writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy (Dionys. *Eccles. Hierarchy*, cap. vii.), who, in the description of the funeral observances used of old in the Church, informeth us, first, that the friends of the dead accounted him to be, as he was, blessed, because that according to his wish he had obtained a victorious end, and thereupon sent forth hymns of thanksgiving to the Author of that victory, desiring that they themselves might come unto the like end.'—Usher, as above.

³ Epiphanius. *Hæres.* lxxv. n. vii.

⁴ 'Quod enim in die iudicii futurum est omnibus, hoc in singulis die mortis impletur.'—Hieronymus. in *Joel*, cap. 2; Usher, *ibid*.

⁵ See this exemplified in the prayer of St. Augustine for his mother Monica.—*Confess.* Lib. ix. cap. 13, quoted by Bingham, Lib. xv. ch. iii. § 16.

—as that the ‘more abundant damnation’ of the damned might be lessened¹—that there was a first resurrection, at which some eminent saints rose before the rest, and to this they prayed that their friends might attain²—that all men even the best and holiest had at the day of judgment a baptism of fire to go through, which should try their works, even though they should be saved in it: of which baptism more presently. Such private and particular opinions influenced the prayers of those who adopted them: but they were all unconnected with the doctrine of purgatory³.

The prayers for the dead, thus early prevalent, were in process of time, in the Roman Church, converted into prayers for souls in purgatory. At the beginning of the Reformation it was first proposed to eradicate all traces of this doctrine from the Liturgies, but to retain such prayers for the dead as were accordant with primitive practice and belief. Accordingly, the first Liturgy of Edward VI. contained thanksgivings for all those saints ‘who now do rest in the sleep of peace,’ prayer for their ‘everlasting peace,’ and that ‘at the day of the general resurrection all they, which be of the mystical body of the Son, might be set on His right hand.’ But the reformers afterwards, fearing, from what had already occurred, that such prayers might be abused or misconstrued, removed them from the Communion and Burial services. Yet still we retain a thanksgiving for saints departed, a prayer that we, with them, may be partakers of everlasting glory, and a request that God would ‘complete the number of His elect, and hasten His king-

¹ ‘Ut tolerabilior sit damnatio.’—Aug. *Enchirid. ad Laurent.* cap. cx. Bingham, *ibid.*

² This was a Millenarian opinion, and was held by Tertullian.—*De Monogam.* cap. 10; *cont. Marcion.* Lib. III. cap. 25; Bingham, *ibid.*

³ The student should by all means read Usher’s *Answer to a Jesuit*, ch. vii. *On Prayer for the Dead*; and Bingham, Bk. xv. ch. iii. § 15, 16. See also Field, *Of the Church*, Bk. III. c. 9, 17; Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*, Part I. ch. i. § iv.; Bramhall, *Answer to M. De la Millaire*, Vol. I. p. 59, of the Anglo-Catholic Library; Bull’s *Works*, Vol. I. Serm. III. &c.

dom, that we, with all those who are departed out of this life in His faith and fear, may have our perfect consummation and bliss in His eternal and everlasting glory.' Such commemorations of the dead sufficiently accord with the spirit of the primitive prayers, without in any degree laying us open to the danger that ill-taught or ill-thinking men might found upon them doctrines of deceit or dangerous delusions.

We have seen then, that the doctrine of the ancients concerning the intermediate state was inconsistent with a belief in purgatory, and that their custom of praying for the dead had no connexion with it. Yet we may trace the rise of the doctrine itself by successive steps from early times.

In the first two centuries there is a deep silence on the subject. At the end of the second, Tertullian, as we have seen, considered that Paradise was a place of divine pleasantness appointed to receive the souls of the just¹. But early in the third century, Tertullian had left the Church, and joined the Montanists; and there is a passage in one of his treatises, written after he became a Montanist, which deserves attention. In that treatise (*De Anima*), he indeed clearly speaks of all the righteous as detained in *inferis*, waiting in Abraham's bosom the comfort of the resurrection²; and says, that doubtless in the intermediate state (*penes inferos*) are punishments and rewards, as we may learn from the parable of Dives and Lazarus³. This appears inconsistent with any purgatorial notion; yet some consider that he had an idea of the kind, because he explains twice in this treatise the words, 'Thou shalt not come out thence till thou hast paid the very last farthing,' to mean, that even 'small offences are expiated by delay of resurrection'. He

¹ *Apol.* i. 45, quoted above.

² Tertull. *De Anima*, 55.

³ *Ibid.* 58.

⁴ 'Ne . . . judex te tradat angelo executionis, et ille te in carcerem mandet inferum, unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso.'—*Ibid.* 35.

seems, however, to consider that they will be more fully punished at the judgment¹. And even this interpretation of Scripture, which is evidently very different from the doctrine of purgatory, he says that he derived, not from the teaching of the Church, but from Montanus².

Contemporary with Tertullian, though somewhat his junior, was Origen. If Tertullian derived a notion somewhat resembling purgatory from a heretic, Origen derived a notion also bearing some resemblance to it from a heathen. His views of the nature of the human soul were borrowed from Plato. He believed it to be immortal and pre-existent, always in a state of progress or decline, and ever receiving the place due to its attainments in holiness, or defection to wickedness. Hence, he did not believe the purest souls of the redeemed, or the holy angels themselves, incapable of sinning, nor the very devils out of

‘In summa carcerem illum quem evangelium demonstrat inferos intelligimus, et novissimum quadrantem, modicum quoque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum interpretamur; nemo dubitabit animam aliquid pensare penes inferos salva resurrectionis plenitudine per carnem quoque.’—*Ibid.* 58.

¹ See the concluding words in the last-cited passage.

² ‘Hoc enim Paracletus (h. e. Montanus) frequentissime commendavit, si quis sermones ejus ex agnitione promissorum charismatum admiscuit.’—*Ibid.*

There is a passage in Cyprian (*Epist.* 55 *ad. Antonian.* p. 109, Oxf. 1682) from which it is supposed that he adopted this view of Tertullian, whom he called ‘his Master.’ Rigaltius has shewn, that the language thus used by Cyprian applies to the penitential discipline of the Church, not to a purgatorial fire after death. It is true, the wording of this passage looks like Tertullian’s reasoning. But Cyprian’s language is so constantly opposed to the notion of purgatory, that it is scarcely possible that he should have consistently held that doctrine. See the passages above quoted from his treatise *De Mortaliitate*. So the following: ‘Quod interim morimur, ad immortalitatem morte transgredimur; nec potest vita æterna succedere, nisi hinc contigerit exire. Non est exitus iste, sed transitus; et temporali itinere decurso, ad æterna transgressus.’—*De Mortaliitate*, 12, p. 164. ‘Amplectamur diem, qui assignat singulos domicilio suo, qui nos istinc ereptos, et laqueis sæcularibus exsolutos Paradiso restituit et regno.’—*Ibid.* 14, p. 166.

all hope of recovery¹. In accordance with this theory, he was obliged to consider that all the pains of the damned were merely purgatorial, and that their sins would be expiated by fire². To this he applied those passages of Scripture which speak of 'a fiery trial,' and of the fire as to 'try every man's work, of what sort it is' (1 Cor. iii. 13—15). He held that at the day of judgment all men must pass through the fire, even the saints and prophets. As the Hebrews went through the Red sea, so all must pass through the fire of the judgment. As the Egyptians sank in the sea, so wicked men shall sink in the lake of fire; but good men, washed in the blood of the Lamb, even they, like Israel, must pass through the flood of flame; but they shall go through it safe and uninjured³. All must go to the fire. The Lord sits and purifies the sons of Judah. He who brings much gold with little lead, shall have the lead purged away, and the gold shall remain uncorrupted. The more lead there is, the more burning there will be. But if a man be all leaden, he shall sink down into the abyss, as lead sinks in the water⁴.

This theory of Origen is so far from being the same with the Romanist's purgatory, that, first of all, he places it instead of hell; and secondly, so far from looking for it between death and the resurrection, he taught that it would take place after the resurrection, at the day of judgment. Yet to this speculation, the offspring of human reason and Platonic philosophy, we may trace the rise of the doctrine, on which the Church of Rome has erected so much of her power, and which has been so fatally pregnant with superstition. The theories of Origen were interesting, his character and learning were captivating;

¹ *De Principiis*, Lib. i. cap. 6, n. 3; Hieronym. *In Jonæ Proph.* c. iii.; Augustin. *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. xxi. c. 17, Tom. vii. 637. See *Laud against Fisher*, § 38.

² Origen. *De Principiis*, Lib. ii. cap. 10, n. 5; *Homil. in Levitic.* vii. n. 4.

³ *Homil.* iii. *in Ps.* xxxvi. num. 1.

⁴ *Homil. in Exod.* vi. num. 4.

and so his name and opinions had much weight with those who followed him. Accordingly, we find eminent writers both in the East and West embracing his speculations. Lactantius held all judgment to be deferred till the resurrection; then eternal fire should consume the wicked, but it should try even the just. Those who had many sins would be scorched by it, but the pure would come off scathless¹. Gregory Nazianzen, with the same idea, speaking of various kinds of baptism, Moses' baptism, Christ's baptism, the martyrs' baptism, the baptism of penitence, adds, 'and perhaps in the next world men will be baptized with fire, which last baptism will be more grievous and of longer duration, which will devour the material part like hay, and consume the light substance of every kind of sin².' Ambrose again, using almost the words of Origen, says 'that all must pass through the flames, even St. John and St. Peter³.' And elsewhere he adopts Origen's illustration of the Israelites and Egyptians passing through the Red sea, comparing it with the passage of all men through the fire of judgment⁴. Hilary too speaks of all, even the virgin Mary, as to undergo the trial of fire at the day of judgment, in which souls must expiate their offences⁵. Gregory Nyssen in like manner speaks of 'a purgatorial fire after our departure hence,' and of 'the purging fire, which takes away the filth commingled with the soul⁶.'

All these views spring from the same source, and tend to the

¹ Lactant. vii. 21.

² *τυχόν εκεί τῷ πυρὶ βαπτισθήσονται τῷ τελευταίῳ βαπτίσματι τῷ ἐπιπονωτέρῳ καὶ μακροτέρῳ, ὃ ἐσθίει τὸν χόρτον, τὴν ὕλην καὶ δαπανᾷ πάσης κακίας κοινότητα.*—Greg. Nazianz. *Oratio* xxxix. *juxta finem*.

³ *Serm.* xx. in *Psal.* 118.

⁴ In *Psal.* 36.

⁵ 'Cum ex omni otioso verbo rationem simul præstituri diem judicii concupiscemus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa explandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia,' &c.—Hilar. in *Psal.* 118. lit. *Gimel*.

⁶ *μετὰ τὴν ἐνθὺνδε μετανάστασιν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ καθαρσίου πυρὸς χωνείας.*—*Orat. De Mortuis*, Tom. iii. p. 634, Paris. 1638. τοῦ καθαρσίου πυρὸς τὸν ἐμμιχθέντα τῇ ψυχῇ ῥύπον ἀποκαθάρντος.—*Ibid.* p. 635. See *Laud against Fisher*, § 38.

same conclusion. They arise from Origen's interpretation of 1 Cor. iii. 13—15, and they imply a belief, not in a purgatory between death and resurrection, but in a fiery ordeal, through which all must pass at the day of judgment; which will consume the wicked, but purify the just.

We come now to St. Augustine. His name is deservedly had in honour, and his opinions have borne peculiar weight. He too, like Origen and Ambrose, speaks of the fire of judgment which is to try men's works¹. But he goes further still. In commenting on the passage of St. Paul, so often referred to, (1 Cor. iii. 11—15), he says, that if men have the true foundation, even Jesus Christ, though they may not be pure from all carnal affections and infirmities, these shall be purged away from them by the fire of tribulation, by the loss of things we love, by persecution, and in the end of the world by the afflictions which antichrist should bring; in short, by the troubles of this life. But then he adds, that some have supposed, that after death some further purging by fire was awaiting them, who were not fully purified here, and he says, 'I will not argue against it; for perhaps it is true².' He does not set it forth as an article of faith. He does not speak of it as a doctrine of the Church. He does not propound it as an acknowledged truth. He does not lay it down as a settled opinion. He merely alleges it as a probable conjecture. He holds it to be uncertain whether all tribulation is to be borne here, or some hereafter; or whether

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, xvi. 24. xx. 25. Tom. vii. pp. 437, 609.

² 'Post istius sane corporis mortem, donec ad illum veniatur, qui post resurrectionem corporum futurus est damnationis ultimus dies, si hoc temporis intervallo spiritus defunctorum ejusmodi ignem dicuntur perpeti, quem non sentiant illi qui non habuerunt tales mores et amores in hujus corporis vita, ut eorum ligna, fœnum, stipula consumatur; alii vero sentiant qui ejusmodi secum ædificia portaverunt, sive ibi tantum, sive ideo hic ut non ibi, sæcularia, quamvis a damnatione venialia concremantem ignem transitorie tribulationis inveniant, non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est.'—*De Civit. Dei*, xxi. 26, Tom. vii. p. 649.

some hereafter instead of some here. But he thinks perhaps some such opinion is true. He says at least, it is not incredible¹. The very mode, in which he sets forth his doubts and queries, shews that no certain ground could be taken upon the subject, as deduced from undoubted language of Scripture, or primitive teaching of the Church. In fact, he acknowledges the great difficulty of the passage in St. Paul, simply speaks of the purgatorial view as having been suggested, and thinks it not impossible or improbable. In this form of it, it was in fact an evident novelty in the days of St. Augustine².

A century and a half later, Pope Gregory I. laid it down distinctly, that 'there is a purgatorial fire before the judgment for lighter faults³.' From this time a belief in purgatory rapidly gained ground in the Western Church. Visions and apparitions of the dead were appealed to, as witnesses for the existence of a state of purgation for those souls who were detained in prison waiting for the judgment⁴. Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen discussed the subject with their usual ingenuity, and more fully explained the situation of purgatory,

¹ 'Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri, incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit quæri potest, et aut inveniri aut latere, nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusque salvari.'—*Enchiridion ad Laurent.* cap. 69, Tom. vi. p. 222. See also *De Fide et Operibus*, cap. 16, Tom. vi. p. 180.

² We must by no means imagine that the fathers uniformly interpreted this passage of the Corinthians either of a purgatorial fire at judgment, or before the judgment. For example, St. Chrysostom distinctly expounds it of a probatory not a purgatory fire; and understands that those who suffer loss are those who are damned eternally, and that their 'being saved yet so as by fire,' means that they shall be preserved from annihilation, not from suffering by the fire.—See *Hom. ix. in 1 Corinth.*

³ 'De quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendus est.'—Gregor. *Dial. Lib. iv. cap. 39.* Also in *Psalm iii. Pœnitent. in princip.*; Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, ch. vi.; *Laud against Fisher*, § 38.

⁴ See Jer. Taylor, *Disuasive from Popery*, Pt. I. ch. i. § 4, Vol. x. p. 150, *Works*, London, 1822.

its pains, and their intensity. But the Greek Church, divided from the Latin on other points, was never agreed with it on this.

In the year 1431 met the Synod of Basle, which promised much reformation, and effected none. Thither a deputation had come from the Emperor of Constantinople; and by it a hope was excited, that the breach between the two long-divided branches of the Church might now be healed. Eugenius IV. Bishop of Rome, who at first endeavoured in 1437 to translate the Council of Basle to Ferrara, now strove to remove it to Florence, (A.D. 1439). Only four of the bishops left Basle at his command, the rest continuing their sitting there till 1443, forming a council acknowledged as œcumenical by great part of Europe, though opposed to the pope. However, several Italian bishops met at Florence, and were joined by the Greek emperor and some bishops from the East. In this synod the Greek deputies were induced to acknowledge, that the Bishop of Rome was the primate and head of the Church, that the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and *that there is a Purgatory*. These decrees were signed by about sixty-two Latin bishops, by John Paleologus the emperor, and by eighteen Eastern bishops. On their return to Constantinople, the Greek prelates were received with the greatest indignation by those whom they might be supposed to represent. The decrees of Florence were utterly and most summarily rejected in the East, the synod was altogether repudiated, and has never since been recognized. The patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, who were represented by deputies in the council, joined in the protest against it. To this day the Eastern Church never acknowledged it, nor does it accept any of its decrees, whether concerning the Procession, the Pope, or Purgatory¹.

The Council of Trent, A.D. 1563, professing to be 'taught

¹ Concil. Tom. xiii. ; Fleury, liv. ; Gibbon, ch. lxvi. lxvii. ; Usher, as above ; Palmer, *On the Church*, Pt. iv. ch. xi. § v.

by the Holy Spirit, the Scriptures, and tradition of the fathers,¹ decreed that there is a purgatory, and that souls there detained are aided by the sacrifice of the altar. It, however, forbade the people to be troubled with any of the more subtle questions on the subject¹.

The divines of the Church of Rome have not been so careful as the council, to avoid entering into minute discussion. Bellarmine has a whole book on the circumstances of purgatory. In this, he first discusses, for whom purgatory is reserved. Then he argues, that souls there detained can neither merit nor sin; then, that they are sure of salvation. Then he resolves the question, Where is purgatory? next he discusses, whether souls pass straight from purgatory to Heaven, or whether there be a Paradise besides. He discusses how long purgatory lasts, of what nature is its punishment, whether its fire is corporeal, (which he solves in the affirmative,) whether demons torment the souls there, (which he leaves in doubt). And lastly, he teaches how prayers aid the souls in purgatory, and what kind of prayers they should be².

2 Pardons or Indulgences.

These, in the sense intended by this Article and taught by the Church of Rome, sprang out of the doctrine of Purgatory.

In the Primitive Church, when Christians had lapsed in persecution, or otherwise incurred the censure of the Church, it was not uncommon for the bishops to relax the penances which had been enjoined on them, either when there was danger of death, or at the intercession of the martyrs or confessors in prison, or from some other worthy cause³. Very early, the custom of martyrs interceding appears to have been abused; and the high esteem in which martyrdom was held led to the

¹ Sess. XXV. *Decretum de Purgatorio*.

² Bellarmine. *De Purgatorio*, Lib. II.

³ Tertull. *ad Martyres*, c. i.; Cypr. Ep. 15 *ad Martyres*; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 2.

precipitate reception of their prayers for offenders, to the interruption of the right discipline of the Church¹.

The Council of Ancyra, and, soon after, the Council of Nice, gave bishops express authority to restore offenders to communion, and to shorten the term of their penitential probation, on consideration of past good conduct or present tokens of true repentance². This was reasonable enough. But all good is liable to abuse. In process of time, liberal almsgiving was accepted in lieu, or at least in mitigation of penance: the beginning of which custom is charged, though probably without justice, on our own Archbishop Theodore³. Here was a loophole for all evil to creep in. The subsequent sale of indulgences easily rose out of the permission to substitute charity to the poor or to the Church for mortification and humiliation before God.

But the obtaining of such exemptions is a wholly different thing from the modern doctrine of the Roman Church concerning indulgences. Indulgences indeed now are said to be exemptions from the *temporal punishment of sins*. But in the term *temporal punishment* are included not only Church-censures, but the pains of purgatory; and it is held, that the Bishop of Rome has a store or treasure of the merits of Christ and of the saints, which, for sufficient reasons, he can dispense, either by himself or his agents, to mitigate or shorten the sufferings of penitents, whether in this world or the world to come⁴; this power not, of course, extending to the torments of hell, which are not among the *temporal punishments of sin*. Some of the

¹ See Tertullian, *De Pudicit.* c. 22.

² Concil. Ancyran. Can. v.; Concil. Nicæn. I. Can. xii.; Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*, ch. III. § 2.

³ Theodore became Archbishop of Canterbury A. D. 670. The custom of purchasing exemption of penance by almsgiving can be proved to be of greater antiquity than this. See Marshall, as above.

⁴ 'Recte Clemens VI. Pont. in Constitutione Extravagantis, quæ incipit Unigenitus, . . . declaravit, extari in Eccl. thesaurum spiritualem

Roman Catholic divines acknowledge, that no mention of such indulgences is to be found in Scripture or in the fathers. Many of the schoolmen confess, that their use began in the time of Pope Alexander III., at the end of the twelfth century. Indeed, before this time, it is hardly possible to discover any traces of them. The first jubilee, or year of general indulgence, is said to have been kept in the pontificate of Boniface VIII. 1300 years after Christ. And the famous bull, *Unigenitus*, was issued by Pope Clement VI. fifty years after the first jubilee, A.D. 1350.¹ It was not without discussion and opposition, that this custom grew and prevailed². It reached its greatest height of corruption in the Pontificate of Leo X., when Tetzel, the agent of that pope, openly selling indulgences in Germany, roused the spirit of Luther, and so hastened the Reformation. This led to more formal discussion and consideration of the grounds of it. The Council of Trent decreed, that 'the treasures of the Church should not be made use of for gain, but for godliness³.' It declared that 'the power of granting indulgences was given by Christ to His Church,' that, according to ancient usage, 'it is to be retained in the Church;' and it anathematizes those 'who assert that indulgences are useless, or that the Church cannot grant them.' Yet it enjoins moderation in their use, lest 'by too great facility in granting them ecclesiastical discipline be enervated;' and forbids all abuses,

ex passionibus Christi et sanctorum conflatum.'—Bellarmin. *De Indulgentiis*, Lib. I. cap. 2.

'Restat igitur ut passiones sanctorum, si ullo modo dispensari debeant, extra sacramentum solum, idque per solutionem solius reatus pœnæ temporalis dispensari debeant.'—*Ibid.* cap. 3.

See also cap. 10, where Indulgences are shewn to apply either to penances in this life or purgatorial pains in the next.

¹ Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*, ch. i. § 3, Vol. x. p. 138; Bellarmin. *De Indulgentiis*, Lib. I. cap. 2.

² See Bp. Taylor, as above, who refers to Franciscus de Mayronis and Durandus as having disputed against it. See also Bellarmine, as above.

³ Sess. xxi. cap. ix.

whereby profit has been sought by them, and through which scandal has arisen from heretics¹.

II. 1 'Worshipping and adoration as well of images as of relics.'

We have strong testimony from the earliest times against anything like image-worship, or the use of images or pictures, for the exciting of devotion. Irenæus speaks of it as one of the errors of some of the Gnostics, that they had images and pictures, which they crowned and honoured, as the Gentiles do, professing that the form of Christ, as He was in the flesh, was made by Pilate². Clement of Alexandria repeatedly speaks of the impropriety of making an image of God, the best image of whom is man created after His likeness³. Origen quotes Celsus as saying that Christians could not 'bear temples, altars and images;' and proceeds to justify the forbidding of statues and images, shewing that Christians rejected them on a higher principle than the Scythians and nomad tribes of Libya⁴. He contends that it is folly to make images of God, whose best image are those virtues and graces, which the Word forms within us, and by which we imitate Him, the 'Firstborn of every creature,' in whom, of all things, is the highest and noblest image of the Father⁵. So Minucius Felix asks, 'What should I form as an image of God, when, if you think rightly, man is himself God's image⁶?' Exactly in like manner argues

¹ Sess. XXV. *Decretum de Indulgentiis*.

² Iren. *adv. Hær.* i. 24, *ad finem*. Comp. Epiphan. *Hæres.* XXVII. n. 6, who charges the Carpocratians with worshipping images of Christ, together with those of the philosophers, as the Gentiles do. So Augustine (*Hæres.* VII.) accuses them of worshipping images of our Lord, of St Paul, Homer and Plato.

³ *Strom.* Lib. v. 5, Tom. II. p. 662, Lib. VI. 18, Tom. II. p. 825, Lib. VII. 5. Tom. II. p. 845, &c.

⁴ *Cont. Cels.* Lib. VII. 62, *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.* Lib. VII. 18.

⁶ Minuc. Felic. *Octavius*, p. 313. Lugd. Batav. 1672.

Lactantius: 'That is not God's image, which is made with man's fingers, with stone or brass: but man himself, who thinks and moves and acts:' and he says, 'it is superfluous to make images of gods, as if they were absent, when we believe them to be present¹.' Athanasius as plainly condemns the adoration of images, whether in their use the Supreme Being be to be worshipped, or only angels and inferior intelligences².

The Romanist divines lay great stress on the early mention of the use of the sign of the cross and of emblematical figures. But, how far either of these are from resemblance to the later use of images, it is impossible that any one can be unmindful. Symbols of the faith were unquestionably very early adopted, perhaps from the very first; and have been retained, not only in the Anglican, but in the Lutheran and other reformed communions.

Tertullian speaks of the symbol, on a chalice, of the Good Shepherd carrying lost sheep on his shoulders³. This was not even a figure of our Saviour, but merely an emblem of Him; and this is the only instance ever mentioned by writers of the first three centuries. The sign of the cross, we learn from the same father, was constantly made by the first Christians on their foreheads, at their going out and coming in, at meals, at bathing, at lying down and rising up: and all this, he says, had been handed down by ancient custom and tradition⁴. But though they thus used the sign of the cross to remind them of Him who was crucified, it was not to worship it. 'We neither worship crosses, nor wish for them,' says Minucius Felix⁵: for the heathens had charged upon Christians, that they paid respect to that instrument of punishment which they deserved⁶. But the cross was esteemed emblematical of the doctrine of the

¹ *Instit.* II. 2.

² *Orat. cont. Gentes.* Tom. I. p. 22, Col. 1686.

³ *De Pudicit.* c. 7.

⁴ *De Corona M.* c. 3.

⁵ *Octav.* p. 284.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 86; Tertull. *Apol.* I. c. 16.

Cross, and a badge to distinguish Christian from heathen men. If ever the early Christians were likely to have worshipped the cross, it was when the Empress Helena, mother to Constantine the Great, found, or thought she found, the true cross on which our Lord was crucified. But how little was this the case, we learn from the words of St. Ambrose. He tells us that Helena found the nails with which our Lord was crucified, and placed one in the crown worn by Constantine. 'Wise Helena,' he says, 'who exalted the cross on the head of kings, that Christ's cross might be adored in kings¹.' But then he remarks, that Helena worshipped that great King who was crucified, 'not the wood on which He was crucified; that would be an heathenish error, a vanity of impious men; but she worshipped Him who hung upon the cross².' In vain therefore is the ancient use of the cross, or even the respect paid to the figure of it, alleged as a proof of the antiquity of image-worship. Indeed it has not been the cross, but the crucifix, the figure of the crucified Saviour, which has tempted to an idolatrous worship of it.

We have seen that it was charged against the Gnostics as an error, that they had an image of our Saviour, and paid it honour as the heathen do. Eusebius tells us, that the people of Paneas had a statue, said to have been erected by the woman who was healed of an issue of blood, and supposed to be a likeness of our blessed Saviour. Eusebius remarks on it, that it is no great wonder if the heathen who were healed by our Saviour should have done such things as this, when pictures of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and of Christ Himself, were said to be preserved; all this being after the heathen manner of honouring

¹ 'Sapiens Helena, quæ crucem in capite regum levavit, ut crux Christi in regibus adoretur.'—Ambros. *De Obitu Theodosii, juxta finem*.

² 'Habeat Helena quæ legat (h. e. *titulum in crucem a Pilato inscriptum*) unde crucem Domini recognoscat. Invenit ergo titulum, Regem adoravit, non lignum utique, quia hic Gentilis est error, et vanitas impiorum, sed adoravit Illum qui pendit in ligno,' &c.—*Ibid.*

deliverers¹. It is true, Sozomen tells us that, when Julian had removed this statue, and the heathen had insulted it and broken it in pieces out of hatred to Christ, the Christians gathered up the fragments and laid them up in the Church². But it follows not that, because the Christians of his day did not wish to see a statue, which was esteemed a likeness of our Saviour, treated with contempt, that they therefore intended to adore it. They did not set it up in the Church to worship, but simply brought in the fragments there, that they might not be insulted.

It is not improbable that, about the beginning of the fourth century, there was some inclination to bring pictures into churches; for at the Council of Eliberis in Spain, A.D. 305, one of the canons ordered, that 'no picture should be in the church, lest that which is worshipped or adored be painted on the walls³.' At the latter end of the fourth century, we are told that Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, to keep the country people quiet, when they met to celebrate the festival of the dedication of the church of St. Felix, ordered the church to be painted with portraits of martyrs and Scripture history, such as Esther, Job, Tobit, &c.⁴

Nearly at the same time, or a little earlier, Epiphanius, going through Anablatha, a village in Palestine, 'found there a veil hanging before the door of the church, whereon was painted an image of Christ, or some saint—he did not remember which. When he saw in the church of Christ an image of a man, contrary to the authority of Scripture, he rent it, and advised that it should be made a winding sheet for some poor man⁵.' Here we have the strong testimony of a bishop and

¹ ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἷα σωτήρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' εἰσιν τοῦτον τιμᾶν ἐλωθῶτων τὸν τρόπον.—*H. E.* VII. 18.

² Sozomen, v. 21.

³ Concil. Eliber. can. 36: 'Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.'—See Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive*, Pt. I. ch. i. § 8; Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. VIII. ch. viii. § 6.

⁴ Paulin. *Natal.* 9, *Felicitis*; Bingham, Bk. VIII. ch. viii. § 7.

⁵ Epiphanius. *Epist. ad Johan. Hierosol.*, translated by St. Jerom. Ep.

eminent father of the Church, not only against image-worship, but even against the use of pictures in the house of God.

At the end of the fourth century again, St. Augustine says, that he knew of many, who were worshippers of tombs and pictures, and who practised other superstitious rites. But he says, the Church condemns all such, and strives to correct them as evil children¹. He himself declares, that it is impiety to erect a statue to God in the church². He contends against the argument of the heathens, that they only used the image to remind them of the being they worshipped, saying, that the visible image naturally arrested the attention more than the invisible deity; and hence the use of such an outward symbol of devotion is calculated to lead to a real worship of the idol itself, even of the gold and silver the work of men's hands. And then he answers the objection, that Christians in the administration of the Sacraments had vessels made of gold and silver, the work of men's hands. 'But,' he asks, 'have they a mouth, and speak not? have they eyes, and see not? or do we worship them, because in their use we worship God? That is the chief cause of the mad impiety, that a form like life has so much power on the feelings of the wretched beings, as to make itself to be worshipped, instead of its being manifest that it is not living, and so ought to be condemned³;' &c.

From all this it is manifest, that in the fourth century, among ignorant Christians, a tendency to pay reverence to pictures or images was beginning to appear in some parts of the

60; Bellarmine (*De Imagin.* Lib. II. c. 9) argues that the passage is an interpolation. But it is in all the MSS., and its genuineness is admitted by Petavius (*De Incarnation.* Lib. xv. c. 14, 4, 8). See Bingham, as above.

¹ 'Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores, &c. . . . quos et ipsa (Ecclesia) condemnat, et quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet.'—*De Moribus Ecclesiæ*, I. c. 34, §§ 74, 75, Tom. I. p. 713.

² *De Fide et Symbolo*, c. vii. Tom. VI. p. 157; Comp. *De Consensu Evangelist.* I. 16, Tom. III. Pt. II. p. 11.

³ *In Psalm.* cxliii.; Serm. II. §§ 4, 5, 6.

Church ; the Church herself and her bishops and divines strongly opposing and earnestly protesting against it. Towards the close of this century, and afterwards, we hear of pictures (not statues) introduced into churches. Yet these pictures were not pictures of our Lord and His saints, but rather historical pictures of Scripture subjects, such as the sacrifice of Isaac, or of martyrdoms, or, as we saw from Paulinus, of Job and Esther, and other famous characters of old. About the same time, pictures of living kings and bishops were admitted into the church, and set up with those of martyrs and Scripture histories. But as with the dead, so neither with the living, was worship either probable or designed¹. However, danger of this kind soon arose. By degrees not pictures only, but statues were brought in. And in the sixth century, we find that Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, ordered all the images in the churches of his diocese to be defaced and broken ; whereupon Gregory the Great writes to him, to say, that he approved of his forbidding images to be worshipped, but that he blamed him for breaking them, as they were innocent in themselves, and useful for the instruction of the vulgar².

In the eighth century arose the famous Iconoclastic controversy at Constantinople. Philippicus Bardanes, the emperor, with the consent of John, Patriarch of Constantinople, began by pulling down pictures from the churches, and forbade them at Rome as well as in Greece. Constantius, Bishop of Rome, opposed him, and ordered pictures of the first six councils to be placed in the porch of St. Peter's. The controversy, thus kindled, raged during the reigns of several subsequent emperors, especially of Leo the Isaurian, and his son Constantine Copronymus, who were zealous Iconoclasts, and the Empress Irene, as

¹ See Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. viii. ch. viii. §§ 9, 11.

² 'Quia sanctorum imagines adorari vetuisses, omnino laudavimus : fregisse vero reprehendimus,' &c.—Gregor. Lib. ix. Ep. 9 ; Bingham, as above ; Jer. Taylor, as above.

zealous for the opposite party, who were called Iconoduli. In the reign of Constantine Copronymus, a council was summoned at Constantinople, A. D. 754, called by the Greeks the Seventh General Council, but rejected by the Latins, which condemned the worship and all use of images. In the reign of Irene, A. D. 784, the second Council of Nice was summoned by that empress, which reversed the decrees of the Council of Constantinople, and ordained that images should be set up, that salutation and respectful honour should be paid them, and incense should be offered; but not the worship of *Latria*, which is due to God alone¹. The decrees of this synod were sent by Pope Adrian into France, to Charlemagne, to be confirmed by the bishops of his kingdom; Charlemagne having also received them direct from Greece. The Gallican bishops, having thus a copy of the decrees, composed a reply to them, not objecting to images, if used for historical remembrance and ornament to walls, but absolutely condemning any worship or adoration of them². This work (the *Libri Carolini*) was published by the authority of Charlemagne and the consent of his bishops, A. D. 790.³ Charlemagne also consulted the British bishops, A. D. 792, who, abhorring the worship of images, authorized Albinus to convey to Charlemagne, in their name, a refutation of the decrees of the second Council of Nice. In 794, Charlemagne assembled a synod at Frankfort, composed of 300 bishops, from France,

¹ In the VIIth Session a profession of faith was read and signed by the legates and bishops, deciding that images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, should be exposed to view and honoured, but not worshipped with *Latria*; but that lights should be burned before them and incense offered to them, as the honour so bestowed upon the image is transferred to the original.

² 'Dum nos nihil in imaginibus spernamus nisi adorationem . . . non ad adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et venustatem parietum habere permittimus.'—*Lib. Carol. Lib. III. c. 16.*

³ The Caroline books are still extant. The preface may be seen in Mr. Harvey's learned and useful work, *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindex Catholicus*.

Germany, and Italy, who formally rejected the Synod of Nice, and declared that it was not to be esteemed the seventh general council¹. It has been shewn, indeed, that the Synod of Nice was not received in the Western Church for five centuries and a half; and it was very long before there was any real recognition of image-worship in the West, except in those Churches immediately influenced by Rome².

In 869, the Emperor Basil assembled another council at Constantinople, attended by about one hundred Eastern bishops and the legates of Pope Adrian. This confirmed the worship of images, and is esteemed by Romanists as the eighth general council. Yet it is wholly rejected by the Eastern Church, and was evidently for a long time not acknowledged in the West³. It was rejected by the next Council of Constantinople, held A.D. 879, which itself also is rejected by the Western Church.

It is unnecessary to trace further the progress of the corruption. Such things are mostly gradual, and little noticed in their advance.

The Council of Trent, which is supposed to fix the doctrines of the Roman Church, enjoins that 'Images of Christ, the Virgo Deipara, and the saints, shall be retained in churches, and due honour and veneration given to them, not because any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them, for which they are to be worshipped, nor because anything is to be sought from them, or faith reposed in them, as by the Gentiles, who placed their hope in images; but because the honour which is paid to them is referred to their prototypes; so that by means of the images, which we kiss and bow down before, we adore Christ and reverence the saints, whose likeness they bear⁴.'

¹ See Dupin, *Ecl. Hist. Cent. viii.*; Mosheim, *Ecl. Hist. Cent. viii.* Pt. 2, ch. 3; Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, ch. x.; Bp. Bull, *Corruption of Church of Rome*, Works, Vol. II. p. 275, &c.; Palmer, *On the Church*, Part IV. ch. x. § 4.

² Palmer, as above.

³ Palmer, *Ibid.* § 5.

⁴ Sess. xxv. *De Invocatione, &c. Sanctorum et Sacris Imaginibus.*

2 The worshipping of relics is so much connected with the adoration of images and invocation of saints, that we may pass it over the more briefly.

No doubt, there was an early inclination to pay much respect to the remains of martyrs. We know from all antiquity, that the custom prevailed of meeting at their tombs and celebrating the days of their martyrdom. We find that the Smyrnan Christians were disappointed at not being allowed the body of Polycarp, as many desired to be able to take it away. Yet they indignantly repudiated the notion that they could worship it¹. The importance attached to the finding of the true cross by St. Helena is an example of a similar feeling. As the bones of Elisha restored a dead man to life, so the ancients early believed that miraculous powers were often conferred on the dead bodies of the martyrs. Such Gregory Nazianzen attributes to the ashes of St. Cyprian, and speaks of his body as a benefit to the community². A little later, Vigilantius, a Gaul by birth, but a presbyter of the church of Spain, declaimed against the veneration which men had in his time learned to pay to the tombs and relics of the martyrs. It is probable, that he charged his fellow Christians with practices of which they were not guilty; yet it is not unlikely, that in the more rude and ignorant neighbourhoods, that, which was at first but natural respect, was even then approaching to mischievous superstition. St. Jerome wrote fiercely against him, most distinctly and vehemently repelling the charge, that Christians worshipped the relics of the saints. 'Not only,' he says, 'do we not worship relics, but not the sun, the moon, angels nor archangels, cherubim nor seraphim, nor any name that is named in this world or in the world to come; lest we should serve the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. We honour the relics of the martyrs, that we may worship Him whose martyrs they are. We honour the

¹ Martyr. Polycarpi, c. 17.

² Orat. xviii. Tom. i. pp. 284, 285.

servants, that their honour may redound to their lords¹.’ His contemporary, St. Augustine, seems to have been more alive than St. Jerome to the growing evil. He graphically describes and complains of the custom, then beginning, of people wandering about and selling relics, or what were said to be relics, of those who had suffered martyrdom².

Still it has been proved, that, in the early ages, the Church never permitted anything like religious worship to be offered to the relics of the saints³. The respect paid to them sprang from that natural instinct of humanity, which prompts us to cherish the mortal remains and all else that is left to us of those we have loved and honoured whilst in life: and the belief of the sacredness and future resurrection of the bodies of Christians, joined with the wish to protect them from the insults of their heathen persecutors, added intensity to this feeling. With the progress of image-worship and of the invocation of the saints, grew (and perhaps still more rapidly) the undue esteem of relics, to which sanctity seemed to belong: until at length the relics of saints were formally installed amongst the objects of worship, and set up with images for the veneration of the faithful⁴.

3 The Invocation of Saints.

For this practice no early authority can be pleaded, but against it the strongest testimony of the primitive Christians exists. They assert continually, that we should worship none but God. Thus Justin Martyr: ‘It becomes Christians to worship God only⁵.’ Tertullian: ‘For the safety of the emperor we invoke God, eternal, true and living God . . . Nor can

¹ Hieronym. *adv. Vigilantium*.

² ‘Alii membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant.’—*De Op. Monach.* c. 28, Tom. vi. p. 498.

³ See on this subject Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. XXIII. cap. iv. §§ 8, 9; also (referred to by him) Dallæus *de Objecto cultus Religiosi*, Lib. iv.

⁴ See Concil. Trident. Sess. XXV.; Bellarmin. *De Reliquiis Sanctorum*, Lib. iv. &c.

⁵ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν.—*Apol.* I. p. 63.

I pray to any other than to Him, from whom I am sure that I may obtain, because He alone can give it¹.' Origen: 'To worship any one besides the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is the sin of impiety².' Lactantius complains of the extreme blindness of men (i.e. heathens), who could worship dead men³. And Athanasius argues from St. Paul's language (1 Thess. iii. 11), that the Son must be God, and not an angel or any other creature, since He is invoked in conjunction with His Father⁴.

In the circular Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, narrating the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, which took place about A.D. 147, it is said that the Jews prevented the giving of the body to the Christians for burial, 'lest, forsaking Him who was crucified, they should begin to worship this Polycarp;' 'not considering,' writes the Church of Smyrna, 'that neither is it possible for us to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all who are saved in the whole world, the spotless One for sinners, nor to worship any other⁵.'

No doubt the early Christians, believing in 'the communion of saints,' had a lively conviction that saints departed were still fellow-worshippers with the Church militant, and thought that those in Paradise still prayed for those on earth⁶. But it does

¹ 'Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum. . . . Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consecuturum, quoniam et ipse qui solus præstat.'—*Apol.* c. 30.

² 'Adorare quempiam præter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum impietatis est crimen.'—*Comment. in Epist. ad Roman.* Lib. i. n. 16. Comp. *In Jesu Nave*, Hom. vi. 3: 'Non enim adorasset, nisi agnovisset Deum.'

³ 'Homines autem ipsos ad tantam cæcitate esse deductos, ut vero ac vivo Deo mortuos præferant.'—*Instit.* II. c. 1.

⁴ νῦν δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη δόσις δείκνυσιν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· οὐκ ἂν γοῦν εἴξαιτο τις λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τῶν Ἀγγέλων· ἢ παρὰ τινος τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων, οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις, δόξῃ σοι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Ἀγγελος.—*Contra Arian.* Orat. IV.

⁵ οὐδὲ ἑτέρον τινα σέβασθαι.—*S. Polycarpi Martyrium*, c. 17; Cotelier. Tom. II. p. 200.

⁶ e.g. Origen writes: 'Ego sic arbitror, quod omnes illi, qui dormierunt ante nos, patres pugnent nobiscum, et adjuvent nos orationibus

not therefore follow, that they considered that those, who joined with us in prayer, ought to be themselves addressed in prayer. On the contrary, we have express evidence, that those, who believed the saints at rest to pray for the saints in trial, believed that they did so without being invoked. So Origen, 'When men, purposing to themselves things which are excellent, pray to God, thousands of the sacred powers join with them in prayer, though not themselves called on or invoked¹.' Nay! he is here specially arguing against Celsus, who would have had men invoke others of inferior power, after the God who is over all; and he contends that, as the shadow follows the body, so if we can move God by our prayers, we shall be sure to have all the angels and souls of the righteous on our side, and that therefore we must endeavour to please God alone². In the same book he repeatedly denies that it is permitted us to worship angels, who are ministering spirits, our duty being to worship God alone³. And whereas Celsus had said, that angels (*δαίμονες*) belonged to God, and should be revered, Origen says, 'Far from us be the counsels of Celsus, that we should worship them. We must pray to God alone who is over all, and to the only-begotten Son, the first-born of every creature, and from Him must ask, that, when our prayers have reached Him, He, as High Priest, would offer them to His God and our God, to His Father, and the Father of all who live according to His word⁴.'

St. Athanasius observes, that St. Peter forbad Cornelius to worship him (Acts x. 26), and the angel forbad St. John, when he would have worshipped him (Rev. xxii. 9). 'Wherefore,'

suis. Ita namque etiam quendam de senioribus magistris audiivi dicentem, &c.'—*In Jesu Nave*, Hom. xvi. 5.

¹ ὥστε τολμᾶν ἡμᾶς λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνθρώποις μετὰ προαιρέσεως προτιθεμένους τὰ κρείττονα, εὐχομένους τῷ Θεῷ, μυρία ὄσαι ἄκλητοι συνεχύχονται δυνάμεις λεπταί.—*Cont. Celsum*, Lib. viii. c. 64.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Cont. Cels.* viii. num. 35, 57.

⁴ *Ibid.* num. 26. See the like argument, *Cont. Cels.* v. num. 4.

he adds, 'it belongs to God only to be worshipped, and of this the angels are not ignorant, who, though they excel in glory, are yet all of them creatures, and are not in the number of those to be adored, but of those who adore the Lord¹.'

In like manner the Council of Laodicea, held probably about A.D. 364,² forbids Christians to attend conventicles where angels were invoked, and pronounces anathema on all such as were guilty of this secret idolatry, inasmuch, as they might be esteemed to have left the Lord Jesus, and given themselves to idolatry³. Theodoret tells us, that the reason why this canon was passed at Laodicea was, because in Phrygia and Pisidia men had learned to pray to angels; and even to his own day, he says, there were oratories of St. Michael among them⁴.

We hear of another early example of an heretical tendency to creature-worship, which seems almost providentially to have been permitted, in order that there might be an early testimony borne against it. Epiphanius tells us that, whereas some had treated the Virgin Mary with contempt, others were led to the other extreme of error, so that women offered cakes before her, and exalted her to the dignity of one to be worshipped⁵. This, he says, was a doctrine invented by demons. 'No doubt the body of Mary was holy; but she was not a God.' Again, 'The Virgin was a virgin, and to be honoured; yet not given us to be worshipped, but herself worshipper of Him who was born of her

¹ Athanas. *cont. Arian*. Orat. III. Tom. I. p. 394.

² The date is uncertain, some placing it as early as A.D. 314, others as late as A.D. 372.

³ *Concil. Laodic.* Can. XXXV.

⁴ Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ χριστιανούς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀπίεσαι καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἀπηγόρευται. εἴ τις οὖν εὗρεθῇ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρεῖα σχολάζων, ἕστω ἀνάθεμα, ὅτι ἐγκατέλειπε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρεῖα προσήλθεν.

⁵ Theodoret, in *Coloss.* ii. and iii.; Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, ch. ix.; Suicer, s. v. ἄγγελος.

⁶ *Hæres.* 79.

after the flesh; and who came down from Heaven and from the bosom of His Father.' He then continues, that 'the words, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" were spoken on purpose that we might know her to be a woman, and not esteem her as something of a more excellent nature, and because our Lord foresaw the heresies likely to arise.' Again he says, 'Neither Elias, though he never died, nor Thecla, nor any of the saints, is to be worshipped'. If the Apostles 'will not allow the angels to be worshipped, how much less the daughter of Anna,' i.e. the blessed Virgin. 'Let Mary be honoured, but let the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit be worshipped. Let no man worship Mary'. 'Therefore though Mary be most excellent, holy and honoured, yet is it not that she should be adored'.¹

Thus early did the worship of the Virgin shew itself, and thus earnestly did the Christian fathers protest against it'.

Gregory Nazianzen flourished nearly at the same time with Epiphanius, towards the end of the fourth century. Archbishop Usher says, that his writings are the first, in which we meet with any thing like an address to the spirits of the dead². It is worth while to see how this is. First, then, let us premise that he expressly declares all worship to a creature to be idolatry. He positively charges the Arians with idolatry, because they, not believing the Son of God to be fully equal and of one substance with the Father, yet offered prayers to Him³. It is plain, therefore, that any address made by him to the

¹ οὐτε τις τῶν ἁγίων προσκυνεῖται.

² ἐν τιμῇ ἕστω Μαρία, ὃ δὲ Πατὴρ, καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνεῖσθαι, τὴν Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνεῖτω.

³ καὶ εἰ καλλίστη ἡ Μαρία καὶ ἁγία καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι.

⁴ Bellarmine quotes a passage from Athanasius, (*De Deipara Virgine, ad finem*) which would, if genuine, prove that St. Athanasius sanctions the worship of the Virgin: but the tract is known to be spurious, and was evidently written after the rise of the Monothelite heresy.

⁵ Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, chap. ix.

⁶ Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xl. Tom. i. p. 669.

departed could not be intended to be of the nature of that inferior worship, which the Arians offered to the Son, believing Him only the chief of the creatures of God. Yet it is clear that he believed, though not with certainty, that departed saints took an interest in all that passed among their friends and brethren on earth¹. He had even a pious persuasion, that they still continued as much as ever to aid with their prayers those for whom they had been wont to pray on earth². And he ventures to think, if it be not too bold to say so, (*εἰ μὴ τολμηρὸν τοῦτο εἰπεῖν*) that the saints, being then nearer to God and having put off the fetters of the flesh, have more avail with Him than when on earth³. In all this he does not appear to have gone further than some who preceded him; nor is there any thing in such speculations, beyond what might be consistent with the most Protestant abhorrence of saint-worship and Mariolatry. Let us then see how it influenced him in the addresses, which he is supposed to have made to the departed. In his first oration against Julian, speaking rhetorically he addresses the departed emperor Constantius, ‘Hear, O soul of the great Constantius, if thou hast any sense or perception of these things, thou and the Christian souls of emperors before thee⁴.’ So, in his funeral oration on his sister Gorgonia, he winds up thus: ‘If thou hast a care for the things done by us, and pious souls have this honour of God, that they perceive such things, receive this our oration, in the place of many funeral rites⁵.’ Yet these addresses, so far from resembling the prayers in aftertimes offered to the saints, do in themselves effectually

¹ καὶ γὰρ πείθονται τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰσθάνεσθαι.—*Epist.* 201, p. 898.

² *Orat.* XXIV. p. 425.

³ *Orat.* XIX. p. 288.

⁴ Ἄκουε καὶ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίου ψυχὴ, εἴ τις αἰσθήσῃς, ὅσαι τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλείων φιλόχριστοι.—*Orat.* III. p. 50.

⁵ εἴ δέ τις σοὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστὶ λόγος, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς ὁσείαις ψυχαῖς ἐκ Θεοῦ γέρας, τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαισθάνεσθαι, δέχοιο καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐνταφίων.—*Orat.* XI. p. 189.

bear witness, that no such prayers were ever at that time sent up to them. In oratorical language, in regular oratorical harangues, Gregory addresses himself to the souls of the departed. In one case he, as it were, calls on the soul of Constantius to witness; in the other he addresses his sister, and trusts that she may be satisfied with the funeral honours done to her. But in both instances he expresses doubt whether they can hear him, and in neither does he make any thing like prayers to them.

All good things are liable to abuse; and the affectionate interest which the first Christians felt in the repose of the souls who had gone before them to Paradise, their belief that they still prayed with them and for them, no doubt, in course of time engendered an inclination to ask the departed to offer prayers for them, and so by degrees led to the Mariolatry and saint-worship of the Church of Rome. We have seen, however, the clearest proofs that nothing of the sort was permitted or endured in the first four centuries. Later than that, we have distinct evidence in the same direction from those great lights of the Church, St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine. The former protests against angel-worship as the most fearful abomination, and attributes its origin to the inventions of the devil¹. St. Augustine replies to a charge brought by the Manichees, that the Catholics worshipped the martyrs, saying that Christians celebrated the memories of martyrs to excite themselves to imitation, to associate themselves in their good deeds, to have the benefit of their prayers; but never so as to offer up sacrifice (the sacrifice of worship) to martyrs, but to the God of martyrs. 'The honour,' he continues, 'which we bestow on martyrs, is the honour of love and society, just as holy men of God are honoured in this life; but with that honour which

¹ ὁ διάβολος τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπεισέγαγε, βασκαίνων ἡμῶν τῆς τιμῆς.—
Homil. ix. in Coloss. See also Homil. v. vii. in Coloss.; Bingham, E. A. XIII. iii. 3.

the Greeks call *Latria*, and for which there is no one word in Latin, a service proper to God alone, we neither worship, nor teach any one to worship any but God¹.

Unhappily, some even of this early time, whose names are deservedly had in honour, were not so wise. St. Jerom, the contemporary of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, gave too much encouragement to the superstitions which were taking root in his day. Vigilantius, whatever his other errors may have been, seems wisely to have protested against the growing tendency to venerate the relics and bones of the martyrs, and even called those who did so, idolaters. St. Jerom repudiates indeed all idolatrous worship. 'Not only do we not worship and adore the relics of martyrs, but neither sun nor moon, nor angels nor archangels, cherubim nor seraphim, nor any name that is named, in this world nor in the world to come, lest we should serve the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.' But he earnestly defends the sanctity of the martyrs' relics. Vigilantius had argued, that the souls of Apostles and martyrs were either in the bosom of Abraham, or in a place of rest and refreshment, or beneath the altar of God (Rev. vi. 9). But Jerom contends, that 'they follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth (Rev. xiv. 4); and as the Lamb is everywhere present, so we may believe them to be; and as demons wander through the earth, can we argue that the souls of martyrs must be confined to one place?' On the contrary, he thinks that they may frequent the shrines where their relics are preserved, and where their memorials are celebrated. He expresses belief in miracles wrought at the tombs of martyrs, and that they pray for us

¹ 'Colimus ergo martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica veritate passionem paratum esse sentimus. At vero illo cultu, quæ Græce *Latria*, dicitur, Latine uno verbo dici non potest, cum sit quædam proprie Divinitati debita servitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus nisi unum Deum.'—*Contr. Faustum*, Lib. xxi. c. 20, Tom. viii. p. 347; Bingham, xiii. iii. 2.

after their decease. He defends the custom of lighting torches before the martyrs' shrines, denying that it is idolatrous to do so¹. Here, though such language is far different from what we read in after ages, we yet clearly trace the rise and gradual progress of dangerous error.

The temptation to turn the mind from God to His creatures is nowhere more likely to assail us than in our devotions. The multitude, converted from heathenism, who had all along worshipped deified mortals, readily lapsed into the worship of martyrs. The noxious plant early took root, and though for a time the wise and pious pastors of the Church kept down its growth, still it gained strength and sprang up afresh; until in ages of darkness and ignorance it reached a height so great, that, at least among the rude and untaught masses, it overshadowed with its dark branches the green pastures of the Church of Christ.

It is unnecessary to trace its progress. It grew steadily on, though still checked occasionally. During the Iconoclastic controversy, one of the canons of the Council of Frankfort forbade not only image-worship, but the invocation of saints (A.D. 794); which, however, had been upheld by the opposite party at the second Council of Nice (A.D. 787).

Our Article especially condemns the '*Romish* doctrine' of invocation of saints, for which, of course, we must consult the decrees of the Council of Trent. That council simply enjoins that the people be taught, 'that the saints reigning with Christ offer their prayers for men to God, and that it is good and useful to invoke them as suppliants; and for the sake of the obtaining of benefits from God through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour, to have recourse to their prayer.' The calling this idolatry it declares to be impious².

¹ *Adv. Vigilantium.*

² 'Docentes eos, sanctos una cum Christo regnantes orationes suas pro hominibus offerre, bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare, et

The creed of the council has one article, 'As also that the saints reigning with Christ are to be venerated and invoked, and that they offer up prayers for us to God, and that their relics are to be venerated'.¹

This is the mildest statement of the doctrine. Unhappily the practice has far exceeded it; and that too in the public and authorized prayers of the Romish Church. It would be an irksome task to collect the many expressions of idolatrous worship, with which the Blessed Virgin is approached; and they are too well known to make it necessary.

It is desirable to observe the distinctions which Romanist divines make between the worship due to God, and that paid to the Blessed Virgin and the saints. They lay it down that there are three kinds of worship or adoration; first, *latria*, which belongs only to God; secondly, that honour and respect shewn to good men; thirdly, an intermediate worship, called by them *dulia*, which belongs to glorified saints in general, and *hyperdulia*, which belongs to the human nature of Christ, and to the Blessed Virgin².

They determine that the saints are to be invoked, not as primarily able to grant our prayers, but only to aid us with their intercessions; although they admit that the forms of the prayers are as though we prayed directly to them; as for instance in the hymn:

Maria mater gratiæ,
Mater misericordiæ,
Tu nos ab hoste protege,
Et hora mortis suscipe.

ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per Filium ejus Jesum Christum, Dominum Nostrum, qui solus noster Redemptor et Salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque confugere,' &c.—Sess. xxv. *De Invocatione, Sanctorum, &c.*

¹ 'Similiter et sanctos una cum Christo regnantes venerandos et invocandos esse, eosque orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, eorumque reliquias esse venerandos.'—Bulla Pii IV. *Super forma Juramenti Professionis Fidei.*

² See Bellarmine, *De Sanct. Beatit.* Lib. i. cap. 12.

They say, moreover, that the saints pray for us through Christ, Christ prays immediately to the Father¹.

It has seemed unnecessary to say anything of the views concerning the various subjects of this Article, as entertained by the different Protestant communions. All the reformed bodies of Europe have agreed in condemning the belief in purgatory, image-worship, and saint-worship. The Calvinistic bodies are more rigid than the Church of England and the Lutherans, in their rejection of all outward symbolism and emblems in their worship and places of worship. The Lutherans retain, not only the cross, but pictures and the crucifix in their churches ; but, of course, they exhibit nothing like adoration to them. The Church of England has retained the cross as the symbol of redemption, and has encouraged the architectural adornment of her churches, but she has generally rejected the crucifix, and whatever may appear to involve the least danger of idolatrous worship.

¹ *Ibid.* c. 17.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

I. 1 Purgatory.

On this subject, and indeed on all the subjects of this Article, the burden of proof evidently lies with those who maintain the affirmative side of the question. If there be a purgatory, and if saints and images be objects of adoration, there should be some evidence to convince us that it is so.

The proofs from Scripture alleged in favour of purgatory are of two kinds.

- (1) Passages which speak of prayer for the dead.
- (2) Passages which directly bear upon purgatory.

(1) The passages alleged in favour of prayer for the dead are:

2 Macc. xii. 42—45 : where Judas is said to have ‘made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.’

Tobit iv. 17 : ‘Pour out thy bread,’ *i.e.* give alms to obtain prayers from the poor, ‘at the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked.’

1 Sam. xxxi. 13 : ‘They took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days.’ This fasting is supposed to have been for the souls of Saul and his son.

1 Cor. xv. 29 : ‘Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead?’ that is, who fast and weep, being baptized in tears for the dead.

2 Tim. i. 16, 18 : ‘The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus....The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.’ Where it is contended that Onesiphorus must have been dead, for St. Paul, who prays for present and future blessings to other people, here evidently

prays for the bereaved family of Onesiphorus, and for Onesiphorus himself, that he may be blessed at the day of judgment.

In answer to all this we may say, that the only clear passage in favour of prayer for the dead is from the apocryphal book of Maccabees, which, not having the authority of Scripture, is merely of the force of Jewish tradition. But, how little Jewish traditions are to be regarded in proof of doctrine, our Lord's condemnation of them is evidence enough. It certainly may be argued from this, that the Jews sometimes used prayers for the dead, which no doubt was the case. But it would be very difficult to shew, that any sect among them believed in a purgatory. Of all the passages from the canonical Scriptures, the last-cited (from 2 Tim. i. 18) is the only one that has any appearance of really favouring prayer for the dead. No doubt, some Protestant commentators (*e.g.* Grotius) have believed that Onesiphorus was dead. But if it be so, St. Paul's words merely imply a pious hope that, when he shall stand before the judgment-seat 'in that day,' he may 'obtain mercy of the Lord,' and receive the reward of the righteous, and not the doom of the wicked. There is certainly nothing in such an aspiration, which implies the notion that he was at the time it was uttered in purgatory, and that St. Paul's prayers might help to deliver him from it. On the contrary, if the words be used concerning one already dead, they will furnish a proof from Scripture, in addition to the many which have been brought from antiquity¹, that prayer for the dead does not of necessity presuppose a belief in purgatory. The early Christians undoubtedly did often pray for saints, of whose rest and blessedness they had no manner of doubt. Hence it would be no proof of the doctrine of purgatory, even if fifty clear passages, instead of a single doubtful one, could be brought to shew that the Apostles permitted prayer for the dead.

¹ See Section I. i. 1.

(2) The passages which are brought as directly bearing on purgatory are Ps. xxxviii. 1: 'O Lord, rebuke me not in Thy wrath; neither chasten me in Thy hot displeasure.' 'Wrath' is said to mean eternal damnation; 'hot displeasure,' to mean purgatory.

Ps. lxvi. 12: 'We went through fire' (i. e. purgatory) 'and through water' (i. e. baptism); 'but Thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place.'

Isai. iv. 4: 'When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have *purged* the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of *burning*¹.'

Isai. ix. 18; Mic. vii. 8, 9.

Zech. ix. 11: 'As for thee also, by the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water.' This is interpreted of Christ's descent into hell, to deliver those who were detained in the *limbus patrum*.

Mal. iii. 3: 'He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and He shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them,' &c.

Matt. xii. 32: 'It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, *neither in the world to come*;' i. e. evidently in purgatory, for in hell there is no forgiveness.

Matt. v. 22: Our Lord speaks of three kinds of punishments, the judgment, the council, and hell. The latter belongs to the world to come; therefore the two former must. Hence there must be some punishments in the next world besides hell.

Matth. v. 25, 26: 'Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee,

¹ Bellarmine cites Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, Lib. xx. c. 25) as interpreting this of purgatory. Augustine, however, does not interpret it of purgatory, but of that trial by fire which Origen, and others after him, supposed was to take place at the judgment-day.

thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.' The last words shew that the *prison* must be purgatory, a temporal not an eternal punishment. Otherwise, how would anything be said about coming out of it?

1 Cor. iii. 12—15: 'Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.'

Luke xvi. 9, xxiii. 42, are also quoted; but it is difficult to see how they can be made to bear on the question. Also Acts ii. 24, where our Lord is said to have 'loosed the pains of death,' i.e. to have delivered the souls from *limbus*. And Phil. ii. 10, Rev. v. 3, which speak of beings 'in heaven and earth and *under the earth*.' Where, 'under the earth,' it is contended, must mean purgatory.

These are all that are alleged by Bellarmine, as proofs from Scripture, that there is a purgatory between death and judgment. He adds, however, arguments from the fathers, whose sentiments have been already considered, and many from visions of the saints, which it will be unnecessary to consider¹. His principal argument from reason is, that, although sins are forgiven to all true penitents for the merits of Christ, yet it is as regards their eternal, not their temporal punishment: for we know that many devout penitents have to suffer the temporal punishments of their sins, though the eternal be remitted. Thus natural death, which is the result of sin, the temporal wages of sin, befalls all men, those who are saved from, as well as those who fall into, death eternal. So David had his sin forgiven him;

¹ Bellarmine, *De Purgatorio*, Lib. i. c. 3—8, &c.

but still his child died. Eternally he was saved, but temporally punished. Now it often happens, that persons have not suffered all the temporal punishment due to their sins in this life; and therefore we must needs suppose, there is some state of punishment awaiting them in the next¹.

It appears at first sight, to a person unused to believe in purgatory, almost impossible that such a doctrine could be grounded on such arguments. If indeed the doctrine were proved and established on separate grounds, then perhaps some of the passages quoted above might be fairly alleged in illustration of it, or as bearing a second and mystical interpretation, which might have reference to it. But what is fair in illustration may be utterly insufficient for demonstration.

It is not too much to assert, that only one of the texts from Scripture cited by Bellarmine can be alleged in direct proof. If he rightly interpret 1 Cor. iii. 12—15, that may be considered as a direct and cogent argument: and then some of the other passages might be brought to illustrate and confirm it. But if that were put out of the question, we may venture to say, even Roman Catholic controversialists would find the Scriptural ground untenable. The passages in St. Matthew (v. 26, xii. 32, 'Thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing,' and, 'It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come') may indeed be supposed to speak of temporal punishments in the next world. But if they prove anything, they prove more than the Roman Catholic Church would wish, viz. that the pains of *hell* are not eternal; for it is evidently hell, which is the punishment of unrepented and unpardoned sin. Those who go to purgatory, are, on the shewing of its own advocates, those who have received forgiveness of their sins, but need the purgation of suffering, either here or hereafter, to fit them for heaven. The

¹ *Ibid.* cap. 11.

truth is, that the words of our Lord indicate merely, first, that as a great debtor is imprisoned till he has paid the last farthing, so a man, who is not delivered here from the burden of his sins, must remain in punishment for ever, as his debt is too heavy ever to be paid off; and next, that he who sins against the Holy Ghost has *never* forgiveness; and it is added, ‘neither in this world, neither in the world to come,’ to impress more forcibly both the fearfulness and the eternity of his condemnation.

To recur then to 1 Cor. iii. 12—15; Bellarmine himself quotes St. Augustine¹ as saying, that it is one of those hard passages of St. Paul, which St. Peter speaks of as wrested by unstable men to their destruction, and which St. Augustine wishes to be interpreted by wiser men than himself. If so, it is hardly prudent or modest to build such a doctrine as purgatory upon it. Bellarmine himself recounts many different interpretations of the different figures in the passage, as given by different fathers and divines. That all the fathers did not interpret it of purgatory is most certain; for St. Chrysostom has already been quoted as interpreting it of eternal damnation. But more than that, those fathers, whose interpretation seems most suitable to the Romanist belief, do not understand the passage of purgatory, but of a purgatorial or probatory fire, not between death and judgment, but at the very day of judgment itself, when all works shall be brought up and be had in remembrance before the Lord. This has already been shewn in the preceding section. And indeed it is not possible justly to give an interpretation of the passage nearer to the Romish interpretation than this. The expression ‘the day’ is understood by all who interpret it of the next life, to mean ‘the day of judgment.’ ‘The day’ cannot certainly be well understood of the hidden and unrevealed state of the dead in the intermediate and disembodied state. If therefore the passage refers to the next

¹ *De Fide et Operibus*, c. 15.

world at all, it must mean that at the day of judgment all works shall be revealed, and tried, as it were, in the fire. Those who have built on the right foundation shall be saved; though if their superstructure be of an inferior quality (whatever be meant by the superstructure), it shall be lost. This might indeed be made to suit the doctrine of Origen, but is utterly inapplicable to the doctrine of purgatory.

But even Origen's doctrine it will not well suit, if the context be fully considered. St. Paul had been speaking of himself and Apollos, as labourers together in the work of evangelizing the world and building the Church (vv. 5—9). The Church he declares to be God's building (ver. 9), even a temple for the indwelling of the Spirit (ver. 16). Now he says, the only possible foundation which can be laid, is that which has been laid already, even Jesus Christ (ver. 11). But the builders (*i.e.* ministers of Christ), in building the Church on this foundation, may make the superstructure of various materials, some building of safe and precious materials, gold, silver and precious stones; others of less valuable or less durable, straw, hay, and stubble. What then must be the meaning of this? Clearly, either that, in building up the Church, they may upon the foundation, Christ, build sounder or less sound doctrines—or (which seems a still more correct interpretation of the figures) that they may build up soundly instructed and confirmed believers, or, by negligence and ignorance, may train less orthodox and stedfast Christians. There is evidently nothing about the good or bad works of Christian men built on the foundation of a sound faith. It is the good or bad workmanship of Christian pastors in building up the Church of Christ. To proceed then: when the Christian minister and master-builder has thus finished his work, the day will prove whether it be good or bad. If his building be stable, it will endure, and he will be blessed in his labours and 'receive a reward' (comp. 1 Cor. ix. 17). But if his superstructure be destroyed; if those, whom he has built up in the

faith, prove ill instructed and unstable, he will himself suffer loss, he will lose those disciples, who would have been 'his crown of rejoicing in the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ at His coming' (1 Thess. ii. 19); and even he himself will escape, as it were out of the fire¹. It may be that the fiery trial means 'the day' of judgment: for then all men's works shall be manifested; and the building of the Christian pastor or Apostle shall be then proved good or evil, by the characters and works of those whom he has converted and taught. But, as whatever doth make manifest is called 'the day,' therefore many think, and that with much ground of reason, that 'the day' here spoken of was that day of trial and persecution which was awaiting the Church. That day was indeed likely to prove the faithfulness of the converts, and therefore the soundness of the pastor's building. St. Paul often speaks of unsound teachers; and if they had built up unstably, the day of persecution was likely to reveal it, to shew the hollowness of their disciples, and to cause them loss. And such a trial would be 'so as by fire.' Elsewhere the term 'fiery trial,' is applied to persecution and affliction. St. Peter speaks specially of the trial of faith by affliction, as being like that of gold in the furnace, the very same metaphor with that used here by St. Paul (1 Pet. i. 7); and again, with the same meaning, tells the Christians that they should not 'think it strange concerning the fiery trial, which was to try them,' but to rejoice, as it would the more fit them to partake of Christ's glory.

But whether we interpret *the day* and the *fiery trial* of persecution here or of judgment hereafter, there is no room in either for purgatory. Purgatory is not a time of trial on earth, nor is it at the time of standing before the Judgment-seat of Heaven. Therefore it is not the fiery trial of St. Paul, nor is it *the day*, which shall try of what nature is the superstructure

¹ *ὡς ἐκ πυρός*. The expression is 'so as by fire,' a proverbial expression for an escape from great danger. See Grotius and Rosenmüller, *in loc.*

erected by the master-builders, on the one foundation of the Christian Church.

If then the texts alleged in favour of purgatory fail to establish it, we may go on to say that there are many which are directly opposed to it. It was promised to the penitent thief, 'To-day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise' (Luke xxiii. 43). St. Paul felt assured, that it was better 'to depart, and to be with Christ' (Phil. i. 23), 'to be absent from the body, and present with the Lord' (2 Cor. v. 8); having no apprehension of a purgatorial fire, in the middle state; apparently laying it down as a principle concerning pious men, that whilst 'at home in the body they are absent from the Lord;' and that they may be confidently willing to leave the body that they may be with the Lord (see 2 Cor. v. 6—9). Not one word about purgatory is ever urged upon Christians, to quicken them to a closer walk with God. All the other 'terrors of the Lord' are put forth in their strongest light 'to persuade men;' but this, which would be naturally so powerful, and which has been made so much of in after times, is never brought forward by the Apostles. Nay! St. John declares, that he had an express revelation concerning the present happiness of those that sleep in Jesus, viz. that they were blessed and at rest. 'I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours' (Rev. xiv. 13). When we couple such express declarations as these with the exhortations not to grieve for the dead in Christ, the general assurances concerning the blessedness of the death of the righteous, and concerning the cleansing from all sin by the blood of Christ, and then contrast them with the very slender Scriptural ground on which Purgatory rests, it will be scarcely possible to doubt that that doctrine was the growth of after years, and sprang from the root of worldly philosophy, not of heavenly wisdom. Compare Luke xxi. 28; John v. 24; Eph. iv. 30; 1 Thess. iv. 13, &c.; 2 Thess. i. 7; 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Joh. i. 7, iii. 14.

2 Pardons or Indulgences.

The doctrine of pardons, and the custom of granting indulgences, rest on two grounds, viz. 1 purgatory, 2 works of supererogation. Indulgences, as granted by the Church of Rome, signify a remission of the temporal punishment of sins in purgatory; and the power to grant them is supposed to be derived from the superabundant merits of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. It is argued by Romanist divines that (1) A double value exists in men's good deeds, first of merit, secondly of satisfaction: (2) A good deed, as it is meritorious, cannot be applied to another; but, as it is satisfactory or expiatory, it can: (3) There exists in the Church an infinite store of the merits of Christ, which never can be exhausted: (4) And, in addition to this, the sufferings of the Virgin Mary (herself immaculate) and of the other saints, having been more than enough for their own sins, avail for the sins of others. Now, in the Church is deposited all this treasure of satisfactions, and it can be applied to deliver the souls of others from the temporal punishment of sins, the pains of purgatory¹. That such a power exists in the pope is argued from the command to St. Peter, 'to feed the sheep of Christ,' and the promise to him of the keys of the kingdom, of authority to bind and to loose. That the good deeds of one man are transferable to another, is thought to be proved by the article of the Creed, 'I believe in the communion of saints,' and by the words of St. Paul, 'I will very gladly spend and be spent for you' (2 Cor. xii. 15); 'I endure all things for the elect's sakes' (2 Tim. ii. 10); 'I rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church'² (Col. i. 24).

Both the doctrine of purgatory and that concerning works

¹ Bellarmine, *De Indulgentiis*, Lib. i. cap. ii. 2, 3, 7.

² *Ibid.* Lib. i. c. 3. The last-cited passage, Col. i. 24, was considered under Art. XIV. Vol. i. p. 463, note.

of supererogation have already been considered; and we have seen that they have no foundation in Scripture. Hence the practice of granting indulgences, which rests on them, must necessarily be condemned. The Romanist divines admit that indulgences free not from natural pains, or from civil punishments¹. They never profess that they can deliver from eternal death. Hence, if there be no purgatory, there can be no room for indulgences.

If there be, as they state, an infinite store of Christ's merits committed to the Church, one would think it needless to add the sufferings of the Virgin Mary and of the saints. As to the claim, to dispense the benefits of these sufferings, founded on the promise of the keys to St. Peter, I hope to consider more at length the whole question of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting sins, and of the pope's succession to St. Peter, under future Articles. Suffice it here that we remember, 1, that there is no foundation for the figment of purgatory in Scripture, and that its gradual rise is clearly traceable; 2, that none of the saints, not even the Blessed Virgin, were free from sin, nor able to atone for their own sins; 3, that works of supererogation are impossible; 4, that therefore indulgences, partly derived from superabundant works of satisfaction performed by the saints, and having for their object the freeing of souls from purgatory, must be unwarranted and useless.

II. 1 The Worshipping and Adoration of Images.

We can readily believe, that the champions of image-worship would find a difficulty in discovering Scriptural authority for their practice. But it rather surprises us to learn that their whole stock of argument is derived from the *old Testament*; in which no sin is so much condemned as the worship, nay,

¹ Bellarmin. *Ibid.* Lib. i. c. 7.

even the making of idols. The distinction between idols and images, it seems hard to understand. That images may lawfully be placed in temples, is argued from the fact that Moses was commanded to make the Cherubim of gold, and place them on each side of the mercy-seat (Ex. xxv. 18); and that Solomon carved all the walls of the temple 'round about with carved figures of Cherubim' (1 Kings vi. 29), and 'he made a molten sea—and it stood upon twelve oxen—and on the borders were lions, oxen, and Cherubim' (1 Kings vii. 23, 25, 29)¹. That the second commandment² does not forbid making images, but only making them with the object of worshipping them, is also contended; and thus far we have no reason to complain. There may be a superstitious dread, as well as a superstitious use, of outward emblems. No doubt, much as the Jew was bidden to hold idolatry in abhorrence, he was not only permitted, but commanded to place emblematical figures in the house of the Lord. It is further said that the brazen serpent, which Moses set up by God's ordinance in the wilderness (Num. xxi. 8, 9), was an example of the use of images for religious purposes. This was a figure of the Lord Jesus, the expected Messiah; and the wounded Israelites were taught to look up to it for healing and deliverance. But beyond this it is said that the

¹ See Bellarmine, *De Ecclesia Triumphante*, Lib. II. cap. ix.; *Controvers.* Tom. II. p. 771.

² The second commandment is joined with the first according to the reckoning of the Church of Rome. This is not to be esteemed a Romish novelty. It will be found so united in the Masoretic Bibles; the Masoretic Jews dividing the tenth commandment (according to our reckoning) into two. What the Roman Church deals unfairly in is, that she teaches the commandments popularly only in epitome; and that, so having joined the first and second together, she virtually omits the second, recounting them in her catechisms, &c. thus, 1 Thou shalt have none other gods but Me. 2 Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain. 3 Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day, &c. By this method her children, and other less instructed members, are often ignorant of the existence in the Decalogue of a prohibition against idolatry.

Jews actually did adore the Ark of the Covenant, and that in so doing they must have adored the Cherubim which were upon it. And this most strangely is inferred from the words, 'Exalt ye the Lord your God, and worship at His footstool; for He is holy' (Ps. xcix. 5); where the Vulgate reads, *Adorate scabellum ejus, quoniam sanctus est*; or, as some quote it, *quoniam sanctum est*¹.

With every desire to feel candid towards those who are opposed to us, it is difficult to know how to treat such arguments as these. We willingly concede that the iconoclastic spirit of the Puritans was fuller of zeal than of judgment; for if the figures of Cherubim were commanded in the temples, figures of angels and saints and storied windows in our cathedrals could scarcely be impious and idolatrous. But, when we are told that the existence of such symbols near the mercy-seat involved a necessity that the Jew should worship them, we scarcely know whither such reasoning may carry us. If the Cherubim in the temple were worshipped, why were the golden calves of Jeroboam so foully idolatrous? It is mostly considered that Jeroboam borrowed these very figures from the carvings of the sanctuary. How could that be holy in Jerusalem, which was vile in Dan and Bethel? Nay! the sin of Jeroboam was specially that he made the calves to be *worshipped*; whereas in the temple they were not for worship, but for symbolism. As for the brazen serpent, it was, no doubt, like the Cherubim, a proof that such symbols are allowable; and was also the instrument (like the rod of Moses) by which God worked wonderful miracles. But when it tempted the people to worship it, Hezekiah broke it in pieces (2 Kings xviii. 4), as thinking it better to destroy so venerable a memorial of God's mercies, than to leave it as an incentive to sin.

¹ See Bellarmine, *De Ecclesia Triumph.* Lib. I. c. xiii. Lib. II. c. xii. Tom. II. pp. 708, 781.

The argument from Ps. xcix. 5, is the only one which Bellarmine (in many learned chapters on the subject) alleges in direct proof from Scripture, that images are not only lawful, but adorable. Even if the Vulgate rendering (*adorate scabellum*) were correct, it would be a forlorn hope with which to attack such a fortress as the second commandment. But the Hebrew (הִשְׁתַּחוּ לְיְהוָה) is far more correctly rendered by the English version, 'Bow down before His footstool.' Though to *fall down before* God may be to worship Him, yet to *fall down before His footstool* is not necessarily to worship His footstool. Hence the word may at times be properly translated, '*to worship*;' but here such a translation is altogether out of place.

In short, if the Roman Church had never approached nearer to idolatry, than the Jews when they worshipped in the courts of the temple, within which were symbolical figures of oxen and cherubim, than the high priest, when once a year he approached the very ark of the covenant and sprinkled the blood before the mercy-seat, or than the people in the wilderness, when they looked upon the brazen serpent and recovered; there would have been no controversy, and no councils on the subject of image-worship. But when we know that the common people are taught to bow down before statues and pictures of our blessed Saviour, of His Virgin Mother, and of His saints and angels, though we are told that they make prayers not to the images, but to those of which they are images, yet we ask, wherein does such worship differ from idolatry? No heathen people believed the image to be their God. They prayed not to the image, but to the god whom the image was meant to represent¹. Nay! the golden calves of Jeroboam were doubtless meant merely as symbols of the power of Jehovah; and the people, in bowing down before them, thought they worshipped the gods 'which brought them up out of the land of Egypt'

¹ See this exactly stated, *Arnob. adv. Gentes*, Lib. vi.

(1 Kings xii. 28). But it is the very essence of idolatry, not to worship God in spirit and in truth, but to worship Him through the medium of an image or representation. It is against this that the second commandment is directed; 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in Heaven or earth, or under the earth—Thou shalt not bow down to it, nor worship it.' And it is not uncharitable to assert, that the ignorant people in ignorant ages have as much worshipped the figure of the Virgin and the image of our Lord upon the cross, as ever ignorant heathens worshipped the statues of Baal or Jupiter, or as the Israelites worshipped the golden calf in the wilderness. It must even be added, painful as it is to dwell on such a subject, that divines of eminence in the Church of Rome have taught unchecked, that to the very images of Christ was due the same supreme worship which is due to Christ Himself—even that *latria*, with which none but the Holy Trinity and the Incarnate Word must be approached¹. Bellarmine himself, who takes a middle course, states the above as one out of three current opinions in the Church, and as held by Thomas Aquinas, Caietan, Bonaventura, and many others of high name²; and though he himself considers the worship of *latria*, only improperly and *per accidens*, due to an image, yet he says that '*the images of Christ and the saints are to be venerated not only by accident or improperly, but also by themselves properly, so that themselves terminate the veneration as in themselves considered, and not only as they take the place of*

¹ See this proved by numerous passages from distinguished Romanists by Archbishop Usher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, chap. x. Dublin, 1624, p. 449, 'Constans est theologorum sententia' (says Azorius the Jesuit) 'imaginem eodem honore et cultu honorari et coli, quo colitur id cujus est imago.'—Jo. Azor. *Institut. Moral.* Tom. I. Lib. ix. cap. 9.

² *De Eccles. Triumph.* Lib. II. c. xx.; *Controvers.* Tom. II. p. 801. Thomas Aquinas says: 'Sic sequitur quod eadem reverentia exhibiatur imagini Christi et ipsi Christo. Cum ergo Christus adoretur adoratione latræ; consequens est quod ejus imago sit adoratione latræ aderanda.'—*Summa*, Pt. iii. quest. 25, Artic. 3. See Usher, as above.

*their Exemplar*¹. If this be not to break one, and that not the least of God's commandments, and to teach men so, it must indeed be hard to know how God's commandments can be broken, and how kept. Even enlightened heathenism seldom went so far as to believe the worship to be due *properly* to the idol itself, and not merely to its original and prototype.

It is unnecessary to recite the Scriptures which speak against idolatry and image-worship, they are so patent and obvious. See for example, Exod. xx. 2—5, xxxii. 1—20; Levit. xix. 4, xxvi. 1; Deut. iv. 15—18, 23, 25, xvi. 21, 22, xxvii. 15, xxix. 17; 2 Kings xviii. 4, xxiii. 4; Ps. cxv. 4; Isai. ii. 8, 9, xl. 18, 19, 25, xlii. xlv. xlv. 5—7; Acts xvii. 25, 29; Rom. i. 21, 23, 25; 1 Cor. viii. 4, x. 7, xii. 2; 1 Joh. v. 21; Rev. ix. 20.

2 Worshipping and Adoration of Relics.

The arguments brought from Scripture to defend relic worship are—that miracles were wrought by the bones of Elisha (2 Kings xiii. 21), by the hem of Christ's garment (Matt. ix. 20—22), by 'the shadow of Peter passing by' (Acts v. 15), by handkerchiefs and aprons brought from the body of St. Paul (Acts xix. 12)—that the rod of Aaron and the pot of manna were preserved in the temple—that it is said (in Isai. xi. 10), 'In Him (Christ) shall the Gentiles trust, and His sepulchre shall be glorious:' *In Eum gentes sperabunt, et erit sepulchrum Ejus gloriosum*².

¹ 'Imagines Christi et sanctorum venerandæ sunt, non solum per accidens, vel improprie, sed etiam per se proprie, ita ut ipsæ terminent venerationem ut in se considerantur, et non solum ut vicem gerunt exemplaris.'—*Ibid.* c. 21. p. 802. He goes on to shew that it should neither be said nor denied (especially in public discourses) that images should be worshipped with *latria* (c. xxii). The images of Christ *improperly and by accident* receive *latria* (c. xxxiii.). He concludes by saying: 'Cultus, qui per se, proprie debetur imaginibus, est cultus quidem imperfectus, qui analogice et reductive pertinet ad speciem ejus cultus, qui debetur exemplari.'—c. xxv. p. 809.

² Bellarm. *De Eccl. Triumph.* Lib. ii. cap. iii.; *Cont. Gen.* Tom. ii. p. 746.

The last argument is derived solely from the Latin translation. The Hebrew, the Greek, the Chaldee, and other versions, have 'His rest,' or 'His place of habitation shall be glorious.' (מנוחתו *anápanous*). Even if it meant the sepulchre, which it does not, it would not follow, that because it was glorious or honourable, therefore it should be adored. There can be no question, that God has been pleased to give such honour to His saints, that in one instance the dead body of a prophet was the means of restoring life to the departed, in another, that handkerchiefs brought from an Apostle were made instruments of miraculous cure. But we have no instance in Scripture of the garments or the bones of the saints being preserved for such purposes. All evidence from Holy Writ goes in the opposite direction. The Almighty buried the body of Moses, so that no man should know where it lay, Deut. xxxiv. 6; which seems purposely to have been done, that no superstitious reverence should be paid to it. The bones of Elisha, by which so wonderful a miracle was wrought, were not preserved for any purpose of worship or superstition. The body of the holy martyr St. Stephen was by devout men 'carried to his burial, and great lamentation was made over him;' but no relics of him are spoken of, nor of St. James, who followed him in martyrdom. Their bones were evidently, like those of their predecessors the prophets, left alone, and no man moved them (2 Kings xxiii. 18). The pot of manna and the rod of Aaron were preserved as memorials of God's mercy; but no one can imagine any worship paid to them. And the only relic, to which we learn that worship was paid, viz. the brazen serpent, was on that very account broken in pieces by Hezekiah; and he is commended for breaking it (2 Kings xviii. 4); though of all relics it must have been the noblest and most glorious, reminding the people of their deliverance from Egypt, and giving them assurance of a still more glorious deliverance, to which all their hopes should point. But the very first principle of Scripture truth is, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy

God, and Him only shalt thou serve' (Matt. iv. 10). And, though by degrees a superstitious esteem for the relics of martyrs crept into the Church, yet we have clear evidence that for some time no undue honour was paid to them, and that when it was, the pious and learned, instead of fostering, strove to check the course of the error. The contemporaries of St. Polycarp indignantly denied that they wished for his body for any superstitious purposes, or that they could worship any but Christ¹. And St. Augustine reproved the superstitious sale of relics, which, by his day, had grown into an abuse². Yet the Roman Church has authoritatively condemned such as deny that the bodies of martyrs or the relics of the saints are to be venerated³. And some of her divines have even sanctioned the paying of the supreme worship of *latria* to the relics of the cross, the nails, the lance, and the garments of the crucified Redeemer⁴.

2 Invocation of Saints.

The divines of the Church of Rome defend this practice as follows:

(1) Saints, not going to purgatory, go straight to heaven, where they enjoy the presence of God.

(2) Being then in the presence of God, they behold, in the face of God, the concerns of the Church on earth.

(3) It is good to ask our friends on earth to pray for us: how much rather those, who, being nearer God, have more avail with Him.

(4) The Scripture contains examples of saint-worship.

¹ See especially Martyr. Polycarp. c. 17, referred to above.

² Augustin. Tom. vi. p. 498.

³ Concil. Trident. Sess. xxv. *De Invocatione, Veneratione, et Reliquiis Sanctorum*.

⁴ 'Reliquiæ crucis, clavorum, lanceæ, vestium Christi, et imago crucifixi sunt latria veneranda.'—Joh. de Turrec. *In Festo Invent. Crucis*, q. 3; Beveridge, on Artic. XXII.

(1) The first position is sought to be established from Scripture, thus—

The thief on the cross went straight to Paradise, *i. e.* to Heaven! (Luke xxiii. 43). 'We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens' (2 Cor. v. 1, comp. ver. 4). 'When He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive' (Eph. iv. 8). 'Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ' (Phil. i. 23). 'The way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing' (Heb. ix. 8). 'Ye are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to the general assembly of the firstborn who are written in heaven...and to the spirits of just men made perfect' (Heb. xii. 22, 23). 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit' (Acts vii. 59). White robes are given to the martyrs who cry from under the altar, *i. e.* the glory of the body after the resurrection (Rev. vi. 11). 'These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in His temple' (Rev. vii. 14, 15).

It is admitted that in the old Testament the saints, being as yet in the *limbus patrum*, and therefore not in Heaven, could not be prayed to¹: but since Christ's descent into Hell and resurrection from the dead, all who die in Him, if not needing to go to purgatory, go straight to glory, and therefore, reigning with Christ, may be invoked.

It must be remembered that these arguments for the immediate glorification of the saints run side by side with argu-

¹ 'Notandum est ante Christi adventum qui moriebantur non intrabant in cœlum, nec Deum videbant, nec cognoscere poterant ordinarie preces supplicantium. Ideo non fuit consuetum in V. Testamento ut diceretur, Sancte Abraham, ora pro me: sed solum orabant homines ejus temporis Deum.'—Bellarmino, *De Eccles. Triumph.* i. 19.

ments for a purgatory. The latter is an absolutely necessary supplement to the former: without it, the Roman Catholic divines could not get rid of the force of the arguments in favour of an intermediate state. The two must therefore succeed or fail together. Now, it is unnecessary to repeat the arguments already brought forward against purgatory, or those (under Article III.) in proof that souls go, not straight to Heaven after death, but to an intermediate state of bliss or woe, awaiting the resurrection of the dead. All we need consider now is this. Do the above texts of Scripture contravene that position? The first proves that the thief went with our Saviour, where He went from the Cross; that is, not to Heaven, but to Hades, to the place of souls departed, which, in the case of the redeemed, is called Paradise. Our Lord went not to Heaven, till He rose from the grave¹. The second proves that, when this body is dissolved, we may yet hope, at the general Resurrection, for a glorified body. But the context proves clearly, that, between death and judgment, the souls of the saints remain without the body, in bliss, but yet longing for the resurrection. (See 2 Cor. v. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10). The passage from Ephes. iv. only proves that Christ conquered death. That from Phil. i. shews that the disembodied spirit in Paradise is admitted to some presence with its Saviour; as does that from Acts vii. Heb. ix. 8, merely teaches that Christ is the way to Heaven, a way not *manifested* under the old Law. Heb. xii. speaks of the Church as composed of the first-born, whose names are in God's book, and as having fellowship with the angels, and with departed saints, who have finished their course. The first passage from the Apocalypse (vi. 11), if taken in its context, (see Rev. vi. 9), is a strong proof that even martyrs are in a state of expectant, not of perfect bliss; and if the white robes really mean the glorified body at the resur-

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 111, 120, &c.

rection, then must we believe yet more clearly than ever, that the very martyrs remain 'under the altar,' until the time of the resurrection of the just. The second passage (from Rev. vii. 14, 15) is probably a prophetic vision of the bliss of the saints, *after the general judgment*, and therefore plainly *nihil ad rem*.

It is said by the Romanists that a few *heretics* have denied the immediate beatification of the saints. *Tertullian*, *Vigilantius*, the Greeks at Florence, Luther, Calvin¹; and it is inferred that all the orthodox fathers have maintained it². *Tertullian* is here a heretic, though, when he seems to favour purgatory, he is a Catholic divine. But the truth is, even their own divines have allowed, that a very large number of the greatest names of antiquity believed that the saints did not enjoy the vision of God till after the general judgment. *Franciscus Pegna* mentions as of that persuasion *Irenæus*, *Justin M.*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Origen*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Prudentius*, *Theodoret*, *Aretas*, *Œcumenius*, *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius*³. And our own great Bishop Bull pronounces it to have been the doctrine of the whole Catholic Church for many ages, 'that the souls of the faithful, in the state of separation, though they are in a happy condition in Paradise, yet are not in the third Heaven, nor do enjoy the beatific vision till the Resurrection Nay, this was a doctrine so generally received in the time of *Justin Martyr*, that is, in the first succession of the Apostles, that we learn from the same *Justin*, that there were none but some profligate heretics that believed the souls of the faithful, before

¹ See *Bellarmino*, *De Ecclesia Triumphante*, i. 1; *Controv. Gener.* Tom. II. p. 674.

² The testimonies in favour of it from the fathers are cited, *Bellarmino*, *ubi supra*, Lib. I. c. 4, 5.

³ *Fr. Pegna*, in part. ii. *Directorii Inquisitor.* Comment. 21, apud *Usher*, *Answer to a Jesuit*, chap. ix.; who quotes also *Thomas Stapleton* to the same purport.

the Resurrection, to be received into Heaven. (*Dialog. cum Tryphone*, p. 306, 307. Paris, 1636)¹.

Yet this immediate beatification of the saints is the very foundation of saint-worship. That can be but a slender foundation for so vast a superstructure, which the first fathers and the greatest writers of antiquity (even our enemies being the judges) could not find in the Word of God, and did not believe to be true. Conceding the utmost that we can, we must yet maintain that the evidence from Scripture is far more against, than for, this foundation, and that the first and greatest of the fathers utterly rejected it.

(2) If the first position cannot be established, of course the second must fall, though even if the first were granted, it does by no means seem to follow that the second would stand. For even if saints departed always behold the face of God, it does not certainly follow that thereby they have the omniscience of God. That they continue to take an interest in their fellow-worshippers, children of the same Father, members of the same body with themselves, we may reasonably believe: but that they know all the prayers which each one on earth utters, even the secret silent prayer of the heart, we cannot at least be certain—or rather we should think most improbable.

(3) It is said that saints on earth pray for each other, and exhort one another to pray for them, (Heb. xiii. 18, James v. 16); why not then ask the saints in light to pray for us, who, nearer the throne of God, have more interest with Him?

Yet, who does not see the difference between joining our prayers with our brethren on earth, so through the one Mediator drawing nigh to God in common supplication for mercies, and mutual intercession for each other, and the invoking saints above with all the circumstances of religious worship to go to God for us, and so to save us from going to Him for ourselves?

¹ Bull, *Vindication of the Church of England*, § xii.

If, indeed, we could be quite certain that our departed friends could hear us, when we spoke to them, there might possibly be no more evil in asking them to continue their prayers for us, than there could be in asking those prayers from them whilst on earth—no evil, that is, except the danger that this custom might go further and so grow worse. This, no doubt, was all that the interpellation of the martyrs was in the early ages; and if it had stopped here, it would have never been censured. But who will say, that Romish saint-worship is no more?

In the Church of Rome, when it is determined who are to be saints, they are publicly canonized, *i. e.* they are enrolled in the Catalogue of Saints; it is decreed that they shall be formally held to be saints, and called so; they are invoked in the public prayers of the Church: churches and altars to their memory are dedicated to God; the sacrifices of the Eucharist and of public prayers are publicly offered before God to their honour: their festivals are celebrated: their images are painted with a glory round their heads: their relics are preserved and venerated¹. They are completely invoked as mediators between God and man; so that those who fear to go to God direct, are encouraged to approach Him through the saints, as being not so high and holy as to inspire fear and dread². Herein the very office of Christ is invaded, 'the ONE Mediator between God and man' (1 Tim. ii. 5); a High Priest, who can 'be touched with the feeling of our infirmities,' and through whom we may 'come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need' (Heb.

¹ Bellarmine, *De Eccles. Triumph.* l. 7.

² One reason alleged in favour of saint-worship is 'Propter Dei reverentiam: ut peccator, qui Deum offendit, quia non audet in propria persona adire, occurrat ad sanctos, eorum patrocinia implorando.'—Alexand. de Hales, *Summa*, Part. iv. quæst. 26, memb. 3, artic. 5. Vide Usher, *ubi supra*.

iv. 15, 16). Nay, more than this, direct prayer is made to the saints for protection and deliverance; and even in prayer to God Himself, He is reminded of the protection and patronage of the saints¹. And we know, that, not only among the vulgar, but with the authority of the most learned, and those canonized saints, prayers have been put up to the Blessed Virgin, to use a mother's authority, and command her Son to have mercy upon sinners². What support can all this derive from the injunctions to us in Scripture to pray one for another, and the assurances that 'the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much'?

(4) Next it is alleged that Scripture contains positive examples of the worship of saints and angels.

Bellarmino cites the following:

Ps. xcix. 5: 'Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at His footstool; for He is holy,' (*Adorate scabellum pedis ejus, quoniam sanctum est*): a passage which has been already considered. Gen. xviii. 2, xix. 1, Abraham and Lot bow down to the angels. Numb. xxii. 31, Balaam, when he saw the angel, 'fell flat on his face.' 1 Sam. xxviii. 14, 'And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the

¹ 'Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that Thy faithful, who rejoice under the name and protection of the most blessed Virgin Mary, may, by her pious intercession, be delivered from all evils here on earth, and be brought to the eternal joys of Heaven. Through.'—'Coll. for the Feast of the Name of B. V. Mary,' 'Missal for the Laity,' published by authority of Thomas Bishop of Cambysopolis, and Nicholas Bishop of Melipotamus, Sept. 25, 1845.

² 'Imperatrix et Domina nostra benignissima, jure matris impera tuo dilectissimo Filio Domino nostro Jesu Christo, ut mentes nostras ab amore terrestrium ad celestia desideria erigere dignetur.'—Bonaventura, *Corona B. Mariæ Virginis, Oper.* Tom. vi.

'Inclina vultum Dei super nos: coge illum peccatoribus misereri.'—*Id. in Psalterio B. Mariæ Virginis, Ibid.*

See Archbishop Usher, as above, who gives many passages at length from Bernardin. de Bustis, Jacob de Valentia, Gabriel Biel, &c., to the like effect.

ground, and bowed himself.' 1 Kings xviii. 7, 'And as Obadiah was in the way, behold Elijah met him, and he knew him, and fell on his face, and said, Art thou that my lord Elijah?' 2 Kings ii. 15, 'When the sons of the prophets saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest upon Elisha: and they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him.' Josh. v. 14, 15; when Joshua knew that he was in the presence of the Captain of the Lord's host, 'he fell on his face to the earth, and did worship.' The angel did not forbid him to worship him, but said, 'Loose thy shoe from off thy foot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy.' Dan. ii. 46, 'The king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel; and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odour to him¹.'

Now, in the first place, it is certainly not a little strange, that, whereas the divines of the Church of Rome tell us, that no prayers were offered to the old Testament saints, because they were in the *limbus patrum*, and not in heaven²; yet in their Scriptural proof of saint-worship, they bring all their arguments from the old Testament only. There must be something rotten here. And we need not go far, to see what the ground of their preference for such a line of argument is. The Eastern form of salutation to princes, honoured guests, and elders, was and still is a profound prostration of the body, which is easily construed into an act of religious worship. Now Abraham and Lot evidently (from the context and from Heb. xiii. 2) did not know that the angels, who appeared to them, were angels. They thought them strangers on a journey, and exercised Eastern hospitality to them. They perceived that they were strangers of distinction, and exhibited Eastern tokens of respect. Thus, 'being not forgetful to entertain strangers, they entertained angels unawares.'

¹ Bellarmin. *De Eccles. Triumph.* i. 13; *Cont. Gen.* Tom. II. p. 708.

² See Bellarmin. *ibid.* i. 19, as quoted above.

The same may be said of all the above instances, except perhaps the last two. Falling down at the feet was the common mode of respectful salutation, and that especially when favours were to be asked. Thus Abigail fell at the feet of David (1 Sam. xxv. 24); Esther fell at the feet of Ahasuerus (Esth. viii. 3); the servant is represented as falling at the feet of his master (Matt. xviii. 29). This was no sign of religious worship. Even Balaam, though he fell down before the angel, by no means appears to have worshipped him. He fell down from fear, and in token of respect. The case of Joshua, when he met the Captain of the Lord's host, may be different. It is well known to have been the belief of many of the fathers, and of many eminent divines after them, that the Captain of the Lord's host was the second Person of the Holy Trinity, the eternal Son of God¹. And it is certainly as fair to infer from the worship paid to him that he was God, as to infer from it that worship ought to be paid to any beside God.

We are reduced then to one single instance, and that the instance of an idolatrous king, who soon afterwards bade every one worship a golden image. He indeed appears, in a rapture of astonishment, to have fallen down to worship the prophet Daniel—not a glorified saint reigning with Christ—but one of those old fathers, who had to abide after death in the *limbus*, until our Lord's descent to Hades should rescue them.

But is there no instance in the new Testament? The new Testament is ever the best interpreter of the old. Are there no examples of the worship of saints or angels there? The Roman Catholic divines have not adduced any; but their opponents cannot deny that there are some cases of such worship recorded, and those too of a worship, which cannot be explained to mean merely bowing down in token of respect to a superior.

¹ See Justin M. *Dialogus*, p. 284; Euseb. *H. E.* i. 2.

One example is that of Cornelius : ‘ as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet and worshipped him,’ (*προσεκύνησεν*). This is very like the case of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel ; but with this advantage over it, that Cornelius was no idolater, and St. Peter was not a prophet of the old Testament, for whom the schoolmen tell us a *limbus* was in store, but the chief of the Apostles, to whom the keys of the kingdom were committed, from whom the Roman Pontiff inherits his right to forgive and retain sins, and who (on their shewing) at death was sure of passing straight to the highest kingdom of glory, thenceforth to reign with Christ, and to receive the prayers of the faithful. How then does St. Peter, whose authority none will question, treat the worship of Cornelius ? ‘ Peter took him up, saying, Stand up : I myself also am a man ’ (Acts x. 25, 26).

We may remember another case somewhat similar, though not quite identical, when ‘ the Apostles Barnabas and Paul rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out and saying, Sirs, why do ye these things ? we also are men of like passions with you ’ (Acts xiv. 14, 15). But perhaps we shall be told that it was *latria* not *dulia*, that the men of Lycaonia meant to pay to them.

However, we are not confined to saint-worship in the new Testament ; we can discover manifest traces of angel-worship too. Twice, one, whose example we may rarely refuse to follow, the blessed Apostle St. John, fell down to worship the angel, who shewed him the mysteries of the Apocalypse. The same word (*προσκυνῆσαι*) is used here, as was used of Cornelius and St. Peter, and as is used (in the LXX.) of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel (*προσεκύνησε*, Dan. ii. 46). And what does the angel of God say to the Apostle ? ‘ See thou do it not ; I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren, that have the testimony of Jesus : worship God ’ (Rev. xix. 10). And again, ‘ See thou do

it not: for I am thy fellow-servant.....worship God' (Rev. xxii. 9).

These are cases as plain as any in the old Testament can be. It is not very likely, that St. John would have offered the supreme worship of *latria* to the angel. Therefore, no doubt, all kind of worship was forbidden him. And if only *latria* be forbidden, but *dulia* be a pious or necessary custom, it is certainly remarkable that neither the angel explained to St. John, nor St. Peter to Cornelius, nor St. Paul to the people of Lycaonia, the very important distinction between *latria* and *dulia*, the great sin of offering the former, and the great piety of offering the latter, to created but glorified intelligences; especially as the ambiguous word *worship* (προσκυνῆσαι) includes them both. Moreover, as God's revelations became successively clearer, and there is a gradual *development* of Divine truth, it is truly unaccountable that so large a germ of saint and angel-worship, as the Roman Catholics discover in the old Testament, should have developed into nothing more manifest than what we thus find in the new. St. Paul, we know, earnestly warns his converts against 'the worshipping of angels'—and the word he uses (*θρήσκεια*) appears to comprehend all kinds of worship (Col. ii. 18). St. Paul was not a writer who neglected accurate distinctions, and we may fairly say, he was as profound a reasoner and as deep a theologian as any human being, even under Divine revelation, was ever privileged to become. But there is no question raised by him about *dulia* or *hyperdulia*. It is simply 'Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels' (Col. ii. 18). It is a fearful thing to think that this voluntary humility, and unauthorized worship of inferior beings, may beguile of their reward those who should worship God only.

One more instance is too pregnant to be omitted. Once, and but once, in the history of the Bible, do we hear that an

angel claimed worship for himself. And he claimed it of Him whose example in worship, as in everything else, we are bound to follow. An angel of exceeding power once said to Jesus, 'All these things will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then said Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve' (Matt. iv. 9, 10).

ARTICLE XXIII.

Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

De Vocatione Ministrorum.

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros, atque mittendi in Vineam Domini, publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint, et asciti in hoc opus.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

AFTER the Articles concerning the Church comes naturally this concerning the ministry.

The wording of the Article demands some attention. The first sentence is derived from the fourteenth Article of the Confession of Augsburg as drawn up in 1531. That Article runs: 'De ordine Ecclesiastico docent, quod nemo debeat in Ecclesia publice docere, aut Sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus¹.'

In the XIII. Articles, supposed to have been agreed upon between the English and German divines, (A. D. 1538), the Xth Article is: 'De ministris Ecclesiæ docemus, quod nemo debeat publice docere, aut sacramenta ministrare, nisi rite vocatus, et quidem ab his, penes quos in ecclesia, juxta ver-

¹ *Sylloge*: conf. p. 127. In 1540 we find the following clause added: 'Sicut et Paulus præcipit Tito ut in civitatibus presbyteros constituat.'—*Syll.* p. 174.

bum Dei et leges ac consuetudines uniuscujusque regionis, jus est vocandi et admittendi¹.

The twenty-fourth of the XLI. Articles of 1552, is worded exactly as our present twenty-third, and evidently only slightly changed from the above-cited Article of 1538².

As it now stands, it contains two parts :

I. That no one may assume the office of the ministry without a lawful call and mission.

II. That calling and mission can only be given by certain authorities, who are the ministers of ordination.

The latter portion of the Article is somewhat vaguely worded : the reason for which is easily traced to the probable fact, that the original draught of the Article was agreed on in a conference between the Anglican and Lutheran divines. It would have been painful to the latter, if a strong assertion of the need of episcopal ordination had been inserted, when they were debarred from episcopal regimen. Hence it is but generally asserted, that lawful calling can only be given by those 'who have public authority in the Church to send labourers into the Vineyard.' But then we may observe, that the authority of the English Ordinal is expressly made the subject of Article XXXVI. ; and to see the force of the latter on our present Article we must have recourse to the Ordinal, as expressing the mind of the reformers on this subject.

One expression in this Article requires to be especially observed. In the Confession of Augsburg, the XIII. Articles of 1538, and the Latin Articles of 1552, 1562, 1571, the word *Ecclesia* occurs twice. But in the English translations this word

¹ Then follows a declaration that no bishop should intrude on another diocese, and that the wickedness of ministers hinders not the grace of the Sacraments.—Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, Vol. iv. Appendix, p. 286.

² The heading of the Articles both in those of 1552 and in those of 1662 is, *Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus*.

is rendered *Congregation*. To a modern reader, used to the language of Congregational dissenters, this translation has a different sound to that which it must have had at the time of the Reformation. The ancient Church of the Jews is called 'the Congregation of the Lord.' The XXth Article defines the Church as a 'Congregation of faithful men,' &c. Accordingly, the word *Ecclesia*, instead of being rendered *Church*, is rendered *Congregation*, meaning the whole Congregation of Christ's people, i. e. the Church or Body of Christ. The more modern idea of a Congregational election of ministers had evidently not suggested itself, or the word would have been avoided.

We may now proceed to our history.

I. No one can question that very early in the Church there existed a distinction widely marked between the Clergy (*κληρὸς, κληρικοί, Clerici*) and the *Laiity*, (*λαὸς, Laici*). The only doubt, which can be raised, is, whether such a distinction was quite primitive, or came in in the second and third centuries through the ambition of ecclesiastics.

It is a most happy circumstance, that the very earliest of the Christian fathers, *Clemens Romanus*, the companion of St. Paul, has left us clear testimony on this head. Giving instructions concerning the duty of Christians towards those who minister to God, he first adduces the examples of the Jewish economy, in which the chief priest, the priest, and the Levite, have all their proper ministries, 'and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen¹.' He then goes on to say, 'The Apostles have preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ: Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent by God, the Apostles by Christ; so both were orderly sent, according to the will of God . . . Having received

¹ ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται.—Clem. R. 1 in *Corinth.* c. 40.

their commands . . . and preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first-fruits of their conversions to be bishops and deacons over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the Spirit¹. Then again, referring to the election of the seed of Aaron to the priesthood in order to avoid contention², he continues: 'So likewise our Apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there should contentions arise upon account of the ministry; And therefore, having a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed persons, as we have said before, and then gave direction, how, when they should die, other chosen and approved men should succeed in their ministry. Wherefore we cannot think that those may justly be thrown out of their ministry, who were appointed by them, or afterwards chosen by other eminent men with the consent of the whole Church . . . Blessed are those presbyters who, having finished their course before those times, have obtained a faithful and perfect dissolution; for they have no fear lest any one should turn them out of the place which is now appointed for them³.'

Here, in the very earliest of the fathers, we have plainly the distinction of clergy and laity, the clergy spoken of at one time as presbyters, at another as bishops and deacons; their mode of appointment in succession from the Apostles, and the duty of the people to be submissive and affectionate to them.

Ignatius speaks in language so strong of the necessity of obedience to bishops, presbyters, and deacons, that the very strength of the expressions has been the chief reason for doubting the genuineness of his epistles. The seven shorter epistles, since Bishop Pearson's able defence of them, have generally been admitted to be genuine. The late discovery of a Syriac translation of three of them has again opened the question, their learned editor and translator contending that the Syriac repre-

¹ *Ibid.* c. 42.

² c. 43.

³ c. 44.

sents the true text, and that even the shorter Greek epistles, which are longer than the Syriac, have suffered from interpolation. This is no place to enter into a controversy of such extent; it is, however, satisfactory to find that the short Syriac epistles, as they contain the most important testimonies to the great doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation¹, so do they contain most strong and unmistakable language on the ministry, and the three orders of the ministry: 'Give heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. My soul, be for those² who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons: may I have my portion with them in God³.'

Irenæus speaks distinctly of successions of presbyters in the Church from the time of the Apostles⁴, says that he was able to reckon up those who had been made bishops by the Apostles, and their successors even to his own time⁵, and recounts the succession of bishops at Rome from St. Peter and St. Paul, and at Smyrna from St. Polycarp⁶; to which successions he attaches deep importance.

Clement of Alexandria distinguishes the presbyter and deacon from the layman⁷, and the lay from the priestly⁸. He uses the term κληρος, clergy⁹; and speaks of the three degrees in the Church militant, of bishops, presbyters, and deacons¹⁰, which he compares to the angelic orders in heaven¹¹.

¹ See especially Ignatius *ad Ephes.* c. i. 9, 18 (19 in the Greek), *ad Polyc.* c. 3, where the Syriac has all the same remarkable expressions as the Greek. See especially in the first passage, *Ephes.* i. ἀναφωνήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

² Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων, κ. τ. λ.

³ Ignat. *ad Polyc.* c. 6.

⁴ *Adv. Hær.* III. 2.

⁵ 'Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos.'—III. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ κὰν πρεσβύτερος ἦ, κὰν διάκονος, κὰν λαϊκός.—*Stromat.* Lib. III. p. 552.

⁸ *Stromata*, Lib. v. pp. 665, 666; where λαϊκῆς ἀπιστίας is opposed to λερατικῇ διακονία.

⁹ 'Quis dives salvetur,' p. 959.

¹⁰ *Stromat.* Lib. VI. p. 793.

¹¹ See Bp. Kaye's *Clement of Alexandria*, p. 463.

Tertullian bears testimony to the existence of a distinction between clergy and laity in his day; and charges the heretics with confounding the offices of laymen and cleric¹. The three orders, of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, are enumerated together²; and he tells us that the chief priest, *i.e.* the bishop, had the right to baptize, as also had presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop³.

He speaks of receiving the Eucharist only from the presbyters⁴. The office of the bishop was, according to him, of apostolic institution; and in the Catholic Church the successions of the bishops could be traced to the Apostles, as the succession at Smyrna from Polycarp, placed there by St. John; that at Rome from Clemens, placed there by St. Peter⁵.

It is true that Tertullian claims for all Christians that they are priests, and contends that, in places where there are no clergy, laymen may exercise the priestly offices, may baptize, and even celebrate the Eucharist. But this is only in case of extreme necessity; his strong assertion of this is in a tract, written after he had seceded from the Church; and even allowing the utmost possible weight to the passage, it does not prove the non-existence of a distinct order of the clergy, but only that, in case of absolute necessity, that distinction was not to be observed⁶.

¹ 'Alius hodie episcopus, cras alius: hodie diaconus qui cras lector; hodie presbyter, qui cras laicus. Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera iungunt.'—*De Præscript.* c. 41.

² See the last passage; also *De Fugâ*, c. 11.

³ 'Dandi (baptismus) quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus; dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem.'—*De Baptismo*, c. 17.

⁴ 'Eucharistiæ sacramentum non de aliorum manu quam præsentium sumimus.'—*De Corona*, 3.

⁵ *De Præscript.* c. 32.

⁶ *De Exhort. Castitat.* c. 7. See also *De Baptismo*, c. 17. And consult Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 224; and Bingham, *E. A. Bk.* i. ch. v. sect. 4.

Origen is very express on the office of the clergy¹, on the power of the keys as committed to them², on the duty of obedience to them³.

We are now arrived at the Cyprianic age, when no one doubts that the distinction between lay and cleric was strongly marked, and much insisted on. Some have contended that the distinction was not from the first; but none can deny that by this time it was universally accepted. Hilary the deacon, whose commentaries on St. Paul's epistles are appended to the works of St. Ambrose, is indeed cited as saying that in the beginning, in order to increase the Church, the power to preach and baptize was given to all, but that, when the Church spread abroad, a more regular constitution was ordained, so that none of the clergy were permitted to intrude into offices not committed to themselves⁴. But this does not prove, even that Hilary thought the distinction of lay and cleric not to be Apostolical. It is most probable from the context, that by the word *all, omnibus*, he means not all the *faithful*, but all the *clergy*, who at first performed all sacred functions indiscriminately, but afterwards were limited according to their distinctions of bishop, presbyter, and deacon. And even if he meant that all the faithful had at first a ministerial commission, yet still he clearly intended to fix the more regular constitution of the Church to the Apostolic age, before the close of which the Church might be said to have spread itself everywhere, and

¹ See *Homil. II. in Numer. ; Homil. XIII. in Lucam.*

² *In Matt. Tom. XII. num. 14.*

³ *Homil. XX. in Lucam.* 'Si Jesus Filius Dei subjicitur Joseph et Mariæ, ego non subjiçiar episcopo, qui mihi a Deo ordinatus est pater? Non subjiçiar presbytero qui mihi Domini dignatione prepositus est.'

⁴ 'Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum.'—Hilar. Diac. *in Epist. Eph. c. IV. v. 12.*

therefore needed regular establishment¹. So that this passage makes nothing against the Apostolical origin of the order of clergy, and their distinction from the laity².

So necessary did the fathers consider the office of the ministry, that St. Jerome tells us, 'There is no Church where there are not priests³.' And St. Chrysostom says, 'Since the Sacraments are necessary to salvation, and all these things are performed by the hands of the priesthood, how, without them, shall any man be able to avoid the fire of hell, or to obtain the promised crown⁴?'

The opinions of Christians of all ages, and almost all sects, have been in favour of the necessity of a distinct call to the ministry, and of an order regularly set apart for the executing of that office. Luther condemns it as an error invented by the devil, that men should say that they have a talent from the Lord, and therefore must of necessity assume the office of preaching. They should wait till they are called to the ministry. If their Master wants them, He will call them; 'If they teach uncalled, it will not be without injury to themselves and their hearers; for Christ will not be with them⁵.' The Confession of Augsburg speaks of the ministry of the word and Sacraments as divinely instituted; condemns the Anabaptists who teach that men can receive the Spirit, without the external

¹ See Bingham, Book I. c. v. § 4, and Mr. Morrison's note to his translation of Neander's *Church History*, Vol. I. p. 252.

² St. Jerome tells us the reason of the name κληρος, *clerici*, 'Propterea vocantur *clerici*, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia Dominus sors, id est pars, clericorum est.'—*Ad Nepotian. De Vita Clericorum*.

³ 'Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes.'—*Dial. c. Lucifer. c. 8.*

⁴ Εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐὰν μὴ δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος ἀναγεννηθῇ, καὶ ὁ μὴ τρώγων τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πίνων, ἐκβέβληται τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δι' ἐτέρου μὲν οὐδενός, μόνον δὲ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ἐπιτελεῖται χειρῶν, τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως λέγω, πῶς ἂν τις τούτων ἐκτός, ἢ τὸ τῆς γεννῆς ἐκφυγεῖν δυνήσεται πῦρ, ἢ τῶν ἀποκειμένων στεφάνων τυχεῖν.—Chrysost. *De Sacerdot. Lib. III.*

⁵ 'Qui non vocatus docet, non sine damno, et suo, et auditorum, docet, quod Christus non sit cum eo.'—Luther, *In Galat. i. 1*, Tom. v. p. 215.

word ; and says, that none may minister the word and Sacraments not rightly called to it¹. The Helvetic Confession of the Zuinglians declares the office of minister to be ‘ancient and ordained of God ; not of recent, or of human ordination².’ Calvin says, that ‘no one must be accounted a minister of Christ except he be regularly called....If so great a minister as St. Paul dares not arrogate to himself to be heard in the Church, but that he has been ordained to this office by the Lord’s command, and faithfully discharges his duty ; how great would be his impudence who should seek this honour destitute of both these qualifications³ !’

The Church of England especially expresses her opinions in the Ordinal, where besides the language of the Preface and the words of the Services themselves, it is ordered that ‘There shall be a sermon declaring....how *necessary* the order of priests is in the Church of Christ.’

Since the Reformation sects have arisen which underrate the necessity of the ministry and of a call to it. The Anabaptists appear to have done this. The later Remonstrants, as represented by Episcopius, seem to have thought a fluency of speech and acceptableness to the congregation a sufficient mission⁴. The Quakers, and several fanatical sects, investing all Christians with ministerial authority, have abrogated all distinction of lay and clerical. But these are not much to be considered in a history of religious opinions.

II. The Article next speaks of those ministers being lawfully called and sent, who derive their calling and mission from certain persons having public authority in the Church to call and to send.

¹ *Confess. August.* pars i. Art. v. ; *Syllog.* p. 24, Art. xiv. p. 127.

² *Confess. Helvet.* c. xviii. ; *Syllog.* p. 65.

³ Calvin, *Institut.* iv. iii. 10. See Palmer, *On the Church*, Pt. i. ch. viii.

⁴ See *Episcop. Disp.* 76, Thes. 4, 5 ; *Remons. Conf.* c. 22, § 1 ; Ford, *On the Articles*, Art. XXIII.

It is necessary then to consider, whether there have always been certain persons invested with such public authority; who such persons were; and who are recognized as such by the English Church.

It is the plain record of all antiquity, that ordination was anciently conferred by the highest order of the ministry. This will probably be questioned by no one. We have seen that St. Clement, the earliest Christian writer, except those of the new Testament, speaks of the Apostles as having appointed successors to themselves in the ministry and government of the Church. We have seen that Irenæus speaks of a regular succession from the Apostles in the Churches, and that he counts up the succession in the Churches of Rome and of Smyrna. A like testimony we have brought from Tertullian. The farther we proceed, the clearer the evidence becomes, that no ordinations took place, except by those who thus succeeded to the ministry of the Apostles, deriving their orders in direct descent from them.

The only difficulty, which seems to occur, is this. In the new Testament it is conceded, that *Bishop* (ἐπίσκοπος) and *Presbyter* (πρεσβύτερος) were synonymous and convertible terms. In after ages we find them distinguished; the title *Bishop* being tied to the first, the title *Presbyter* to the second order of the ministry. Theodoret¹ and Hilary the deacon² tell us, that 'the same persons were originally called indiscriminately bishops and presbyters, whilst those who are now called bishops, were called Apostles. But afterwards the name *Apostle* was appropriated to such only as were Apostles indeed, and then the name *Bishop* was given to those who were before called Apostles³.' The question is, Was this really the state of the case from the first, or is it the invention of a later age? Were there always three orders of ministers? or originally but

¹ *Comm. in 1 Tim. iii. 1.*

² *Hilar. Diac. in Ephes. iv.*

³ See Bingham, *E. A.* Book II. ch. ii. § 1.

two, the aristocratical by degrees changing into a monarchical government? There have been many (such as Blondel, Daillé, Lord King, &c.), who have asserted, that there were but two orders, *presbyters* and *deacons*; that by degrees, where there were several presbyters, one was elected to preside over the rest; but that he was no more distinct from them, than the dean of a cathedral is from the rest of the chapter, or than the rector or vicar of a large parish is from the assistant curates and ministers of the various chapelries connected with it—in short, a ruling or presiding elder, but not a bishop. By degrees, they say, these ruling elders arrogated to themselves to be a superior order to their brethren, and claimed exclusively that authority to ordain and to execute discipline, which had before been vested in the whole body of the presbytery.

It is quite certain that in the beginning of the third century, *i. e.* one hundred years after the Apostles, there existed in the Church the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Thenceforward, in every part of the world whither Christianity had spread, no Church was to be found where bishops did not preside and ordain. They are well known rules, that ‘what has been religiously observed by the Apostolical Churches, must appear to have been handed down from the Apostles themselves¹.’ And, that ‘what is held by the Universal Church, and not ordained by any council, but has always been retained in the Church, is to be believed to have come down from Apostolical authority².’ So then the burden of proof must lie with those who contend, that a custom universally prevailing at a very early period was an innovation, and not a tradition.

¹ ‘Constabit id esse ab Apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum.’—Tertull. *c. Marcion*. Lib. iv. c. 5; cf. *De Præscript.* c. 17.

² ‘Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.’—Augustin. *adv. Donatist.* Lib. iv. c. 24, Tom. ix. p. 139.

Let us, however, see whether the chain of evidence is not complete even from the Apostles.

Clemens Romanus, it is true, mentions only bishops and deacons, and afterwards presbyters; from which it has been inferred that bishops and presbyters were still used indiscriminately for the same office, as in the new Testament. Yet his epistle contains at least inferential proof of the existence of three orders at the time he wrote. In the first place, he himself evidently writes with authority as representing the whole Church in the great city of Rome. 'The Church of God, which is at Rome, to the Church of God which is at Corinth'.¹ This exactly corresponds with what we are told by Irenæus and all subsequent testimonies, that Clement was Bishop of Rome. Then, in speaking of the ministry as ordained by the Apostles, when they themselves were about to depart, and enjoining the laity to be observant of it, he specially compares the Christian Clergy to the three orders of the Levitical priesthood. 'The same care must be had of the persons that minister unto Him: for the chief priest has his proper services; and to the priests their proper place is appointed; and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries: and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen'.² This, be it observed, is exactly the language of later fathers. In allusion to this resemblance the presbyters are constantly called *sacerdotes*; the bishop, *summus sacerdos*; the deacons, *Levita*. And it will facilitate our understanding of the whole question, if we bear in mind, that, as the high priest was still a priest, and only distinguished from the other priests by one or two points of official pre-eminence, so the fathers constantly speak of the bishop as still a presbyter (*συμπρεσβύτερος*, 1 Pet. v. 1), but as distinguished from the other presbyters by the power of ordination and jurisdiction.

¹ Clem. 1 *ad Cor.* c. 1.

² c. 40.

If we believe the seven shorter epistles of Ignatius to be genuine, they abound in passages concerning the three orders of the ministry, so plain that no language can be stronger or more significant¹. If, on the contrary, we incline to receive the epistles of the Syriac version, not as abbreviated, but as the genuine epistles; we have already seen that they contain a passage in which subjection to the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and especially to the bishop, is most earnestly and solemnly enjoined².

In the account of the martyrdom of Ignatius we are told, that the cities and Churches of Asia sent their bishops, presbyters, and deacons to meet him³.

Hegesippus (ab. A.D. 158) relates of himself, that as he was travelling to Rome, he communicated with many bishops, and especially speaks of having intercourse with Primus, the Bishop of Corinth. He also relates the succession of certain bishops of Rome. And speaks of Simon the son of Cleopas as second Bishop of Jerusalem⁴. Here we find the three great cities, Jerusalem, Rome and Corinth, in each of which there must have been several presbyters, yet still presided over by a single bishop.

Irenæus undoubtedly calls the same persons by the name of bishops and presbyters; but we should be misled by the mere indiscriminate use of names, if we concluded, that therefore there was in his day no such thing as a church-officer superior to the general body of presbyters. On the contrary, we have already seen that he lays great stress on the power of tracing up the succession of ministers in the Churches unbroken to the Apostles; and this succession he traces, not by

¹ See Ign. *ad Ephes.* 3, 4, 5, 6; *Magnes.* 2, 6, 13; *Trall.* 2, 7; *Philadelph.* 1, 4, 7, 10; *Smyrn.* 8, 12; *Polyc.* 6.

² *Epist. ad Polycarp.* c. 6, cited above.

³ Martyr. Ignatius, Coteler. II. p. 174.

⁴ Ap. Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22.

the whole body of presbyters in each, but by the single individuals at the head. Thus, he says, the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul gave the bishopric of Rome to Linus, to him succeeded Anacletus, to Anacletus Clemens, to Clemens Evarestus, to him Alexander, then Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius. In the like manner he speaks of a regular descent of the heads of the Church of Smyrna from Polycarp¹. Here it is evident, that the regular ordination and succession of doctrine in the Church is maintained not by parity of presbyters, but by successive ordination of chief pastors, who in their turn had power to ordain others.

It has been already mentioned that Clement of Alexandria considers 'the degrees (*αἱ προκοφαί*) in the Church on earth of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, to be imitations of the angelic glory, and of that dispensation which is said to await those who live in righteousness according to the Gospel. These, according to the Apostle, being raised into the clouds, will first minister (*διακονεῖν*), then, receiving an advancement in glory, be enrolled in the presbytery, until they come to the perfect man².' Here it is evident that Clement alludes to the existence of three orders in the ministry, which might successively be passed through, and which he fancifully considers like the progressive degrees of glory hereafter. Elsewhere also he speaks of presbyters, bishops, and deacons, saying that there are various precepts or suggestions in the Scriptures pertaining to particular persons, 'some for presbyters, some for bishops, some for deacons³,' &c.

The testimony of Tertullian has already been sufficiently adduced, when we were on the subject of the distinction of clergy and laity. He, more than once, enumerates the three

¹ Irenæ. Lib. III. c. 3.

² *Stromat.* VI. p. 793. See also Bp. Kaye, *Clem. Alex.* p. 463.

³ *αἱ μὲν πρεσβυτέρους αἱ δὲ ἐπισκόπους· αἱ δὲ διακόνους, κ. τ. λ.*—*Pædag.* III. p. 309.

orders¹. In one instance he asserts that presbyters and deacons could not baptize without the authority of the bishop²; challenges heretics to trace, as the Catholics could, the succession of their bishops to the Apostles³; and complains that among heretics the offices of bishops, deacons, presbyters, and laics, were all confounded⁴.

Origen continually distinguishes between bishops, priests, and deacons. Bishop Pearson⁵ has quoted ten passages from his writings, in seven of which the distinction is plainly marked; and the three orders are expressly enumerated.

All these writers lived within a hundred years of the Apostles. St. John is said to have died A.D. 100, and Origen to have been born A.D. 186. From the time of Origen the case admits of no question. The first fifty of the canons of the Apostles use the word *bishop* thirty-six times, in appropriation to him, that is the ruler or president of the Church, above the clergy and laity; twenty-four times the bishop is expressly distinguished from the presbyter; and fourteen times indicated as having particular care for government, jurisdiction, censures, and ordinations committed to him⁶. The first canon expressly enjoins that a bishop be consecrated by two or three bishops. The second, that a presbyter or deacon be ordained by one bishop. The thirty-fifth forbids bishops to ordain out of their own dioceses. The thirty-seventh decrees synods of bishops.

¹ *De Baptismo*, c. 17. *De Fuga*, c. 11.

² *Ibid.* c. 17, cited above.

³ *De Præscrip. Hæretic.* c. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.* c. 41, cited above.

⁵ *Vindiciæ Ignat.* ap. Coteler. Tom. II. Pt. II. p. 320.

⁶ See Bp. Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, Sect. xxiv.

All this occurs in the first fifty Canons, which are received as authentic, being quoted by the Council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Antioch and Carthage. They were undoubtedly not apostolical, but are generally referred to the middle of the third century. Bp. Beveridge thinks they were collected by Clement of Alexandria. They seem to be appealed to as authority by Tertullian, Cyprian, Constantine the Great, Alexander of Alexandria, and Athanasius. See *Codex Canonum Eccles. Prim. illus.* a Gul. Beveregio.

The thirty-eighth enjoins bishops to have the superintendence of all ecclesiastical affairs; and the thirty-ninth forbids presbyters and deacons to do anything without the knowledge of their bishop¹.

Having now reached the age of Cyprian, when the existence of a regular diocesan episcopacy is not questioned by the most sceptical; if we look back on the testimonies above cited, it is surely not too much to assert, that for scarcely any of the undoubted events of ancient history does there exist anything like the weight of contemporary evidence, that we have from the first, that, in the first century after the Apostolic age, there was a marked distinction between bishops, presbyters and deacons; or that, if the *names* of bishops and presbyters were not always distinguished, there was still clearly a separation between the functions of the ordinary presbyter and those of the president, chief priest, or bishop of the Church. There is nothing like such evidence for the existence of the laws of Draco, or the usurpation of Pisistratus, of the kingdom of Croesus, or the battle of Marathon, for the wars of Carthage, or the very being of such persons as Brennus, or Pyrrhus, or Hannibal.

In the age of Cyprian (*i. e.* about A.D. 250), we have abundant evidence as to the state of the Church. We know, for instance, that Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, had forty-four presbyters under him²; that Cyprian himself in like manner presided over a considerable body of presbyters. The latter never hesitates to claim supreme authority, under God, over his presbyters and deacons; and complains bitterly if any of the presbytery give not due honour to him as their bishop³. The privileges of the presbytery were indeed carefully preserved to

¹ Beveregii *Synodicon*, Tom. i. pp. 1, 24—27. ² Euseb. vi. 43.

³ See, for instance, *Epistol.* xvi. 'Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini quando aliqui de presbyteris nec Evangelii nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc sibi propositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia præpositi totum sibi vendicant?'

them; and we have no reason to believe that, at this early period, nearly so great an imparity prevailed as we afterwards meet with. The dioceses were very small compared with their extent in modern times. One bishop generally had the care of one large town and its immediate suburbs: whence the original name of a diocese was not *διοίκησις* (*diocesis*), but *παροικία* (*parochia*), a word not expressing, as of late times, a single congregation or parish, but implying the whole town and its immediate neighbourhood; that is, such a precinct or district as a single bishop could govern with the assistance of his presbyters¹. The power of bishops too over their presbyters was, in early times, limited in many ways. The Council of Carthage (A.D. 348) ordained, that three bishops should judge a deacon, and not less than six should censure a presbyter². Presbyters were always looked on as assessors and counsellors to their bishop³. Bishops weighed all things by common advice, and did nothing but after deliberation, and with consent of their clergy⁴. Presbyters were considered as, equally with the bishops, invested with the dignity of the priestly office⁵; and in the African Churches and the Latin, though not in the East, all the presbyters present assisted the bishop in the ordination of a presbyter, by laying their hands on his head⁶.

¹ See Suicer, s. v. *παροικία*; and Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. ix. c. 2.

² *Concil. Carthag.* i. Can. 11; See Bingham, Bk. ii. ch. iii. sect. 9.

³ Σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, συνέδριον καὶ βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—*Constit. Apostol.* Lib. ii. c. 28.

⁴ 'Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privata sententia gerere.'—Cyprian. *Epist.* xiv.; *Op. Cyp. Epist.* p. 38.

'Omni actu ad me perlato placuit contrahi presbyterium, qui et hodie presentes fuerunt, ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur.'—Cornelius Cypriano, *Epist.* xlix.; *Op. Cyp. Epist.* p. 92. See Bingham, Bk. ii. ch. xix. sect. 8.

⁵ 'Qui cum Episcopo Presbyteri sacerdotali honore conjuncti.'—Cyprian. *ad Lucian.* *Epist.* lxi. See Bingham, ii. xix. 14.

⁶ It was so ordained by the fourth Council of Carthage, and there is

Yet there is no example of ordination ever being entrusted to presbyters only. On one occasion, a presbyter of Alexandria, named Colluthus, pretended to act as a bishop, but a council of bishops, assembled at Alexandria under Hosius (A.D. 324), declared his ordinations null and void¹.

Those, who advocate the parity of bishops and presbyters, appeal to the language of St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome; who undoubtedly maintained with great earnestness the dignity of the office of presbyter, and esteemed it very little inferior to the episcopate. Yet their very words distinctly shew that in one point, and that the point now in question, the bishop had a power not entrusted to the presbyter. St. Chrysostom says that ‘bishops excel presbyters *only in the power of ordination*’². And St. Jerome asks, ‘what does a bishop which a presbyter does not, *except ordaining*?’³ It is true, that St. Jerome, arguing from the language of St. Paul to Timothy, contends that *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* originally designated the same office, and thinks that one was afterwards placed above the rest, to avoid schism in the Church. This, however, is evidently only his own private inference from Scripture. He relates indeed, that at Alexandria, from the time of St. Mark to Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters used to elect one from among themselves, and, having placed him aloft (*in excelsiori gradu*), saluted him *Episcopus*; as if an army should make a general (*imperator*), or a body of deacons an archdeacon⁴. But we cannot infer from this, that St. Jerome means to say, that there was

a rule to the same purpose in the Constitutions of the Church of Alexandria. See Bingham, II. xix. 10.

¹ Athanas. *Opp.* I. p. 732, Colon. See Bingham, II. iii. 6; Palmer, *On the Church*, Pt. VI. ch. iv.

² χειροτονία μονη.—*Hom.* IX. in 1 *ad Tim.*

³ ‘Quid enim facit, *excepta ordinatione*, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat.’—*Epist. ad Evangelium*, Ep. 101; *Op.* Tom. IV. pars II. p. 802, ed. Benedict.; *Al. ad Evagrium*, Ep. 86, Tom. II. p. 511. Paris. 1602.

⁴ *Ibid.*

no distinct consecration of the bishop so elected; for it is merely of the election, not of the ordination of their bishop, that he speaks; and he simply adduces this as an instance of what he believed to be one of the ancient forms of episcopacy; viz. the appointment by the presbyters of one from among themselves to preside over them¹.

Hilary the deacon says, that 'the ordination of bishop and presbyters is the same, for both are priests; but the bishop is first; for every bishop is a presbyter, not every presbyter a bishop².' All this is true, except inasmuch as he says there is no difference between the ordination of a bishop and a presbyter; and this is evidently the private opinion (deduced from the language of St. Paul,) of a person not much to be relied on, and who afterwards joined the Luciferian schism. What he says in another place³, that 'in Egypt, even to his days, presbyters *sealed* (consignant), in the absence of the bishop,' does not mean that they *ordained*, but that they *confirmed*; and, no doubt, in the early ages, presbyters were sometimes permitted to confirm, by delegation of the episcopal power⁴.

The only decided opponent of episcopacy in primitive times was Aërius, a presbyter of the Church of Sebaste, in Armenia, of the fourth century. He had a quarrel with his bishop, Eustathius, and was thence led, among other errors, to declare that bishops and presbyters were altogether equal, and that a presbyter could ordain as well as a bishop. Epiphanius says he was altogether an Arian heretic (*Ἀρειανὸς μὲν τὸ πᾶν*). His sentiments were wholly rejected by the Catholics, and his sect driven from

¹ See Bishop Hall, *Episcopacy of Divine Right*, Pt. II. Sect. 15; Bp. J. Taylor, *On Episcopacy*, Sect. 32; Bingham, II. iii. 5; Palmer, *On the Church*, Pt. VI. ch. iv.

² In 1 Tim. iii. in *Oper. Ambros.*

³ In *Ephes.* iv. 'Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus.'

⁴ See Bingham, Bk. XII. ch. ii. sect. 2, 4; Palmer, Pt. VI. ch. i. vi.

all quarters of the Church¹; it being a settled doctrine at that day, that the order of bishops excelled the order of presbyters, 'inasmuch as the order of bishops can beget fathers to the Church by ordination, but the order of presbyters can but beget sons by baptism².'

The review, then, which has been taken of the primitive testimony, proves this; that, in the earliest ages, in every quarter of the world whither the Church had penetrated, whilst all Churches had their regular ministers of the two orders of presbyters and deacons, yet in every city there was one chief presbyter, presiding over the clergy of that city and its suburb (*παρoικία*), and that to him was committed the power of ordination, or, in the language of the Article, he had 'public authority given him in the Church, to call and send ministers into the Lord's Vineyard.' Whether he was to be esteemed of a different order, or of the same order, differing only in degree³, in any case, by universal consent, he was the minister of ordination. Other presbyters, equally with him, received authority to teach, to baptize, to minister the Eucharist; but he only had authority to ordain. Such authority was believed to have been derived to bishops from the Apostles. And the principle

¹ Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 75; August. *Hæres.* 53.

² Epiphanius, *Ibid.*

³ The fathers, the schoolmen and divines, both of the Roman and reformed episcopal churches, have seemed doubtful whether bishops and presbyters were of different degrees in the same order, or of different orders. The distinction between presbyter and deacon has always been esteemed as greater than that between bishop and presbyter; the eminence of the bishop over the presbyter consisting chiefly in the power of ordination. Mr. Palmer enumerates as advocates for identity of order, but inferiority of degree, Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, Irenæus, Clemens Alexand., Tertullian, Firmilian, Jerom, Hilary the deacon, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret, Sedulius, Primasius, Isidore Hispalensis, Bedo, Alcuin, the Synod of Aix, in 819, Amalarius, Hugo S. Victor, Peter Lombard, Alexander Alensis, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Cajetan, Durandus, the Council of Trent, and many reformers of the 16th century. Palmer, Pt. vi. ch. i.

on which their ordinations were deemed valid, was, not merely that they themselves had the priestly office, but that they had received authority (authority by regular episcopal descent) to give ordination and mission to others.

Those who maintain the validity of presbyterian orders, do so on the ground that bishops were themselves but presbyters. Those who maintain that episcopal ordination is necessary, reply that, even though bishops be themselves presbyters, yet they only, and not all presbyters alike, had the authority to ordain; and therefore that without them ordination could not take place. This was the constant creed of the fathers, and the schoolmen after them.

The Council of Trent, and the later writers in the Church of Rome, have not greatly insisted on the three orders, but have generally classed together the first and second, bishops and presbyters, under the common name of *sacerdotes*, *priests*; influenced herein by the high importance which they attached to the priesthood, and by the disposition to reserve supreme episcopal authority to the pope¹. Yet they have never thought of permitting any but the bishop to administer ordination, which is by them esteemed a Sacrament of the Church; but have ever held bishops to be successors of the Apostles, superior to presbyters, and qualified, which the other clergy were not, to confirm and to ordain².

At the time of the Reformation, the Lutherans, meeting with nothing but opposition from the bishops, were constrained to act without them. Yet Luther and his followers constantly

¹ The Council of Trent, Sess. xxiii. cap. 2, reckons seven orders of ministers, *sacerdotes*, *diaconi*, *subdiaconi*, *acolythi*, *exorcistæ*, *lectores*, *ostiarii*. The Council of Nice itself (Can. 3) had given the name of *κλήρος* to others besides bishops, presbyters, and deacons: and the third Council of Carthage made a canon (Can. 23) on purpose to confirm the title to them. (Bingham, I. v. 7).

² Vid. Concil. Trident. Sess. xxiii. cap. 4.

acted under appeal to a general council. The Confession of Augsburg fully conceded to bishops the power of the keys, i. e. of preaching the Gospel, of remitting and retaining sins, and of administering the Sacraments¹; and declared that bishops should retain all their legitimate authority, if only they would not urge such traditions as could not be kept with a good conscience². The Lutherans earnestly protested, that they much wished to retain episcopacy, but that the bishops forced them to reject sound doctrine, and therefore they were unable to preserve their allegiance to them; and they 'openly testified to the world, that they would willingly continue the canonical government, if only the bishops would cease to exercise cruelty upon the Churches³.'

The Calvinists, though in like manner rejecting their bishops, who would have bound them to Rome, declared themselves ready to submit to a lawful hierarchy. Calvin said, that those who could not submit themselves to such, were deserving of any anathema⁴. Even Beza thought it insane to reject all episco-

¹ Confess. August. *De Potestate Ecclesiastica*, Sylloge, pp. 151, 225.

² *Ibid.* pp. 157, 231.

³ 'Episcopi sacerdotes nostros aut cogunt hoc doctrinæ genus, quod confessi sumus, abjicere et damnare, aut nova et inaudita crudelitate miseros et innocentes occidunt. Hæ causæ impediunt quo minus agnoscant hos episcopos nostri sacerdotes. Ita sævitia episcoporum in causa est, quare alicubi dissolvitur illa canonica politia, quam nos magnopere cupiebamus conservare. Ipsi viderint quomodo rationem Deo reddituri sint, quod dissipant ecclesiam. Porro hic iterum volumus testatum, nos libenter conservaturos esse ecclesiasticam et canonicam politiam, si modo episcopi desinant in nostras ecclesias sævire.' — *Apologia Confessionis*, Art. VII. § 24. See Bp. Hall's *Episcopacy*, Int. Sect. 3. The above passage is given at greater length in Dr. Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*, ch. xi.

⁴ 'Talem nobis hierarchiam si exhibeant in qua sic emineant episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab Illo tanquam ab unico Capite pendeant et ad Ipsum referantur: . . . tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, si qui erunt, qui non eam reverentur, summaque obedientia observant.' — Calvin. *De Necessitate Reform. Eccles.* See also *Institut.* IV. c. 10. See Hall, as above.

pacy; and wished, that the Church of England might continue to enjoy for ever that singular bounty of God¹.

John Knox himself was not a favourer of that party of ministers, which Andrew Melvill afterwards introduced into the Kirk of Scotland, but may be considered as more or less a witness for the distinction of bishops and presbyters².

In the English Church the primitive rule of episcopal ordination and apostolical descent has never been infringed. The Article under consideration is the only authorized formulary which seems in the least degree ambiguous. The ambiguity, however, is not real but apparent only; as it is clearly stated that not all, who are themselves ministers, can ordain; but only those invested with public authority in the Church to send others into the Vineyard. This is a complete description of a bishop, who is a chief presbyter, invested, over and above other presbyters, with the power of sending labourers into the Vineyard.

The first germ of this Article we have already seen in the Articles agreed on between the Lutheran and Anglican divines, A. D. 1538³. About the same year, or soon after, a paper was written by Cranmer, *De Ordine et Ministerio Sacerdotum et Episcoporum*, in which the divine authority of priests and bishops, the superiority of bishops, and their succession from the Apostles, are strongly maintained⁴. The same kind of language is used in the *Institution of a Christian Man*, set forth nearly at the same time or somewhat earlier⁵. In the year 1540, Henry VIIIth, in regard of a more exact review of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, appointed several learned men to deliberate about sundry

¹ 'Fruatur sane ista singulari Dei beneficentia, quæ utinam illi sit perpetua.'—*Beza ad Sarav.* apud Hall, *Episcopacy*, Sect. 4.

² Harington's *Notes on the Church of Scotland*, ch. iii.

³ Cranmer's *Works*, by Jenkyns, Vol. iv. p. 286.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 300.

⁵ *Formularies of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII.* p. 101.

points of religion, and to give in their sentiments distinctly. Seventeen questions were proposed to them concerning the Sacraments and ordination¹. All agreed, except one, that bishops had the authority to make presbyters; and almost all agreed that none besides had this power. Their general opinion was, that a bishop further required consecration, though Cox thought institution with imposition of hands sufficient. But at this time Cranmer appears to have been much wavering on the subject of ordination. He had imbibed a very high notion of the Divine prerogative of Christian princes; and some of his answers indicate a belief that Christian kings, as well as bishops, had power to ordain ministers. Still he adds, as if doubtful of the soundness of his position, 'This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which nevertheless I do not temerarily define, but refer the judgment thereof wholly to your majesty².' Several of the other divines had afterwards a hand in drawing up the Liturgy and the Ordinal; and all had expressed opinions diametrically opposite to the Archbishop. But the Archbishop's own appears to have been only a theory hastily taken up, and as speedily relinquished, at a period when all opinions were undergoing a great revolution, and when the reformers were generally inclined to overrate the regal, and underrate the episcopal authority; since kings in most parts of Europe fostered, and bishops checked the progress of the Reformation. It is to be observed that the *Necessary Doctrine*, which was the result of this review of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, contains the strongest language concerning 'order,' as 'the gift or grace of ministration in Christ's Church, given of God to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the

¹ Strype's *Commen.* p. 110.

² See Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, Vol. II. p. 98, where Cranmer's answers are given. All the replies are to be found in the Appendix to Burnet *On the Reformation*, and Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*. See also Jenkyns' preface to his edition of *Cranmer*, Vol. I. p. xxxii. &c.

bishop's hands,' and concerning a continual succession even to the end of the world¹. This was set forth A. D. 1543. In 1548, Cranmer himself put out what is called Cranmer's Catechism, which, though not written by him, was translated and published by his authority. In this the Apostolical descent, Episcopal ordination, and the power of the Keys, are strongly enforced and greatly enlarged upon². Bishop Burnet remarks on it, that 'it is plain that Cranmer had now quite laid aside those singular opinions which he formerly held of the ecclesiastical functions; for now in a work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any other, he fully sets forth their divine institution³.' In 1549, Cranmer and twelve other divines drew up the *Ordinal*, where it is declared that, 'from the Apostles' times, there hath been three orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests and Deacons:' it is said, that none were admitted to them but 'by public prayer, with imposition of hands;' and it is enjoined that hereafter all persons to be ordained shall be admitted according to the form laid down in the *Ordinal*, which is the same as that still used in the Church of England. In 1552, the *Reformatio Legum* was published, the chief writer of which was the Archbishop. In this again the three orders, of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, are distinctly treated of. For bishops are claimed the powers of jurisdiction and ordination, and all three orders are spoken of as evidently holding their offices on Scriptural authority and by Divine appointment⁴. Cranmer therefore could only have entertained for a short time the peculiar opinions which in 1540 he unhappily expressed⁵. It is only necessary to add, that the

¹ See at length *Formularies of Faith*, p. 277.

² See Cranmer's Catechism, p. 193, &c. Oxford, 1829.

³ Burnet, *History of Reformation*, Vol. II. Pt. 2.

⁴ *Reform. Leg. Tit. De Ecclesia et Ministris Ejus*, capp. 3, 4, 10—12.

⁵ The question concerning Archbishop Cranmer's remarkable expressions in 1540, and subsequent change of opinion, is ably disposed of by

Ordinal is expressly sanctioned and authorized, not only as part of the Book of Common Prayer, but by the XXXVth Article¹: and we may observe, that not only is episcopal ordination enjoined by it, but in its present form it forbids that any shall hereafter be 'accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon in the United Church of England or Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination².'

Chancellor Harington, *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England*. See also his *Two Ordination Sermons*. Exeter, 1845.

¹ The Church of England has always acted on the principles laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal, although many of her writers have shewn consideration for the difficulties of the Continental Protestants. It has been asserted by Mr. Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, Vol. i. p. 75, that 'in the year 1603 the province of Canterbury' (i. e. in Canon 55) 'solemnly recognized the Church of Scotland, a Church in which episcopal ordination was unknown, as a branch of the holy Catholic Church of Christ.' This statement has been clearly disproved by Chancellor Harington, who has demonstrated that at least a titular episcopacy then existed in Scotland, and that there was 'a full determination to restore a regularly-consecrated episcopacy.' See a *Letter on the LVth Canon, and the Kirk of Scotland*, by E. C. Harington, M.A. Rivingtons, 1851.

² The following writers may be consulted by the student, both as containing the arguments for episcopacy and the succession of ministers, and as shewing the judgment of the great Anglican divines on the subject. Hooker, Book vii.; Hall, *Episcopacy of Divine Right*; Taylor, *On Episcopacy*; Chillingworth, *Divine Institution of Episcopacy*; Leslie, *On the Qualifications to administer the Sacraments*; Potter, *On Church Government*; Bingham, *E. A. Bk. II.*; Palmer, *On the Church*, Part vi.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

WE may proceed as in the last section to shew that,

I. There is a regular order of ministers in the Christian Church set apart for sacred offices, and that no one may assume their functions, except he be lawfully called and sent.

II. There are regular ministers of ordination, to whom public authority is given to send labourers into the Vineyard.

I. The example of the old Testament priesthood is clearly to the point. One out of the twelve tribes was set apart for sacred offices in general, and of that tribe one whole family for special priestly ministration.

It is said truly, that the priesthood, and especially the high priesthood, was typical of Christ. He is the great High Priest over the House of God. Therefore, it is argued, all other priesthood has ceased. It is however equally true, that the kings and prophets of old were as much types of Christ as were the high priests. Christ is our Prophet, Priest and King. Yet still it is lawful that there should be kings and prophets under the Gospel, for we read of many prophets in the Church; (Acts ii. 17; xi. 27; xiii. 1; xv. 32; xxi. 9, 10; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11); and we are specially enjoined to 'honour the king' (1 Pet. ii. 17).

In one sense, doubtless, there are no such prophets, kings or priests now, as there were under the Law. Kings were then rulers of the theocracy, vicegerents of God in governing the Church of God. Prophets were sent to prepare the way of Him who was to come. Priests offered up daily sacrifice of propitiation, in type of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world. So, in such a sense, are there now neither prophets, priests, nor kings. But as the coming of *the*

King and Prophet has not abolished the kingly or prophetic office, so the coming of the Great High Priest has not of necessity done away with all priestly functions in the Church, but only with such as of their own nature belonged to the typical and ceremonial dispensation. Nay! we may fairly argue, that as sacred things in the old Testament needed the ministry of consecrated officers, so the still more sacred things of the new Testament would be likely to need the attendance of those specially set apart. And without controversy the Gospel and Sacraments are greater and more sacred than the Law and the sacrifices; and hence 'if the ministration of death ... was glorious,' we could easily imagine that the 'ministration of the Spirit would be rather glorious;' that 'if the ministration of condemnation was glory, much more would the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory' (2 Cor. iii. 7, 8, 9). In the old Testament the priests were appointed, first to minister in the sacrifices, and then to teach the people (Lev. x. 11; Deut. xxxiii. 10; Hagg. ii. 11; Mal. ii. 7). We still need the ministration, not of sacrifices, but of Sacraments; and the instruction of the Church is at least as necessary as the instruction of the Jews.

It is said, however, that all Christians are priests, and that a distinct ministry is therefore needless and inconsistent (see 1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6, v. 10). But it is to be observed, that wherever Christians are said to be *priests*, they are also said to be *kings*. We know that the kingly character, which Christ bestows on His people, has not abolished monarchy; why should their priestly character have abolished ministry? Besides which, the very passages in the new Testament, in which Christians are called a 'royal priesthood,' 'kings and priests,' are absolute quotations from the old Testament, where the very same titles are given to all the people of the Jews. 'Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of *priests*, a holy nation' (Exod. xix. 6). The Septuagint Version of Exodus and the Greek of

St. Peter are almost the same. The one did not forbid a special priesthood in Israel; the other therefore cannot disprove a ministry in the Church. It was indeed argued on one occasion, that the sanctity of the whole congregation made it useless to have priests at all¹. But how far the argument was safe the sequel shewed, when the earth swallowed up Korah and his company, and fourteen thousand of the people died of the plague, because they had listened to his reasoning (Num. xvi. 32, 33, 45—49). It is difficult to see where the difference lies between this statement of Korah and the modern denial of a Christian ministry on the ground that all the Christian Church is a holy and spiritual priesthood, and it is difficult to understand what can be, if this be not, the 'gainsaying of Core,' so strongly rebuked by St. Jude (ver. 11).

Now it was foretold by Isaiah (lxvi. 21) that, when the Gentiles were brought in, that is in the days of the Church of Christ, some among them should be taken 'for priests and for Levites.' This looks much like a prophecy of a ministry to be established under the Gospel, with some analogy to that under the Law. Accordingly, our blessed Lord, even during His own personal ministry, whilst the Great High Priest was bodily ministering on earth, appointed two distinct orders of ministers under Himself, first Apostles (Matt. x. 1), secondly, the seventy disciples (Luke x. 1); and this with evident reference to the twelve tribes of Israel, and the seventy elders among the Jews. He gave them power to preach the Gospel (Matt. x. 7; Luke x. 9), to bless those that received them (Matt. x. 12, 13; Luke x. 5, 6), to denounce God's judgments on those that rejected them (Matt. x. 14; Luke x. 10, 11). He assured them that he that received them received Him, that he that despised them despised Him (Matt. x. 40; Luke x. 16).

¹ Numb. xvi. 3: 'Ye take too much upon you, seeing the whole congregation are holy, every one of them, and the LORD is among them; wherefore thus lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the LORD?'

And He further endued them with miraculous powers, because of the peculiar exigencies of their ministration. Moreover, He promised to give them the keys of the kingdom, that they might bind and loose; *i.e.* excommunicate offenders and absolve the penitent (Matt. xvi. 19 ; xviii. 18). All this was whilst He Himself went in and out among them, as the chief minister of His own Church. When He was about to suffer, He instituted one of the Sacraments of His Church, and gave especial authority to the Apostles to minister it (Luke xxii. 19 ; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. Compare 1 Cor. x. 16) ; it being apparent from the statement of St. John that they had before received authority, not only to preach, but to baptize (John iv. 2). At last, when He had risen from the dead, He gave fuller commission to those, who were now to be the chief ministers in His kingdom, to go forth with His authority to preach and to baptize (Matt. xxviii. 19). He said unto them, 'Peace be unto you : as my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost¹ : whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 21, 22, 23). He enjoined them to feed His sheep (John xxi. 15, 17). Lastly, He promised to be 'with them alway, even to the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 20). Then He left the Church, thus organized with Apostles and elders ; and ten days afterwards sent down the miraculous, enlightening gifts of the Spirit, the more fully to qualify His chosen ministers for the work which lay upon them. Accordingly the Apostle says, 'When He ascended up on high, He gave gifts unto men,.....He gave some (as) Apostles, and some (as) pro-

¹ 'The Holy Ghost,' for the work of the ministry, the ordaining influences of the Spirit. It could not have been the ordinary operations of the Spirit, for they had been long living under them ; nor was it the miraculous baptism of the Church with the Holy Ghost, which did not come upon them till the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. 1.

phets, and some, evangelists, and some, pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ' (Eph. iv. 8, 11, 12, &c.)

The ministry so constituted continued to work. The college of Apostles was perfected by the addition of Matthias (Acts i. 26). The Apostles preached, baptized, broke bread, (*i.e.* ministered the Holy Communion,) and governed the Church. Afterwards, believers multiplying, and the Apostles and elders not having leisure to attend to the secular affairs of the Church, they ordained the third order of deacons, whose ordination was performed by laying on of hands; and so they also were then empowered to preach and to baptize (Acts viii. 5, 12, 13, 38), though not to perform some functions peculiar to the Apostles (Acts viii. 15—17.)

Thenceforward we find baptism, breaking of bread, and preaching, ever performed by regular ministers, Apostles, elders, deacons. The Apostles, as they go on their missionary journeys, 'ordain them elders in every Church' (Acts xiv. 23). The 'elders' meet with the Apostles in solemn council about the affairs of the Church (Acts xv. 2). When St. Paul takes leave of the Churches, he sends to the 'elders,' and addresses them with the exhortation, 'Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood' (Acts xx. 17, 28). We find from the inscriptions of the Epistles, that the settled Churches had 'bishops and deacons' (Phil. i. 1). St. Peter exhorts the 'elders' of the Church to 'feed the flock of God' (1 Pet. v. 1). St. James bids the sick to send for the 'elders of the Church to pray over them' (James v. 14). St. Paul speaks of himself and other Christian pastors, as 'ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God' (1 Cor. iv. 1). He exhorts Archippus to take heed to the ministry, which he had received of the Lord, to fulfil it (Col. iv. 17). Especially, we find in his Epistles to

Timothy and Titus, that towards the end of his own Apostleship he appointed others, who had previously received the gift of God by the laying on of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6), that they might, as the Apostles had hitherto done, 'ordain elders in every city' (Tit. i. 5; 1 Tim. i. 3, v. 21, 22, &c.). Directions are given for proving, examining and commissioning elders, presbyters or bishops, and deacons, which was to be done by the laying on of the hands of those chief ministers, themselves thus apostolically sent. (See 1 Tim. iii. 1—13, iv. 21, 22; Tit. i. 5—7, &c.). The elders so ordained were to be esteemed worthy of double honour, especially if they ruled well and laboured in the word and doctrine (1 Tim. v. 17). And the Church is exhorted to obey those who had thus 'the rule over them, and who watched for their souls as they that must give account' (Heb. xiii. 17).

Thus we find that a regular ministry was established; ordained after a set form, by laying on of the hands of Apostles or other chief ministers empowered by them; that they preached and administered the Sacraments; that they were called ministers and stewards of God's mysteries; that they were urged faithfully to fulfil their ministry, and that the people were urged to attend to them and respect them. Those who sent them forth were exhorted to be careful and circumspect how they ordained them.

Now, all this proves that this public office, not only existed, but was not to be undertaken except by persons lawfully called and sent. St. Paul reasons that the Jewish priesthood could not be undertaken, except by him 'that is called of God, as was Aaron' (Heb. v. 4). He even adds, that 'Christ also glorified not himself to be made an High Priest' (ver. 5). But the Gospel ministry was more glorious than that of the Law; 'for if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory' (2 Cor. iii. 9). Hence we reasonably should conclude, that it too could not be

self-assumed. And we find accordingly that the Apostles ask, 'How shall they preach except they be sent?' (Rom. x. 15): that they highly estimate the importance and difficulty of the office, saying, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' (2 Cor. ii. 16): that they dissuade people from rashly seeking to intrude into it (James iii. 1): and that, so far from considering all Christians as equally ministers of Christ, they ask, 'Are all Apostles, are all prophets, are all teachers?' (1 Cor. xii. 29). On the contrary, they plainly teach us that the Church is a body, in which God ordains different stations for different members, some to be eyes, others ears, some hands, others feet; all necessary, all to be honoured, but some in more honourable place than the rest.

II. The new Testament contains evidence that besides the ordinary ministers, viz. presbyters and deacons, there were always certain chief presbyters, who were ministers of ordination, having authority to send labourers into the Vineyard.

Under the Law, besides the ordinary priests and Levites there was always the high priest, and therefore three orders or degrees of ministry. When our blessed Lord Himself was upon earth, He ordained two orders of ministers under Himself, the Apostles and the seventy disciples. Here again was a three-fold cord, Christ answering to the high priest, the Apostles to the priests, the seventy to the Levites. But our Lord was to depart from them; and for the future government of His Church we find a promise, that 'in the regeneration' (i.e. in the new state of things under the Gospel of Christ, the renovation of the Church) the twelve Apostles should 'sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (Matt. xix. 28). 'What are the twelve tribes of Israel, but the whole Church of God? For whereof did the first Christian Church consist, but of converted Jews? And whither did our Saviour bend all His allusions, but to them? They had their twelve *princes of the*

tribes of their fathers (Numb. i. 16). They had their seventy elders, to bear the burden of the people (Numb. xi. 16, 17). The Son of God affects to imitate His former polity, and therefore chooses His twelve and seventy disciples to sway His evangelical Church¹.

Thus, when the Saviour in body departed from them, He left behind Him twelve Apostles to sit on the thrones or seats of government in the Church, and under them seventy elders to act with them, as their fellow-labourers and assessors. (See Acts xv. 2, &c.). Soon after the ascension, the Apostles were moved to appoint a third order, the order of deacons. And thus once more the number was complete, resembling the number of the Aaronic ministry, and embracing, 1 Apostles, 2 elders, 3 deacons. The former two were appointed and ordained by the Lord, the third was from the Apostles.

Whilst the Lord Jesus was present with them, He alone ordained. (See Matt. x. ; Luke x. ; John xx., &c.). After His ascension (except in the cases of St. Matthias and St. Paul, who were constituted to the Apostleship by Christ Himself) the Apostles acted as the ministers of ordination. (See Acts vi. 3, 6; xiv. 23; 2 Tim. i. 6; Tit. i. 5). Under them we find continual mention of two orders of ministers, presbyters or elders, (who are also called bishops,) and deacons. (Acts xx. 17; Phil. i. 1, &c.). The Apostles in all things undertook the government of, and authority over the Churches, giving directions to the inferior ministers, and superintending them. (See Acts xv. ; xix. 1—5; xx. 17—35; 1 Cor. iv. 16—21; v. 3—5; 2 Cor. ii. 9, 10; x. 1—14; xii. 20, 21, &c.). It is very true that the Apostles speak, when addressing the elders with brotherly kindness, calling themselves *fellow-elders* (*συνπρεσβύτεροι*, Pet. v. 1); but no one can question their own superiority to them; and when they are mentioned together, they are distinguished as

¹ Bishop Hall's *Episcopacy*, Sect. 2.

'the Apostles and elders,'—a phrase occurring three times in Acts xv. But the time was to come, when the Apostles should be taken from the Church, as their Lord had left it before. Did they then make provision for its government after their departure, and for a succession to themselves as ministers of ordination? The Epistles to Timothy and Titus plainly answer this question. Timothy and Titus had themselves been presbyters, ordained by (2 Tim. i. 6), and companions of St. Paul. Towards the end of his own ministry, and when his own apostolical cares had largely increased, he appointed them to take the oversight of two large districts, the one of Ephesus (where we know there were several elders or presbyters, Acts xx. 17), the other of Crete, famous for its hundred cities. In these respective districts, he authorized them to execute full apostolical authority, the same kind of authority which he himself had exercised in his own larger sphere of labour. They were to regulate the public services of the Church, (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, &c.)—to ordain presbyters and deacons by the laying on their hands (1 Tim. iii. 1—14; v. 22; Tit. i. 5)—to provide that sound doctrine should be taught (1 Tim. i. 3; iii. 15; iv. 6, 16; 2 Tim. i. 13; ii. 14; Tit. i. 13)—committing carefully to faithful men the office of teaching, which they had themselves received from the Apostles (2 Tim. ii. 2)—to execute discipline, honouring the diligent (1 Tim. v. 17)—hearing complaints and judging those complained of (1 Tim. v. 19, 20, 21, 24)—admonishing those that erred (1 Tit. i. 13), but excommunicating those who were heretical (Tit. iii. 10). All this power is committed to them as a solemn charge, to be accounted for before God, and as a commandment to be kept without spot, unrebukable, to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ (1 Tim. i. 18; v. 21; vi. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 1); and grace for this ministry is specially said to have been given them by the putting on of the hands of the Apostles (2 Tim. i. 6).

Now, here is the case of two persons placed in a position

previously occupied by none but the Apostles, with special power of jurisdiction and ordination. Before this, we find no such powers in any but the Apostles. Now we find them committed to Timothy and Titus. Is it not plain that, as our Lord left the Apostles with chief authority over His Church, having elders and deacons under them, so now the Apostles, themselves about to depart, leave Timothy and Titus and others like them, with the same authority, which they themselves had received from Christ?

It is only necessary, in order to complete the chain of evidence, that we observe what we meet with in the Revelation of St. John. There, seven great Churches are written to; one of which is the Church of Ephesus, of which we know that there were many elders there, and that afterwards Timothy was appointed as chief minister over them all. Each of these Churches is addressed through one presiding minister, who is called *Angel*, a name of the same import as *Apostle*. And these angels are compared to stars, placed to give light to the Churches (Rev. i. 20). Can we doubt then that there was in each of these Churches one person, whose ministry was superior to the rest, as Timothy's had been to the presbyters and deacons under him?

The evidence therefore of the new Testament seems clear and uniform, that there ever existed three orders of ministers: *First*, (1) Our Lord, (2) the Apostles, (3) the seventy. *Secondly*, (1) The Apostles, (2) the elders, (3) the deacons. *Thirdly*, (1) Persons like Timothy and Titus, called *angels* by St. John, (2) the elders, presbyters, or bishops, (3) the deacons. Moreover we find that in all these cases, ordinations were performed by the first order of these ministers, by the laying on of hands; except where our Lord Himself ordained, when He did not lay on His hands, but breathed on His disciples (John xx. 22).

The only arguments of any weight, which are urged against the above, appear to be the following:

1 *Bishops* and *presbyters* are in Scripture convertible

terms, which shews that their subsequent distinction was an invention of the priesthood.

The answer to this has been already given in the words of Theodoret. The second order of ministers, whose general and proper designation was elders or presbyters, are in a few instances called by St. Paul *Episcopi*, bishops, or overlookers. The first order were called Apostles, and, by St. John, Angels. There are obvious reasons why these two latter names should have been afterwards considered too venerable to be given to ordinary ministers; and hence the name *bishop*, originally used to designate the overlookers of a flock, was afterwards appropriated to those who were overlookers of the pastors. But the bishops of aftertimes 'never thought themselves and their order to succeed the Scripture *Ἐπίσκοποι*, but the Scripture *Ἀπόστολοι*. They were *διάδοχοι τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, the *successors of the Apostles*!'

2 A second argument is, that, in Acts xiii. 1—3, Barnabas and Saul are said to have been ordained by some who were not Apostles.

This was no ordination, but merely a setting apart for a special labour; which was done, according to the pious custom of early days, with fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands. (Comp. Acts xiv. 23). That it was no ordination, appears from the fact, that St. Paul was made an Apostle by our Lord, at the very time of his conversion. See Acts xxvi. 17, where our Lord constitutes him an Apostle to the Gentiles. The words are, *εἰς οὓς νῦν σε ἀποστέλλω*. And St. Paul himself always declares, that he had his ministry 'not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father' (Gal. i. 1).

3 It is said again, Timothy was ordained 'with the laying on of the hands of the *presbytery*' (1 Tim. iv. 14).

It is certain, however, that bishops and presbyters are not

¹ Bentley, *On Freethinking*, p. 136, quoted by Wordsworth, *Theoph. Anglic.*

so different, but that a bishop is still a presbyter, though all presbyters are not bishops. So Apostles were still presbyters, (1 Pet. v. 1); though all presbyters were not Apostles. Hence, the presbytery may have in this case consisted only of those of the first order. At all events, St. Paul took part in Timothy's ordination, for, in 2 Tim. i. 6, he speaks of the grace of ordination as given to Timothy, 'by the putting on of his (St. Paul's) hands.' Hence, Timothy was certainly not ordained by *presbyters only*, without the presence, and laying on of hands of an Apostle. It may have been thus early permitted to presbyters to join with Apostles in laying on of their hands at the ordinations of other presbyters, as it has since been in the Western Church; but this at least gives no sanction to mere presbyterian ordination.

We must conclude then with Hooker, 'If any thing in the Church's government, surely the first institution of bishops was from Heaven, even of God¹.' And with Bp. Hall, 'What inevitable necessity may do, we now dispute not,' yet 'for the main substance,' episcopacy 'is utterly indispensable, and must so continue to the world's end².'

¹ Hooker, vii. v. 10.

² Bp. Hall's *Episcopacy*, Pt. II. Sect. 22.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have Publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.

De loquendo in Ecclesia lingua quam populus intelligit.

LINGUA populo non intellecta, publicas in Ecclesia preces peragere, aut Sacramenta administrare, Verbo Dei, et primitivæ Ecclesiæ consuetudini plane repugnat.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

THE Article itself appeals to the custom of the primitive Church. The testimony of the fathers we must naturally expect to find only incidentally; for unless the custom of praying in a strange tongue had prevailed in early times, the idea would probably never have occurred to them, and so they would not be likely to say anything against it. There are however several important proofs to be found, that such a custom did not prevail, but that prayers were offered up in the churches in the vernacular tongue.

Greek, Latin, and Syriac were languages spoken by the great bulk of the nations first converted to Christianity; and therefore the earliest liturgies and translations of the Scriptures were sure to be in these tongues. But moreover, the Egyptians, Ethiopians or Abyssinians, Muscovites, Armenians and others, had liturgies in the vernacular¹.

¹ See Usher, *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis*,

The sacred Scriptures were early rendered into the tongues of the nations which had been converted to the faith. Even before the coming of Christ, we know that the Scriptures were translated into Greek for the Alexandrian Jews, and into Chaldee for the Jews of Palestine, to whom their original Hebrew had become obsolete. Under the Gospel the Syriac translation of the new Testament is by many ascribed to the age of the Apostles; at all events, it is a very early work. Latin versions were scarcely, if at all, posterior to the Syriac. Thus the numerous tribes who spoke Greek, Latin or Syriac, had from the beginning the Scriptures, as well as the Common Prayer of the Church, in languages understood by them. Moreover, there were very early versions into the Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, Gothic, Sclavonic and Anglo-Saxon: a fact too well known to require proof¹.

Again, we have evidence from the writings of the fathers, that the custom of the primitive Christians was, that the whole congregation should join in the responses and in the singing of psalms and hymns; a custom which proves that both the psalms and the liturgies must have been in intelligible dialects². For instance, St. Cyril writes, 'When the priest says, "Lift up your hearts," the people answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord;" then the priest says, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord," and the people say, "It is meet and right³."' St. Chrysostom says, that 'Though all utter the response, yet the voice is wafted as from one mouth⁴.' And so St. Hilary speaks of people standing without the Church, and yet able to hear the voice of

Cap. viii. Sect. v., where he proves this from the confession of eminent Romanist divines.

¹ See Bingham, *E. A. Bk. xiii. ch. iv. § 5*; Horne, *Introduction to Scriptures*, Vol. II. Part I. ch. ii.

² See Usher, as above, cap. viii. sect. iv.; Bingham, *E. A. Bk. xiii. ch. iv. sect. 2*.

³ *Catech. Mystagog. v.*

⁴ *Homil. in 1 Cor. xiv.; Homil. xxxvi. juxta fin.*

the congregation within, offering up prayer and praise¹. So the emperor Justinian in one of his laws especially enjoins bishops and presbyters, in public prayers and Sacraments, to speak, not secretly, but with such a voice as may be well heard by the people².

But, if we could doubt that such was the case, we have plain testimonies of the fathers, that both the Scriptures were read and the prayers offered in a tongue intelligible to the assembled multitude. Justin Martyr says, that among the early Christians, 'the commentaries of the Apostles and writings of the Prophets were first read; and then, when the reader had ceased, the president made an oration, exhorting the people to remember and imitate the things which they had heard³.' Such an exhortation would have been useless, if the language, in which the writings of the Prophets and Apostles were read, had not been a language familiar to the congregation. There is a well-known passage in Origen⁴, where he asserts that 'the Greeks used Greek in their prayers, the Romans Latin, and so every one in his own language prays to God, and gives thanks, as he is able: and the God of all languages hears them that pray in all dialects, even as if all spake with but one voice.' From Jerome we learn, that sometimes more than one language was used in the same service, because of the presence of men from different nations. He says, that 'at the funeral of Paula, the psalms were sung in Greek, Latin and Syriac, because men of each of those languages were there⁵.' Indeed, eminent schoolmen and Roman Catholic divines, as Lyra, Thomas Aquinas and Harding, have fully allowed that in the primitive

¹ 'Audiant orantis populi, consistens quis extra ecclesiam, vocem; spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus; et inter divinorum quoque sacramentorum officia, responsionem devotæ confessionis accipiat.'—Hilar. in *Psalm.* lxx. ; Usher, *ubi supra*.

² Justinian, *Novell.* 137. See Usher, as above.

³ *Apolog.* i. p. 98.

⁴ Origen c. *Celsum*, viii. 37.

⁵ Hieron. *ad Eustochium, Epitaphium Paulæ Matris, juxta fin.*

Church prayers were offered up in the vulgar tongue, that the people might be the better instructed¹.

The way, in which the use of a dead language for public worship came in, is pretty obvious. The Romans, as masters of the western world, strove to impose their own language on their colonial subjects. Thus the common tongue of Europe was Latin. The ecclesiastics were in constant connexion with Rome, the centre of civilization, the chief city of Christian Europe. Thus the language most generally understood became too the language of liturgical worship. By degrees, out of the ancient Latin grew the French, the Italian, the Spanish, and other dialects. Still the old Latin liturgies were preserved, and for a long time were, with no great difficulty, understood. By this time the clergy throughout the western Church had become still more closely united to Rome. More too of mystery had grown over men's minds with regard to the Church's sacred ordinances. Hence, all things conspired to make the clergy willing to leave in the language of the central city the prayers of the distant provinces. And thus the change, which became needful when men's languages had changed, was never effected. A feeling too that, as the Church was one and yet universal, so there should be but one universal tongue, in which her prayers and praises should go up to God, lent a colouring of piety and poetry to the old custom of having Latin liturgies. And so till the Reformation, no attempt was made to reform what many must have deemed an error, and to make the worship of God, to people as well as priests, a reasonable service.

When this question came to be discussed in the Council of Trent, it was forbidden by an anathema to say, that the mass should not be celebrated in any but the vulgar tongue, or the

¹ Lyra, in 1 Cor. xiv. 17; Aquinas in 1 Cor. xiv. Vol. xvi. fol. 84; Harding, *Contra Iuellum*, Art. 3, sect. 28. See Usher, as above; Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive*, Pt. i. ch. i. sect. vii.; Bingham, Bk. xiii. ch. iv.

consecration performed in a low voice¹. And though in modern times some prayers are offered in the churches of the Roman communion, in tongues understood of the people, yet the mass is never celebrated except in Latin, both to avoid profanation, and lest the very words which are supposed to have been used from the beginning, should lose any of their force or sacredness by translation.

¹ Sess. XIII. can. 9. See also Sarpi, *Hist. of the Council of Trent*, p. 540.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

IT is not likely that there should be very much said in Scripture on this subject. The Bible seldom suggests, even to condemn, errors into which men had never fallen. Certainly, however, we can find no trace among the Jews of the use of prayers in an unknown tongue, nor yet among the Apostolic Christians.

The only case in point appears to be that of the exercise of the gift of tongues among the Corinthian Christians. The purpose, for which that miraculous power was conferred, was evidently, that the Gospel might be preached by unlearned men to all nations, peoples and languages. Some of the Corinthian converts, having received the gift by the laying on of the hands of the Apostles, used it to ostentation, not to edification, speaking in the congregations in languages not understood by those who were present. St. Paul rebukes this in the xivth chapter of his first Epistle, and there incidentally shews, that prayer in a tongue not intelligible to the congregation is contrary to the due order of the Church and the will of God. This is especially observable in verses 14—17: ‘If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also. Else, when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing that he understandeth not what thou sayest?’ So again ver. 19: ‘In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.’ And ver. 28: ‘If there be no interpreter, let him’ (*i.e.* the person

who can speak only in a tongue unknown to the hearers) 'keep silence in the Church; and let him speak to himself and to God.'

All these arguments seem as clearly against having liturgies in a dead language, as against the custom, which had grown up in the Church of Corinth, of using the gift of tongues, when there was none to interpret them. Prayer is to be with the understanding, not with the spirit only. Prayer and thanksgiving are not to be offered publicly in words, to which the unlearned cannot say Amen. A man may pray in such words in private to God, but not publicly in the Church. The reason assigned is, 'God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints' (ver. 33). And the general rule laid down is, 'Let all things be done to edifying' (ver. 26).

No arguments from expediency seem fit to be set against such decisions of the Apostles. Now the only arguments of any weight for retaining Latin in the Liturgies, are arguments from expediency. For instance, it is said, Latin is a general language, and so, well for the whole Church to use. But it is more true to say, that it is generally unknown, than that it is generally known; for it is only the learned in all lands that understand it; the masses of the people (who have souls to be saved as well as the more instructed) do not understand it anywhere. It is said, that the holy services are kept from profanation by being veiled in the mystery of a difficult tongue. But it is surely more profanation when people mutter sacred things, or listen to them being muttered, without understanding them, than when they reverently and intelligently join with heart and mind in solemnizing them. It is said again, that the use of the dead language fixes and preserves the sacred services; so that words used from Apostolic times are still used by the Church; and the mass is celebrated in the same syllables in which it was said by the primitive bishops. This, if extended to the whole service of the mass, is not strictly true; for the

Roman missal does not actually agree with the various primitive liturgies, which primitive liturgies have considerable varieties among themselves. If the statement be confined to the very words of consecration, then surely we ought to use not Latin but Greek, in which these words are to be found in the new Testament. If there be any virtue in the very words themselves, we are no nearer the original if we say, *Hoc est Corpus Meum*, than if we say, *This is my Body*.

In short, the custom of having prayers in an unknown tongue appears to have originated in a kind of accident, but to have been perpetuated by design. It originated in the Latin becoming obsolete in Europe, and the prayers not being translated, as the various European dialects grew up. It was then found to be a means of keeping up mystery, and so priestly power; and therefore it was preserved. But it is evidently without authority from Scripture, or from the primitive Church.

ARTICLE XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

SACRAMENTS ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in Him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

De Sacramentis.

SACRAMENTA a Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia, et efficacia signa gratiæ, atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter Ipse in nos operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt sacramenta, scilicet, Baptismus et Cœna Domini.

Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta; scilicet, Confirmatio, penitentia, ordo, matrimonium, et extrema unctio, pro sacramentis evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ partim a prava apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitæ status sunt in scripturis quidem probati, sed sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Cœna Domini rationem non habentes, ut quæ signum aliquod visibile, ceu cærimoniam a Deo institutam non habeant.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo, ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur; sed ut rite illis uteremur, et in his duntaxat, qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum: Qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

THE main substance of this Article is taken from the XIIIth Article of the Confession of Augsburg, the very words of which are adopted in the first part of it¹. The Articles agreed on between the Anglican and Lutheran reformers, in 1538, had one Article (the IXth) to the same purport; though that went on to speak of Infant Baptism². The XXVIth Article of 1552 contained nearly the same statements as the present XXVth; but had no reference to the seven Sacraments. It asserted that the wholesome effect of the Sacraments was not *ex opere operato*, 'of work wrought.' Moreover, there was the following sentence in it by way of introduction, which is almost in the words of St. Augustine: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ hath knit together a company of new people with the Sacraments, most few in number, most easy to be kept, most excellent in signification, as in Baptism and the Lord's Supper³.'

We may divide the Article, as it now stands, into four heads.

- I. Concerning the number of the Sacraments of the Gospel.
- II. Concerning their efficacy.
- III. Concerning their proper use.
- IV. Concerning their worthy reception.

The whole Article is introductory to the six next in order after it, and is rather concerned with definitions than aught else. And as such I purpose to consider it.

¹ 'De usu Sacramentorum docent; quod *Sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notas professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos, ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his qui utuntur . . . proposita*,' &c.—*Confess. August. Art. XIII.*

² *Cranmer's Works* by Jenkyns, Vol. IV.; Appendix, p. 285.

³ The words of St. Augustine are: '*Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio Corporis et Sanguinis Ipsi; et si quid aliud in Scripturis Canonicis commendatur.*'—*Epistol. 54, Op. Tom. II. p. 124.* He uses nearly the same words, *De Doct. Christ. Lib. III. c. 9, Tom. III. pars I. p. 49.*

I. The word Sacrament (*Sacramentum*) is an ecclesiastical, rather than a Scriptural term. It is used indeed in the Latin translations for the Greek word *μυστήριον*, *mystery*. Yet the technical use of both these terms in the Christian Church is rather patristic than Apostolical. The original meaning of the word *Sacramentum* was (1) anything sacred, hence (2) a sacred deposit, a pledge, and (3) most commonly, an oath, especially the military oath, which soldiers took to be faithful to their country, and obey the orders of their general. Whether the first, or the last and ordinary sense of the word was the origin of the ecclesiastical usage of it, may be a question.

The earliest application of the term to anything Christian is to be found in the well-known letter of Pliny the younger to the emperor Trajan; in which he speaks of the Christians as wont to meet together on a certain fixed day, before sunrise, when they chanted hymns to Christ as to God, and *bound themselves by a Sacrament* not to commit any sort of wickedness¹. It is possible that the word *Sacrament* here meant simply *an oath*. Yet since Pliny reported it, as the Christians had told it to him, it is probable enough that he used the very word which he had heard from them, and that they used it in the Christian and technical sense, howsoever Pliny may have understood it. It is generally supposed that its *application* in this passage was to the Supper of the Lord².

In Tertullian, the earliest of the Latin fathers, we find the notion of the military oath applied to the Christian's baptismal vow, to serve faithfully under the banner of the cross. 'We were called to the warfare of the living God, when we made

¹ 'Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti, statò die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; seque *Sacramento* non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.'—Plin. Epist. 97.

² See Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, ch. i.

answer according to the words of the Sacrament, (*in Sacramenti verba respondimus*). No soldier goes to war with luxuries¹, &c.

This, however, is an exception to the rule. The commoner use of the word is either for a sacred rite in general, an outward sign of some more hidden reality—or else for certain particular, more exalted rites of the Gospel and the Church. It has, in short, a more extended, and a more restricted force. In its more extended sense, it signified little more than a religious ordinance or a sacred sign. Thus Tertullian, speaking of the charges of infanticide, brought by the heathens against the Christians, says that Christians were charged with ‘the Sacrament of infanticide’². He calls our Lord’s anointing by the Holy Ghost, *Sacramentum unctionis*³. St. Cyprian speaks of the many Sacraments contained in the Lord’s Prayer⁴. He calls the three hours of prayer, ‘a Sacrament of the Trinity’⁵. He says the manna was a Sacrament of the equality, with which Christ diffuses His gifts of light and grace upon His Church; and that the Red Sea was a Sacrament, (*i. e.* a divinely-ordained figure) of baptism⁶. Accordingly, we hear some of the ancients speaking of the two great ordinances of Baptism and the Eucharist, not as each but one Sacrament, but as *each containing two Sacraments*. In Baptism, the two Sacraments were the water, and the chrism which was anciently used after it⁷. In

¹ *Ad Mart.* 3; conf. *De Spectaculis*, 24; *De Coronâ*, 13; *De Idololatria*, 6, &c. Cf. Hieronym. *Epist. i. ad Heliodorum*: ‘Recordare tyrocinii tui diem, quo Christo in baptismate consepultus, in sacramenti verba jurasti.’—*On the Baptismal Profession*, see Bingham, xi. vii. 6.

² ‘Dicimur sceleratissimi, de sacramento infanticidii.’—*Apolog.* 7.

³ *Adv. Præceam*, 28; See Bp. Kaye, *Tertullian*, p. 358.

⁴ ‘Qualia autem sunt, fratres dilectissimi, orationis Dominicæ sacramenta, quam multa, quam magna, breviter in sermone collecta.’—Cyprian. *De Oratione Dominica*, T. 142. Oxford, 1682.

⁵ ‘Horam tertiam, sextam, nonam, sacramento scilicet Trinitatis.’—*Ibid.* F. 154.

⁶ *Ibid.* Epistol. 69, al. 76, E. 187.

⁷ Immediately after baptism in the early ages followed the unction

the Eucharist, the two Sacraments were the bread and the wine. Thus St. Cyprian twice speaks of regeneration as to be obtained by the reception of both Sacraments; where the context shews that the two Sacraments mean the washing of water, and the imposition of hands, considered as parts of the one ordinance of Baptism¹. And so Isidore speaks of four great Sacraments, viz. Baptism and Chrism, the Body and the Blood of Christ².

The use of the term *Sacrament* then was very different among the fathers from its ordinary use amongst us. Yet there was with them also a more restricted use of the term; and there

or chrism, and confirmation, or the laying on of hands. So Tertullian: 'Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione.'—*De Baptismo*, 7. 'Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem invocans, et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.'—c. 8. Confirmation was anciently considered part of baptism, and followed on it immediately. See Bingham, XII. 3; Suicer, s. v. *χρίσμα*, II. 1534; *ἑλαιο*, I. 1077; and Hooker, Bk. v. ch. 66.

Confirmation was sometimes delayed from the difficulty of obtaining the presence of a bishop at the time of baptism; but unction seems to have been always administered with baptism. 'Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto Chrismate, id est, unctione, esse unctus Dei, et habere in se gratiam Christi possit.'—Cypr. *Epist.* LXX. E. 190.

The custom of anointing after baptism was retained by our reformers in the first Service Book, though omitted in the second. The following was the form prescribed: 'Then the priest shall anoint the infant upon the head, saying, Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerate thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given thee remission of all thy sins, He vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of His Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen.'—*Two Liturgies of Edw. VI.* Oxf. 1838, p. 334.

Confirmation was not considered essential to the receiving of the Holy Ghost in baptism, but was 'only a sacramental complement.'—See Hooker, v. ch. lxi. § 6, and St. Jerome, as cited there.

¹ 'Tunc demum plene sanctificari, et esse Filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascentur,' &c.—*Epist.* LXXII. E. 196, Cf. *Ep.* LXXIII. p. 207. See also Bingham, XII. 1, 4.

² 'Sunt autem sacramenta, baptismus et chrisma; corpus et sanguis Christi.'—Isidor. Origin. Lib. vi. c. xix. apud Bingham, *ubi supra*.

is abundant proof, that the two great Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist were markedly separated from, and preferred before all other sacraments or ordinances. It is observed that Justin Martyr in his first Apology, (see pp. 93, 97), when giving an account of the Christian religion and of its rites, mentions only Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Tertullian uses the word *Sacramentum* with the common laxity of the early writers, yet he specially applies it to Baptism, which he calls *Sacramentum Fidei*¹, *Aquæ*², *Lavacri*³, and to the Eucharist, which he calls *Sacramentum Eucharisticæ*⁴. He does not seem to have applied it to any of the five Romish Sacraments, except to marriage, concerning which he specially alludes to the Latin translation of Eph. v. 32, where μέγα μυστήριον is rendered *magnum Sacramentum*⁵. The same is the case with the later Latin fathers. St. Augustine, when contrasting the Sacraments of the Law with those of the Gospel, speaks of the former as many, but the latter as very few, and then enumerates only Baptism and the Communion: in one passage adding, 'and if there be any other commended to us in the Canonical Scriptures:' but in another, instancing only Baptism and the Lord's Supper⁶. In like manner, speaking of Adam and Eve as types of Christ and the Church, he says that, 'As from the side of Adam when sleeping sprang Eve, so from the side of Christ sleeping on the Cross flowed the Sacraments of the Church' (*Sacramenta Ecclesiæ profluxerunt*), i. e. the two Sacraments typified by the water and the blood⁷. Elsewhere he says, 'The

¹ *De Anima*, 1.

² *De Baptismo*, 1. 12.

³ *De Virgin. Veland.* 2.

⁴ *De Coronâ*, 3.

⁵ *De Jejunii*, 3. See Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 358.

⁶ In the one passage, Epist. 54, given above, he says: 'Sicuti est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in Scripturis Canonicis commendatur.'

In the other passage, *De Doctrina Christiana*, Lib. III. c. 9, he says simply: 'Sicuti est baptismus et celebratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini.'

⁷ In *Johann. Evang.* cap. iv. tract. xv. Tom. III. pars 2, p. 409.

water and the blood which flowed from the side, were the twin Sacraments of the Church (*Ecclesiæ gemina Sacramenta*), the water in which the bride is purified, the blood, with which she is endowed¹.

The same thing is observable among the Greeks. Though they use the word *mystery*, as the Latins do *Sacrament*, for any sacred sign; yet baptism and the Eucharist are markedly distinguished from all other ordinances. Ignatius speaks of them as the two rites, which may not be celebrated without the bishop's authority². St. Cyril couples 'the holy mysteries of baptism,' and the 'spiritual and heavenly mysteries' 'of the Holy Altar,' as those things for which the catechumens were trained³. St. Chrysostom joins together baptism and the Lord's Supper, as the two ordinances necessary to salvation. 'If none can enter into the kingdom of heaven except he be born again of water and the Spirit, and if he who eateth not the Flesh of the Lord nor drinketh His Blood is cast out of life eternal, and if these things are performed by the hands of the priests,' &c. So he speaks, almost in the same terms with St. Augustine, of the blood and water from our Saviour's side, as typifying the two mysteries or Sacraments by which the Church is constituted⁵.

¹ 'Percussum est enim latus Ejus, ut evangelium loquitur, et statim manavit sanguis et aqua, quæ sunt Ecclesiæ gemina sacramenta; aqua ex qua est sponsa purificata, sanguis ex quo invenitur esse dotata.'—*De Symb. ad Catech.* 15, Tom. vi. p. 562.

This latter book is not certainly Augustine's; though the Benedictine editors consider this genuine, and the three tracts which follow it spurious. The like sentiments occur often in St. Augustine. See *Serm.* cclix. c. 14; *In Vigilis Paschæ*, quoted under Art. XIX. Sect. 1.

² *Smyrn.* viii.

³ *Cateches.* xviii. 14.

⁴ *De Sacerdot.* iii.

⁵ ἐξῆλθε δὴ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα· οὐκ ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, αὐταὶ ἐξῆλθον αἱ πηγαὶ· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἡ ἐκκλησία συνίστηκε· καὶ ἴσασιν οἱ μυσταγωγούμενοι δι' ὕδατος μὲν ἀναγεννόμενοι, δι' αἵματος δὲ καὶ σαρκὸς τρεφόμενοι. ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει τὰ μυστήρια.—*Homil. in Johann.* 85, Tom. ii. p. 915.

Elsewhere he speaks of the blood and water being εἰς τύπον τῶν μυστηρίων, for a type of the Sacraments.—Tom. v. *Homil.* cxviii.

In which expressions he is followed, nearly word for word, by Theophylact¹.

With whatever latitude therefore the words *mystery* and *Sacrament* are used in their general acceptation by the fathers; there is still a higher and more special signification in which they are applied to the two great ordinances of the Gospel, instituted by Christ Himself².

As for the number *seven* insisted on by the Church of Rome, we cannot find it in the writings of the fathers. Peter Lombard is said to have first devised it in the twelfth century³. It was laid down with authority in a decree to the Armenians, sent from the Council of Florence 1439, which runs only in the name of Pope Eugenius⁴. It was then confirmed by the provincial Council of Sens, otherwise called the Council of Paris, A.D. 1528⁵; after that, by the Council of Trent, A.D. 1547.⁶ It finally stands as part of the Creed of Pope Pius IV.⁷

The confessions of all the reformed Churches speak of but *two* Sacraments of the Gospel⁸. In England, the *Articles about Religion*, and the *Necessary Doctrine*, put forth in Henry VIIIth's reign, in 1536 and 1543 respectively, retain the notion of seven Sacraments. Even the first book of Homilies, A.D. 1547, speaks of 'the Sacrament of matrimony,' and that, immediately after

¹ Οὐχ ἀπλῶς ταῦτα γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡ ζωὴ διὰ τούτων τῶν δύο γίνεται καὶ συνίσταται, δι' ὕδατος μὲν γεννάμεθα, δι' αἵματος καὶ σώματος τρεφόμεθα.—Theophyl. in *Johannis*, cap. xix. See Suicer, s. v. *μυστήριον*.

² It should be added that both *mystery* and *Sacrament* were κατ' ἐξοχὴν applied to the Eucharist. See Suicer, as above, and Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, ch. i.

³ Lombard. *Sentent.* Lib. iv. dist. ii. § 1.

⁴ *Decret. Eugen. Papæ IV. ad Armenos ap. Labb. Concil. Tom. xiii. p. 534.*

⁵ Can. x.; Labb. *Concil. Tom. xiv. p. 454.*

⁶ Sess. vii. Can. 1. See Archbp. Bramhall, *Answer to M. De la Miletère*, Bramhall's *Works*, Vol. i. p. 55. Oxf. 1842.

⁷ See *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 4.

⁸ See Luther's *Catechismus Major, Opera*, Tom. v. p. 636; *Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 75, 127, 277, 349, 376.

speaking of the 'Sacrament of baptism'.¹ Cranmer's Catechism speaks of three Sacraments as instituted by Christ, baptism, absolution, the Lord's Supper². But the final judgment of the reformed Church of England appears first in this Article; secondly, in the language of the Catechism, where Sacraments are defined as outward signs of inward grace, 'ordained by Christ Himself,' and are said to be '*two* only as generally necessary to salvation;' and thirdly, in the second book of Homilies, the words of which are so much to the purpose that we may well refer to them here: 'As for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the exact signification of a Sacrament, namely, for the visible signs, expressly commanded in the new Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining in Christ, there be but two; namely, baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. For although absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin; yet by the express word of the new Testament it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign (I mean laying on of hands) is not expressly commanded in the new Testament to be used in absolution, as the visible signs in baptism and the Lord's Supper are: and therefore absolution is no such Sacrament as baptism and the Communion are. And though the ordering of ministers hath His visible sign and promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sins, as all other Sacraments except the two above-named do. Therefore neither it, nor any other Sacrament else, be such Sacraments as baptism and the Communion are. But in general acception the name of a Sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other

¹ *First Part of the Sermon of Swearing.*

² Cranmer's Catechism, p. 183. On the effect of Absolution, see p. 202.

five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven Sacraments; but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like; not meaning thereby to repute them as Sacraments in the same signification that the two forenamed Sacraments are. *Dionysius, Bernard, de Cœna Domini, et Ablut. pedum*¹.

In this passage we see clearly our own Church's definition of a Sacrament, and the points of difference between ourselves and the Romish divines. The Homily defines a Sacrament of the Gospel to be 'a visible sign expressly commended to us in the new Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining in Christ.' This closely corresponds with the words of the Catechism: 'An outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same,' spiritual grace, 'and a pledge to assure us thereof.' And again, the definition of this XXVth Article is of similar significance: 'Sacraments *ordained of Christ be*.... certain sure witnesses, and effectual (*efficacia*) signs of grace, and God's goodwill towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us.'

Now this definition does not exclude matrimony, confirmation, absolution and orders, from being *in some sense* Sacraments; but it excludes them from being '*such* Sacraments as baptism and the Communion.' 'No other ordinances but baptism and Communion have an express sign ordained by Christ Himself, and annexed thereto the promise of free forgiveness of sins,' and 'of inward and spiritual grace given to us.' Therefore these have clearly a preeminence over all other ordinances, and may therefore *κατ' ἐξοχήν* be called Sacraments of the Gospel: being also the only ordinances which are 'generally necessary to salvation.'

¹ *Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments.*

It seems hardly needful to enter on a full consideration of each of the five Romish Sacraments here. Four out of the five the Church of England admits, at least in a modified form. This Article declares them to be 'such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly to be states of life allowed in the Scriptures.' Matrimony is especially to be called a 'state of life allowed in the Scriptures.' It is possible, that orders and confirmation may be so called also. Yet orders, confirmation, and penance or absolution, as the Roman Church administers them, are mixed with some superstitious ceremonies. Hence perhaps they, as well as extreme unction, may be considered in the Article, to have 'grown' (in their Roman Catholic or medieval form) 'of the corrupt following of the Apostles.'

1 *Confirmation*, in the primitive Church, followed immediately on baptism, and, as above noted, was made ordinarily a part of baptism. Tertullian and Cyril of Jerusalem both speak of the catechumens as first receiving baptism, and then, immediately on their coming out of the water, receiving chrism and imposition of hands¹. The separation of confirmation from baptism arose, sometimes from the difficulty of obtaining the presence of a bishop, sometimes from the reconciling of heretics, who were confirmed but not rebaptized, and latterly from the deferring the confirmation of infants; it being thought good that, though baptized, they should delay their confirmation, till they were trained and seasoned for serving as soldiers in the army of Christ². The result has been that, after the first ages, confirmation became a separate rite from baptism, and we still continue it as such, believing that so it is more fit for edifying.

¹ Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 7, 8, quoted above. Cyril. *Catech. Myst.* III. 1, 'Υμῖν ὁμοίως ἀναβεβηκόσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῶν ἱερῶν ναμάτων ἐδόθη χρίσμα.—See Bingham, XII. i. 1; Suicer, s. vv. σφραγίς, χρίσμα.

² See Hooker, Bk. v. lxvi. 7.

2 *Ordination* we esteem, scarcely less than does the Church of Rome, as an appointment of Christ Himself. We believe that God gives grace for the office of the ministry to those who receive it aright. We observe that, though our Lord commanded no particular sign, yet the Apostles always used the laying on of hands. But with regard to the inward grace, we read not that forgiveness of sins or personal sanctification were promised to its right reception; but rather the Holy Ghost for the work of the ministry. Therefore, although we retain it, as essential for the maintenance of a rightly constituted ministry in the Church, yet we place it not on a par with the two Sacraments of baptism and Communion: which are the means of obtaining and increasing spiritual life to our souls, and of binding together the company of God's people in one¹.

3 *Matrimony* is not so much a Sacrament of the Gospel, as 'an honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency;' it is neither a badge 'by which Christian men are discerned from others, which be not christened;' nor is it a means whereby pardon of sins and inward sanctification are conveyed to us by the Spirit of God. Hence again, though, like other sacred ceremonies, it may be called a Sacrament, and anciently was so called; it comes not under our definition of a Sacrament of the Gospel. In the Epistle to the Ephesians (v. 32) St. Paul does indeed say concerning it, 'This is a great mystery;' or rather (Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν), 'This mystery is great.' The Latins have translated his words, *magnum est Sacramentum*; and so it has been argued that matrimony is specially called a Sacrament. It is plain, how-

¹ 'In nullum nomen religionis sive veræ sive falsæ coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilium consortio colligantur.'—August. c. *Faustum*, XIX. 11. See Wordsworth, *Theophil. Anglic.* ch. viii.

ever, that St. Paul's meaning is merely this. The marriage of Adam and Eve (and indeed marriage in the general) was esteemed by the Jews, and is constantly spoken of in the new Testament, as a figure, type or *mystery* of the union and marriage betwixt Christ and His Church. The fathers all seem to understand it so. Tertullian says that Adam's calling Eve 'bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh,' was a great Sacrament concerning Christ and His Church¹. St. Chrysostom understands it, that marriage was an allegory of Christ's union to His Bride the Church. 'That it was something great and wonderful, Moses, or rather God, intimated. For the present, however, saith he, I speak concerning Christ, both that He left the Father, and came down, came to the Bride, and became one Spirit. *For he that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit.* And he says well, *It is a great mystery.* And then as though he were to say, nevertheless the allegory does not destroy affection, he adds, *Let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself*². So too Theodoret and Theophylact³ explain it, viz. that the Apostle speaks of marriage as a mystery or allegory of Christ and the Church.

4 *Penance* in the Church of Rome consists of three parts, confession, absolution, and satisfaction. The origin of it was in the early penitential discipline of the Church. In the primitive ages, when baptized Christians had committed grievous sins, they were placed for a time in the position of penitents. Their discipline consisted of three parts, viz. 1 confession, 2 separation from the Church, 3 absolution.

¹ 'Nam etsi Adam statim prophetavit, magnum illud sacramentum in Christum et Ecclesiam: *Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis,*' &c.—*De Anima*, c. 11. See also *De Exhort. Castitat.* c. 5.

² Chrysost. in *Ephes.* v. 32, *Homil.* xx.

³ Theodoret and Theophylact, *ad hunc locum.* See Suicer, s. v. *μυστήριον*. See also Hammond and Whitby on Eph. v. 33. Macknight has an excellent note on the passage.

At first, it appears, that confession was made publicly by the offender in the face of the Church, and was probably an humble acknowledgment of sins, which already had given offence to the company of believers¹. Yet very early it was commended to penitents, to seek out for themselves a wise spiritual adviser, to whom they should confide their more secret offences, that, if he judged it expedient, such offences might afterwards be confessed in the face of the congregation². In process of time, the bishops appointed a regular officer or penitentiary, to hear these private confessions, and to judge whether they should be made public or not. Socrates says, this officer was first appointed for the restoration of those who had lapsed in the Decian persecution³; though Sozomen thinks such a minister must have been necessary, and so in existence from the first⁴. The duty of this penitentiary was, to enquire into the nature of the penitent's offences, to prescribe to them certain modes of humiliation, and, if needful, a public acknowledgment of their sins; and then to give them absolution⁵. In course of time, a scandalous offence having been confessed to a presbyter in the Greek Church, which produced a public excitement, Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, was induced to abolish the office of penitentiary⁶. St. Chrysostom was the immediate successor of Nectarius. It appears from his writings, that public confession still continued to be a part of discipline⁷; although we have reason to think that the congregation was

¹ See Tertullian, *De Pœnitentia*, c. 9, 10; Augustin, *Homil.* XLIX. 3, Tom. v. p. 1054.

² So Origen: 'Tantummodo circumspecte diligentius cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum . . . Si intellexerit et prœviderit talem esse languorem tuum qui in conventu totius Ecclesiæ exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et cæteri ædificari poterunt, et tu ipse facile sanari,' &c.—Origen, in *Ps.* xxxvii. *Homil.* 2.

³ Socr. *H. E.* Lib. v. c. 19.

⁴ Sozomen, Lib. vii. c. 16.

⁵ Sozomen, *ibid.*

⁶ Socr. Sozom. *ibid.*

⁷ *Epist. ad Innocent.* Tom. iii. p. 517; *In Epist. ad Ephes.* Hom. iii. Tom. xi. p. 23; *In Epist. ad Ebræ.* Hom. iv. Tom. xii. pp. 48, 49.

not always informed of the exact nature of the crimes, for which the penitent was suffering penance and confessing guilt, but only that they knew them to be great and deadly offences¹. This much, however, we learn from the writings both of St. Chrysostom and of his great contemporary, St. Augustine, that the Church in their days did not consider private confession of private sins essential to salvation, but only the public confession of public scandals necessary to the discipline of the Church. 'What have I to do with men,' says St. Augustine, 'that they should hear my confessions?' 'I do not compel you,' says St. Chrysostom, 'to discover your sins in the presence of men. Unfold your conscience before God, shew Him your wounds, and from Him seek healing.'

Leo the Great, who was Bishop of Rome A. D. 440, is said to have been the first innovator on the penitential discipline of the Church; for he forbade sins, which had been confessed to the priest, to be published in the Church, deciding that private confession was sufficient for the clearing of the conscience of the offenders⁴. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century, is said to have been the first who altogether abolished public penance for private sins⁵. Redemption of penance also by pecuniary fines became, in process of time, a common practice, which some also refer to Theodore as the originator⁶.

¹ Augustin. in *Symbol. ad Catechumen.* Lib. I. c. 15.

² 'Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos?'—*Confession.* Lib. X. c. 3, Tom. I. p. 171.

³ Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς θεατρὸν σε ἄγω τῶν συνδούλων τῶν σῶν, οὐδὲ ἐκκάλυψαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκάζω τὰ ἀμαρτήματα· τὸ συνειδὸς ἀνάπτυξον ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ δείξον τὰ τραύματα, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τὰ φάρμακα αἴτησον.—Chrysost. *De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, Hom. v. § 7, Tom. I. p. 490.

⁴ Leo, *Epist.* 136, *ad Episc. Campan.*

⁵ 'Theodorus, homo græcus, primus aperte morem sustulit publice de criminibus occultis pœnitendi.'—Morinus *de Administ. Pœnitent.* x. 17, 2, quoted by Marshall in *Penitential Discipline*, ch. iii § 1.

⁶ Marshall, ch. iii. § 2.

Along with private confession grew the custom of private absolution¹. And afterwards the form itself of absolution became more peremptory and authoritative²; till at length auricular confession, followed by absolution and satisfaction, was elevated to the full dignity of a necessary Sacrament. The Council of Trent anathematizes all who deny it to be truly and properly a Sacrament, instituted by Christ Himself³, and necessary to salvation *jure divino*, or who say that the method of confessing secretly to the priest alone, (which the Church Catholic has observed from the beginning,) is alien to Christ's institution and of human invention⁴.

The reformed Churches have generally abolished auricular confession, as obligatory and sacramental. The Lutherans indeed still retain it, as a regular part of Church order and discipline. The Augsburg Confession declares concerning confession, that it is right to retain private absolutions in the Church, but that it is not necessary in confession to enumerate every individual sin⁵. Calvin also recommended both private confession to a pastor, and private absolution, when needed for the remedy of any special infirmity; but he says, it should not be made obligatory upon all, but only commended to such as need it⁶. Our own reformers appear to have taken the same wise and moderate view. Ridley, the greatest light of the English Reformation, writes shortly before his death; 'Confession unto the minister, which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so I assure you I think even to this day⁷.' So the second part of the Homily of Repentance, after condemn-

¹ *Ibid.* § 3.

² § 4.

³ Sess. XIV. Can. 1.

⁴ Can. 6.

⁵ *Conf. August.* Art. XII.; *Sylloge*, p. 173.

⁶ *Institut.* Lib. III. c. iv. §§ 12, 14.

⁷ Letter to West, dated from Bocardo, in Oxford, April 8, 1554; *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 80. London, 1837.

ing the auricular confession of the Church of Rome, says, 'I do not say, but that, if any do find themselves troubled in conscience, they may repair to their learned curate or pastor,' &c. The Exhortation to the Communion bids those, who cannot quiet their own consciences, come to the curate, 'or some other discreet and learned minister of God's word, and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.' In the service for the Visitation of the Sick it is enjoined on the minister that he shall move the sick person 'to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter;' and a form of absolution is appointed to be used, after such confession, to those who 'humbly and heartily desire it.' Thus the Church of England provides for all troubled consciences the power of relieving themselves, by making confession of guilt to their pastor or 'any other discreet and learned minister,' and so gives them comfort and counsel; but does not bind every one of necessity to rehearse all his private sins to man, nor elevate such useful confession into a Sacrament essential to salvation¹.

The question concerning the power of the keys, as exercised by the ministers of God, may well be reserved to a future Article. It may be sufficient to observe here, that the chief Scripture ground for private confession is to be found in the language of St. James, chap. v. 14—16. There the Apostle counsels the sick to send for the presbyters of the Church, who are to pray over them; and it is promised that such prayers shall be especially effectual for the pardon of sins. It is then added, 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent

¹ The student is especially referred for a history of this subject to Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*, ch. ii. iii.

prayer of a righteous man availeth much.' (ver. 16). And this is illustrated by the efficacy of the prayers of the prophet Elijah, at whose intercession rain was first withheld, and then given again. The context, in which all this occurs, compared with the promise given by our Lord to His ministers, (Matt. xviii. 18, John xx. 23), and with the custom of the Church from the earliest times, has been ever considered as a ground for the practice continued in the Church of England, that the sick should be especially visited by the clergy, should be moved to confession of sins, and should look to the prayers of the minister as means for obtaining from God pardon, grace, and if it be His will, restoration to health and strength¹.

There can be no doubt, that a distressed conscience may be soothed and guided by confidence in a spiritual adviser. Most people, much in earnest, and much oppressed with a sense of sin, have yearned for such a confidence. Hence the Church should always afford to the sin-stricken soul the power of unburdening itself. But, on the other hand, whatever tends to lead people to substitute confession to man for confession to God, and to make the path of repentance less rugged than the Gospel makes it, must be dangerous. Such is the systematic and compulsory confession of the Church of Rome, followed as it is by absolution and penance, which too often seem to speak peace to the soul, perhaps before its peace is sealed in Heaven. The penitent finds it far easier to unburden his soul to the priest, than to seek, day and night, with broken spirit, for pardon from God: and, when he has once confided his griefs to his spiritual guide, he easily substitutes that guide's counsels for the dictates of his own conscience: and no counsels from without can speak as fearfully, as the whispers of remorse within. Hence the danger of healing the wound lightly—of substituting false peace, for that peace which can come only from a true

¹ See Dr. Hammond on this passage of St. James.

penitence, and from the sense of God's pardoning love through Christ. Confession has been well called 'the luxury of repentance'.¹ Access to it is not to be denied to the dying, the perplexed, or the broken-hearted; but it is to be feared for the morbid spirit, and still more to be feared, as a mere routine of ordinary life, as a salving over of the conscience stained by sin, and seeking an easy deliverance from its warnings and reproofs.

5 *Extreme Unction* is an ordinance, concerning which we differ from the Church of Rome more than on the other four. We admit the proper use of confirmation, confession, orders, and matrimony; but extreme unction we neither esteem to be a Sacrament, nor an ordinance of the Church at all. As used in the modern Church of Rome, it implies unction with olive oil, blessed by the bishop, and applied by the priest to the five senses of the dying man. It is considered as conveying God's pardon and support in the last hour. It is administered when all hope of recovery is gone, and generally no food is permitted to be taken after it.

The Roman Catholic controversialists can find no primitive authority for this ordinance, except that of Pope Innocent the First, in the fifth century². In a letter to Decentius³ he answers a question, whether the sick might be anointed with oil, and whether the bishop might anoint? He replies that this might be done, arguing from the language of St. James. But, if extreme unction were then a Sacrament of the Church, it is impossible that one bishop should have asked this question of another; or, if he did, that the other should not at once have reminded him that it was a well-known Sacrament of immemorial usage⁴. This

¹ Taylor's *Notes from Life*.

² See Bellarmine, *De Extrema Unctione*, cap. iv.

³ *Epist. I. ad Decentium*, c. 8.

⁴ See Burnet on this Article.

is the only authority from patristic ages that the Romanist divines can bring.

They insist, therefore, the rather on the authority from Scripture. That authority, however, is but slender. When our Lord sent out His Apostles and gave them power to 'heal the sick,' 'they anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them' (Mark vi. 13). Here unction was evidently an outward sign, similar to that used by our Saviour, when He made clay and put it to the blind man's eyes. It was connected with the miraculous power of healing. That power lasted for some time in the Church. Accordingly St. James desires the sick to send for the elders of the Church, to whom the miraculous gifts were mostly committed, and enjoins that with prayer for the pardon of sins should be joined anointing with oil, in order to the restoration of health; that as the Apostles used unction upon those whom they healed, so the elders of the Church, who had the gift of healing, should do likewise. 'Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up' (James v. 14, 15). Here the end of the anointing appears to be, that 'the Lord should raise him up.' Now this exactly corresponds with the miraculous cures of the early ages, but not at all with the extreme unction of late times. Extreme unction is only administered when recovery is hopeless. St. James enjoined unction with the special object of recovery. So long then as miraculous powers remained in the Church, it was reasonable that anointing of the sick should be retained; but when those powers ceased, it was reasonable that the unction should cease also.

It was very natural, however, that when the miraculous powers began to decline, the custom of anointing, which at first had reference to bodily diseases, should still be continued with reference to spiritual maladies. Yet we cannot trace clearly

the transition. The use of oil, connected with real or supposed miracles, is frequently alluded to; but it is not till late, that there occurs any clear reference to it as a religious or sacramental rite. Innocent III. at the end of the twelfth century, is quoted by Bellarmine next to Innocent I.¹ His witness is no doubt plain enough. A still fuller confirmation of extreme unction is given by Pope Eugenius in the Council of Florence; at which, it will be remembered, there was an intention of reconciling the Greek with the Latin Church². The Greeks still practise unction, but do not esteem it a Sacrament. At the Council of Trent there were four canons passed, declaring extreme unction to be a Sacrament, instituted by Christ, conferring good, remitting sins, and comforting the infirm³.

The English reformers retained a form of anointing the sick in the first Service Book of Edward VI., though it does not appear that they attributed any sacramental efficacy to it, but merely allowed it to be used 'if the sick person desired it,' with a prayer for pardon of sins and restoration of bodily health⁴. Cranmer had long before, A.D. 1540, expressed his opinion, that there was no ground in Scripture or antiquity for considering the number of the Sacraments to be seven; and especially had pronounced that 'Unction of the sick with oil to remit venial sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in Scripture, nor in any ancient author⁵.' The second Service Book entirely omitted all reference to unction in the service for the Visitation of the Sick.

¹ Bellarmine, *Ibid.* Bellarmine indeed refers to Origen, *Hom. II. in Levit.*; Chrysostom, *De Sacerdoti*, III., &c.; but he acknowledges that he only refers to them as quoting the words of St. James, not as speaking of the Sacrament of extreme unction; of which they certainly do not speak. To anything farther he can call no witness, after Innocent I., before Alcuin.

² *Decretum Eugenii ad Armen.*, *ubi supra.*

³ Sess. XIV.

⁴ *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.* p. 366.

⁵ See 'Questions and Answers on the Sacraments,' *Works*, Vol. II. pp. 100, 103.

The merits of the question rest entirely on the two following points of inquiry: 1 Is the passage in St. James to be considered as Apostolical authority for the institution of a Sacrament in the Church? or has it reference to the cure of bodily disease? 2 Is the doubtful answer of Pope Innocent I., in the fifth century, sufficient ground for believing that extreme unction had prevailed from the first? or, on the contrary, do the deep silence of his predecessors, and his own hesitating reply, argue plainly that they 'had no such custom, neither the churches of God?' Roman Catholics answer affirmatively to the former of these alternatives. Reformed Churches undoubtedly adopt the latter.

Having thus considered what the Article says (I.) concerning the *number* of the Sacraments, we have paved the way for the rest of its statements. Limiting the name Sacrament to baptism and the Eucharist, we have merely to consider (II.) what are the benefits we receive by, (III.) what is the right use of these two ordinances, and (IV.) who are their proper recipients?

II. The efficacy of the Sacraments.

This question must be discussed more particularly in the XXVIIth and XXVIIIth Articles. To speak generally on it now, we may observe, that the doctrine of the fathers on this subject was very clear and strong from the very first. Ignatius speaks of a Christian's baptism as his spiritual armour¹, and, concerning the Eucharist, he writes, 'If a man be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God².' 'I desire the bread of God, which is the Flesh of Christ, and as drink I long for His Blood, which is love incorruptible³.' The Epistle of Barnabas,

¹ τὸ βάπτισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὄπλα.—*Ad. Polyc.* vii. This passage is in the Syriac version.

² *Ad Eph.* v.

³ *Ad Roman.* vii. This passage also is in the Syriac.

which, though probably not written by the companion of St. Paul, is doubtless one of the earliest remains of Christian antiquity, speaks of 'that baptism, which brings forgiveness of sins,' and says, 'That we go down into the water full of sins and pollutions, but come up again bringing forth fruit¹.' Justin Martyr, in his account of the Christian Sacraments, speaks of men as 'regenerated' and receiving remission of sins in the water' of baptism², and as receiving in the Eucharist, not 'common bread and common drink,' but 'the Flesh and Blood of the incarnate Jesus³.' Irenæus is as clear on both the grace of baptism, and the reception of Christ in the Eucharist⁴. Tertullian speaks of the 'blessed Sacrament of water, in which, washed from the sins of our former blindness, we are liberated to life eternal;' in which we 'as fish are born after the pattern of our 'Ιχθὺς, Jesus Christ⁵.' In the Lord's Supper he speaks of feeding on the Body and Blood of Christ, that our soul may be fattened of God⁶. These are all writers of the first century from the Apostles.

It would keep us needlessly long, if we were to go through all the writers of the early ages. It may fairly be said that with one voice they proclaim their belief that great spiritual blessings are to be obtained, by all faithful recipients, both in baptism and in the Supper of the Lord. The grace of the former they call remission of sins, regeneration, illumination⁷; the grace of the latter they call the Body and Blood of Christ. In both they looked to receive Christ; in both they hoped for pardon of sins, and the presence of the Spirit of God. The full

¹ *Epistol. Barnab.* c. 12.

² *Apol.* i. p. 93.

³ *Ibid.* p. 97.

⁴ See *Lib.* i. c. 18; *Lib.* iii. c. 19; *Lib.* v. c. 2, &c.

⁵ *De Baptismo*, c. 1. 'Nos pisciculi, secundum ἰχθὺν nostrum Jesum Christum, in aqua nascimur.' Alluding to the word ΙΧΘΥΣ, containing the initial letters of our Lord's Name and titles, 'Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ.

⁶ *De Renurr. Carnis*, c. 8.

⁷ φωτισμός.—See Suicer, s. h. v.

meaning of these phrases we shall have to consider in the following Articles. Let it suffice here to refer to the pregnant words of St. Augustine, in which he contrasts the Sacraments or ordinances of the Law with those of the Gospel; a change having been made, by which the Sacraments have become 'easier, fewer, more healthful.' 'The Sacraments of the new Testament,' he says, '*give salvation*, whereas those of the old Testament only *promised a Saviour*¹.' Here we have the view of evangelical Sacraments, which pervades all Christian antiquity, viz. that they differ from the ordinances of the old Law in this; the ordinances of the old Law were but pledges of future blessings, not means to convey them, but the Sacraments of the Gospel not only promised Christ, but to those who receive them in faith they are means whereby God gives Christ to the soul.

We read, however, of some early heretics, who denied the grace or the necessity of the Sacraments. Irenæus ascribes to some of the Gnostics the error of saying that outward and material sacraments were unnecessary, so the soul were illuminated²; an opinion consistent enough with the ultra-spiritualism of that sect, which made all excellence to consist in spiritual enlightenment, and esteemed all matter to be evil and the source of sin. One of the errors, for which St. Jerome attacked Jovinian, was that he altogether separated baptism by the Spirit from baptism by water, saying that a man who had been baptized by the Spirit would never sin after, but that if he sinned again, it was a proof that he had received only water-baptism, but not spiritual baptism³. The Manichees, like the Gnostics, and probably on the same principles, believing baptism to have

¹ 'Sacramenta N. Testamenti dant salutem; Sacramenta V. Testamenti promiserunt Salvatore.'—*Enarr. in Ps. lxxiii. § 2, Tom. iv. p. 769.*

² *Hæres. i. c. 18, p. 91. Edit. Oxon. 1702.*

³ Hieronym. *adv. Jovinianum*, Lib. II. See under Article XVI. Sect. I.

no efficacy, never administered it to their converts¹. The Messalians were a sect of mystics, who are described as devoting themselves wholly to prayer, and avoiding even labour for their bodily necessities². It appears that they had a very low esteem of the Sacraments, so that Theodoret accuses them of denying any efficacy whatever to baptism³; though there is some reason to think that he has exaggerated their errors⁴. It is probable enough that, wherever mysticism prevailed, such a disregard of external ordinances would prevail also. Those medieval sects, which derived their errors from Gnostic or Manichean sources, would naturally underrate Sacraments, as having material elements, which such heretics regarded as essentially evil. Accordingly, we learn that the Paulicians in the ninth century refused to celebrate the Lord's Supper, and probably in like manner rejected outward baptism⁵. The Bulgarians and Albigenses are said to have sprung from the Paulicians; and, though it is difficult to arrive at the truth concerning the tenets of these persecuted sects, we may yet probably infer that one of their errors was an underrating of the value of baptism and the Eucharist.

The time, however, for these subjects to be most fiercely contested would naturally be the period of the Reformation. We must leave the discussion on Transubstantiation, which agitated the Church in the middle ages, for the Articles which treat expressly on the Lord's Supper. Suffice it here to observe that the school-authors, in their investigations concerning sacramental efficacy, were led, not merely to insist on the value of the Sacraments as means, in the use of which God's Spirit works, but also to lay down the principle, that the Sacraments

¹ August. *de Hæres.* c. 46; Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. xi. ch. ii. sect. 4.

² Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxxx.; Augustin. *Hæres.* lvii.

³ Theodoret. *Hæret. Fab.* Lib. iv. c. 10.

⁴ See Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. xi. ch. ii. sect. 5.

⁵ See Mosheim, *E. H.* Cent. ix. Pt. ii. ch. v. Also Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. xi. ch. ii. sect. 4.

are so in their own nature vehicles of grace, that *ex opere operato*, from the mere fact of their administration, they convey Christ to the soul. Such a reception of Christ may not indeed be always to salvation; nay, it may be to condemnation; but still the Sacrament administered always brought with it a spiritual grace. This doctrine was fixed, as the doctrine of the Roman Church, by the decrees of the Council of Trent. They anathematized all who deny that the Sacraments contain grace¹, or that this grace is conferred by them *ex opere operato*².

All the reformed, whatever differences may have existed between them on these subjects (and such differences were sufficiently great), appear to have much objected to the statement of the *opus operatum*. To them such a statement seemed to imply, not that Sacraments were means through which God was pleased to work, and which he had promised to bless; but rather, that they were of the nature of magical incantations, which, however carelessly administered, could not be separated from their effects upon the soul. The very elements therefore became the objects of adoration. The water of baptism was in itself holy and the source of holiness; the consecrated wafer was the Body of the Son of God. Extremes generate extremes: and we learn that the anabaptists and other fanatics were led to such extravagance of opposition to the extravagance of Romanism, as impiously to mock the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist; so that 'railing bills against it were fixed upon the doors of St. Paul's Cathedral and other places, terming it *Jack in a box*, *The Sacrament of the halter*, *Round Robin*, and such like irreverent terms³.'

¹ Sess. VII. Can. VI. 'Si quis dixerit, sacramenta novæ legis non continere gratiam, quam significant . . . anathema sit.'

² Sess. VII. Can. VIII. 'Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam . . . anathema sit.'

³ Bidley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 216, referred to by Dr. Hey on this Article.

Among the continental reformers, *Zuinglius*, *Luther*, and *Calvin*, adopted three different views of the Sacraments.

Zuinglius rejected sacramental grace entirely. He held Sacraments to be bare signs, outward tokens of Christian profession, but in no sense means of grace. He defined a Sacrament to be 'an external symbol, by which we testify what we are, and what is our duty, just as one, who bears a national costume or badge, testifies that he belongs to a particular nation or society¹.' And again, 'A Sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing: when therefore I speak of the Sacrament of Christ's Body, I mean no more than that bread, which is the figure and type of Christ's Body².'

Luther, on the contrary, maintained the great importance and spiritual efficacy of the Sacraments. 'We can lay it down as a rule,' he writes, 'that where are the Eucharist, Baptism, the Word, there is Christ, remission of sins, and life eternal³.' In the Eucharist, it is well-known, that he believed that, with the consecrated bread and wine, there are delivered to the recipient the very Body and Blood of Christ; the elements not being transubstantiated, but the Body of Christ being consubstantially united with them⁴. Of the other Sacrament he taught, that as man is born naturally full of sins, so in baptism he is born spiritually, regenerated, justified. His sins are buried there, and righteousness rises instead of sins⁵. 'St. Paul,' says he, 'teaches

¹ 'Sacramentum quid] Sacramentum ergo . . . symbolum externum, quo quales simus, et quodnam sit officium testamur, significat. Ut enim, qui crucem gestat album, sese Helvetum esse, et posthac semper fore testatur.'—*De Baptismo*, Zuinglii Opera, 1581, Tom. i. fol. 60.

² 'Sacramentum quid] Sacramentum est sacræ rei signum. Cum ergo Sacramentum Corporis Christi nomino, non quicquam aliud, quam panem, qui Corporis Christi pro nobis mortui figura et typus est intelligo.'—*De Cœna Domini*, Opera, Tom. i. fol. 274.

³ *In Genesin*. c. iv. Opera, Tom. vi. fol. 62.

⁴ Of this more under Art. XXVIII. Meanwhile see his treatise *De Sacramento Altaris*, Tom. i. fol. 78; *Catechismus Major*, Tom. v. p. 640.

⁵ 'Quemadmodum enim mater illo carnali partu plenum peccatis

that baptism is not a sign, but a clothing in Christ, yea, that Christ Himself is our clothing. Wherefore baptism is a most potent and efficacious rite¹.

Calvin took a kind of mean between Luther and Zuinglius. Concerning Sacraments in general, he writes, that 'though they are figures, yet not naked and empty figures, but having their truth and substance united to them; not only representing, but offering grace. We ought never to separate the substance of the Sacraments from the Sacraments themselves. We ought not indeed to confound them, but to rend them asunder is absurd².' 'The word is joined to the external sign, and hence Sacraments have their efficacy. . . . Christ breathed on His Apostles, and they received not His breathing only, but the Spirit of G^od. Wherefore? but because Christ had promised? So in baptism we put on Christ, we are washed in His Blood, our old man is crucified, that the righteousness of God may reign in us. In the sacred Supper we are fed spiritually by the Body and Blood of Christ. Whence so great effects, but from the promise of Christ, who effects and makes good by His Spirit what He testifies by His Word³?' In regard to the grace

puerum et iræ filium edit, ita baptismus edit spiritualement partum, et regenerat nos, ut justificati simus filii gratiæ. Sic peccata in baptismo demerguntur, et emergit pro peccatis justitia.'—*De Sacramento Baptismi*, Tom. I. fol. 72.

¹ 'Docet ergo Paulus baptismum non signum, sed indumentum Christi, immo ipsum Christum indumentum nostrum esse. Quare baptismus potentissima ac efficacissima res est.'—In III. cap. *ad Galat.* Tom. V. fol. 370.

² 'Figuris igitur et signis, quæ sub oculorum sensum cadunt, ut naturæ nostræ imbecillitas requirit, ostenditur: ita tamen ut non sit figura nuda et simplex, sed veritati suæ et substantiæ conjungitur. . . . Sed hoc adjungemus, Sacramenta Domini nullo modo a substantia et veritate sua separari oportere. Ea quidem ne confundantur, distinguere non tantum convenit, sed etiam omnino necessarium est. Sed ita dividere ut alterum sine altero constituatur, absurdissimum.'—*De Cœna Domini*, Calvini, *Opuscula*, pp. 133, 134.

³ 'Observent lectores externo et visibili symbolo simul verbum con-

received by *infants* in baptism, it is probable, as we shall see hereafter, that Calvin's predestinarian theory materially influenced his views. But as regards adult recipients both of baptism and the Lord's Supper, he clearly taught that to the faithful God gives, in the one remission and regeneration, in the other, the *real* but *spiritual* presence of Christ's Body and Blood. On the question of the Eucharist especially he differed from the Romanists, in that he rejected transubstantiation—from the Lutherans, in that he rejected consubstantiation—from the Zuinglians, in that he maintained a *real* presence of Christ, though he held that presence to be *spiritual*, not *carnal*¹.

The Calvinistic communions, including the English Puritans and Nonconformists, have generally followed Zuinglius rather than Calvin in their Sacramental theory; though by no means agreeing with the latter on many other points of theology.

The Anglican reformers have sometimes been charged with Zuinglian sentiments concerning the Eucharist. On this subject, however, it is capable of evident proof that they symbolized, not with Zuinglius, but with Calvin, though not deriving their

jungi, nam et hinc sacramenta vim suam mutantur: non quod in voce, quæ auribus personat, inclusa sit Spiritus efficacia; sed quia a testimonio Verbi pendet eorum omnium effectus, quæ ex sacramentis percipiunt fideles. Flat Christus in Apostolos: hi non flatum modo sed Spiritum quoque recipiunt. Cur? nisi quia illis Christus promittit? Similiter in Baptismo Christum induimus, abluimur Ejus sanguine, crucifigitur vetus homo noster, ut regnet in nobis Dei justitia. In sacra Cœna spiritualiter Christi carne et sanguine pascimur. Unde tanta vis, nisi ex Christi promissione, qui Spiritu Suo efficit ac præstat quod verbo testatur.'—Calvinus in *Evangelium Johannis*, c. xx. v. 22.

¹ 'Necesse est igitur nos in Cœna vere Corpus et sanguinem Christi recipere quemadmodum panis in manu distribuitur, ita Corpus Christi, ut Ejus participes simus, nobis communicari.'—*De Cœna Domini, Opuscula*, p. 134.

'Cæterum hoc imprimis tenendum, ut *carnalis* omnis imaginatio excludatur, animum oportere sursum in cœlos erigere, ne existimemus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum eo dejectum esse ut in olementis corruptilibus concludatur.'—*Ibid.* p. 147.

views from him. On baptism their language is stronger, not only than Calvin's, but even than Luther's. But, of their views concerning these two Sacraments separately, we must reserve the consideration for the present. Meanwhile, let us observe a few of their statements on Sacraments in general.

We have already noticed their language in this XXVth Article, that Sacraments are 'effectual signs of grace, by the which God doth work invisibly in us.' We have compared the language of the Homily, in which Sacraments are defined to be 'visible signs, expressly commanded in the new Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of sins, and of our holiness and joining in Christ.' We have seen that the Catechism uses terms of the same significance, calling Sacraments 'outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace,' which grace is not merely promised, but 'given unto us'; saying also that they were 'ordained by Christ Himself' to be, not only 'a pledge to assure us' of that grace, but also 'a means whereby we receive the same.'

In like manner Nowell's Catechism, a semi-authoritative document, has the following: 'How many Sacraments hath God ordained in His Church? *A.* Two: Baptism, and the Holy Supper, which are commonly used among the faithful. For by the one we are born again, and by the other we are nourished to everlasting life¹.' Jewel's Apology, a similar authority, having denied the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation, adds: 'But when we say this we lower not the nature of the Lord's Supper, nor teach it to be a mere frigid ceremony, and that in it nothing is done, as some calumniously say that we teach. For we assert that Christ truly exhibits Himself present with us in His Sacraments; in baptism, that we may put Him on; in the Supper, that we may feed on Him by faith and in Spirit, and from His Cross and Blood have ever-

¹ See the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, Vol. i. pp. 313, 314.

lasting life: and this we assert to be done, not coldly and perfunctorily, but in very deed and truth¹.’ The *Reformatio Legum* again condemns those who would take the Sacraments ‘for naked signs and external marks, whereby the religion of Christian men may be discerned from others².’ And to refer once more to the Homilies, ‘The sermon for repairing and keeping clean of churches’ speaks of the house of God as that ‘wherein be ministered the Sacraments and mysteries of our redemption. The fountain of our regeneration is there presented to us; the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ is there offered unto us; and shall we not esteem the place where so heavenly things are handled?’

It may seem needless to add private testimonies of the individual reformers. Yet the names of Cranmer and Ridley stand justly so much at the head of our Reformation, that we may well hear one word from each of them. Cranmer, in his *Answer to Gardiner*, writes ‘Likewise when he (the minister) ministereth to our sight Christ’s holy Sacraments, we must think Christ crucified and presented before our eyes, because the Sacraments so represent Him, and be His Sacraments, not the priest’s. As in baptism we must think that as the priest putteth his hand to the child outwardly and washeth him with water, so must we think that God putteth to His hand inwardly and washeth the infant with His Holy Spirit, and, moreover, that Christ cometh down upon the child and apparelleth him with His own Self. And as at the Lord’s holy table the priest distributeth wine and bread to feed the body, so must we think that inwardly by faith we see Christ feeding both body and soul to eternal life³.’ ‘In all ages,’ says Ridley, ‘the devil hath stirred up some light heads to esteem the Sacraments but

¹ *Enchiridion Theologicum*, Vol. i. p. 129.

² ‘Pro nudis signis et externis tantum indiciis.’—*Reformatio Legum*, *De Hæresibus*, c. 17, quoted by Hey.

³ Cranmer’s *Works*, by Jenkyns, Vol. iii. pp. 553, 554.

lightly, as to be empty and bare signs¹.’ ‘And as all do agree hitherto in the aforesaid doctrine, so all do detest, abhor, and condemn the wicked heresy of the Messalonians, which otherwise be called Euchites, which said that the holy Sacrament can do neither good nor harm; and do also condemn those wicked anabaptists, which put no difference between the Lord’s table and the Lord’s meat and their own².’

It is not necessary to pursue the history of this subject to more modern times. The Quakers, and some other sects, have not only undervalued Sacramental grace, but actually have rejected all use of the Sacraments. The foreign Protestants, with the exception of the Lutherans, seem mostly to adopt Zuinglian opinions; as have the generality of dissenters among ourselves. In the English Church, those who have formed their theological views, for the most part on a Puritan model, have taken in general low ground on the Sacraments, especially on the Sacrament of baptism, whilst the opposite school have zealously maintained the reality and importance of Sacramental grace. The period of Bishop Hoadley and the Bangorian controversy has been pointed to as an era, from which lower sacramental doctrines have been very commonly admitted among churchmen. In the present day it is painfully known to every one, with what fierceness the flame of discord has burst forth, on the subject of those very ordinances of grace, which were instituted by Christ on purpose to bind together in one fold and one flock the blessed company of all true believers.

III. Concerning the proper use of the Sacraments the Article says,

‘The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.’ This sentence alludes to the elevation and procession

¹ *Works*, Parker Society, p. 114.

² *Ibid.* p. 9.

of the host in the Church of Rome ; and, as a similar statement is made with more direct reference to those customs in Article XXVIII. we may reserve the consideration of the question for the present. Thus much only we may remark, that the Tridentine definition, that 'the grace of the Sacraments is contained in the Sacraments,' naturally led to the adoration of the elements themselves: whereas the doctrine that Sacraments have no efficacy of their own nature, but are ordinances of God which He is pleased to honour, and by which He has promised to work, will lead to a reverent esteem and diligent use of them, but not to a superstitious veneration of the mere instruments. This is the difference between Rome and England.

IV. The last question treated of is the worthy reception of the Sacraments.

'In such only as worthily receive the same have they a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.'

This statement also is virtually repeated concerning baptism in Art. XXVII. and still more clearly concerning the Eucharist in Art. XXIX.

Highly as the fathers speak, and often with no expressed reservation or restriction, concerning sacramental grace and the potency of the Sacraments, yet when occasion offers we may always observe, that they did not so tie the grace to the ordinance as to believe that the impenitent and the unbelieving would benefit by it. Origen, though plainly speaking of remission of sins and the gift of God's Spirit as the grace of baptism, yet observes that '*all are not Israel that are of Israel* ; nor are all baptized with the Spirit who are baptized with water....Some who have received baptism have been unworthy to receive the Holy Spirit. Simon had received baptism, but as he came with hypocrisy for grace, he was rejected from the

gift of the Spirit!.' Again, he says, that all persons washed with water were not washed to salvation. It was so with Simon Magus. And, accordingly, he urges on catechumens to prepare themselves diligently for baptism, lest they receive the water only, not the Spirit of God. 'He who is baptized to salvation receives water and the Holy Spirit: but Simon, not being baptized to salvation, received water, but not the Spirit of God¹.'

Tertullian says, he denies not that the pardon of sins is assured to those who are baptized, but yet he says, we ought to labour that we attain that blessing. God suffers not the unworthy to come to His treasures. 'Some,' he remarks, 'think that God must make good His promises, even to the unworthy, and would make His liberality a slavish obligation.' But Tertullian himself plainly indicates his belief, that baptism to such unworthy recipients would not be the fountain of life, but rather *symbolum mortis*, the mark of death².

Just in the same spirit, St. Cyril in the preface to his Catechetical Lectures, in which, though he speaks very excellent things of the blessings of baptism and Communion, yet he warns against unworthy approach to them, and diligently prepares his catechumens for worthy reception of them. He begins by propounding to them the sad example of Simon Magus. 'Simon Magus,' says he, 'of old came to the laver. He was baptized, but not illuminated. He washed his body with the water, but enlightened not his heart with the Spirit. His body descended and rose up again, but his soul was not buried with Christ, nor raised again with him⁴.' He then goes on to speak of the man without the wedding-garment, and to bid them beware of such

¹ In *Numeros*, *Homil.* III. num. 1.

² In *Ezechiel*, *Hom.* VI. num. 5. See Lumper, *De Vita et Scriptis Origenis*, Art. XIII.

³ *De Pœnitentia*, c. 6.

⁴ *Cyrl. Hierosol. Præfatio Cateches.* 1.

conduct as his. He tells them, they have full time for preparation. 'If,' he adds, 'thou remainest in evil purpose, he who warns thee will be blameless, but look not thou to receive grace. The water will receive thee, but the Spirit will not receive thee¹.'

Just so St. Augustine: 'All the Sacraments are common, but not the grace of the Sacraments to all.... The laver of regeneration is common to all baptized in the name of the Trinity; but the grace of baptism is not common to all. For heretics, and false brethren in the Catholic Church, have the same baptism².' 'The Sacrament is one thing, the grace of the Sacrament another. How many eat of the altar, and die, aye! and die by eating. Wherefore saith the Apostle, He eateth and drinketh condemnation to himself³.' 'If, therefore, thou wilt know that thou hast received the Spirit, ask thine own heart, lest perchance thou hast the Sacrament, but not the virtue of the Sacrament⁴.'

The scholastic disputes concerning the grace of the Sacraments originated the theory of the *opus operatum*. The Sacraments were thought to be so completely vehicles of grace, that they themselves contained and conveyed the grace which was proper to them. Thus the elements in the Eucharist were believed to be changed into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood; and by whomsoever the bread and wine were received, by the same the body and blood of Christ were eaten and drunk. To the unworthy indeed the reception was not to salvation, but to condemnation: yet still it was a real receiving, not only of the Sacrament, but also of the grace of the Sacrament. So Simon Magus was believed to have received, not only baptism,

¹ *Ibid.* 3.

² *In Ps.* 77, Tom. iv. pp. 816, 817.

³ *In Johann.* cap. 6, Tract xxvi. Tom. iii. pars ii. p. 498, c.

⁴ *In Epist. Johann.* cap. iv. Tract vi. Tom. iii. pars ii. p. 868, f. Compare p. 840, c. See also *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. xxi. cap. xxv. Tom. vii. p. 445, seq.

but the grace of baptism, yet not to life, but to death. He was said to have been regenerated by baptism, but regenerate to a greater condemnation. The fathers' expressions were made to bear this meaning, when they speak in glowing terms of the blessings to be expected in the reception of the Sacraments¹. But a hundred such strong statements can never be fairly alleged against a single sentence occurring in qualification or explanation of them. How often soever it be said that baptism is regeneration, and the Eucharist a feeding upon Christ's Body and Blood; a single statement, that this is true only of worthy recipients, is sufficient to prove that such a qualification is always to be understood.

The Roman Church, however, has adopted the theory of the *opus operatum*, and stamped it with synodal authority. Yet in the very canon which asserts that the Sacraments *contain grace*, it is added, that 'they *confer* grace on those *who do not place a bar*².' If it were not added soon after³ that the 'Sacraments confer grace, *ex opere operato*,' we might believe that the Tri-

¹ Thus St. Augustine is supposed to have asserted that Simon Magus received the Holy Ghost in baptism. He is speaking of the many gifts which a man may receive, and yet lack charity. He continues: 'Respice ad munera ipsius Ecclesiæ. Munus sacramentorum in baptismo, in eucharistia, in cæteris sanctis sacramentis; quale munus est? Hoc munus adeptus est et Simon Magus. Prophetia quale munus est? Prophetavit et Saul malus rex,' &c. S. Augustin. in Ps. ciii. Sermon. i. 9. Tom. iv. p. 1136. It does not appear to me that anything in this passage is inconsistent with a belief that the grace of the Sacrament may be withheld from the impenitent. At all events, such a vague statement can never be pressed against such positive statements as those given above from the same father. In one passage indeed he leaves it as a kind of open question, whether Simon Magus was regenerated to greater condemnation, or whether he was born of water, but not of the Spirit. He seems to incline to the latter alternative.—*De Baptismo c. Donatist.* Lib. vi. c. 12. Tom. ix. p. 169.

² Concil. Trident. Sess. vii. can. vi. 'Si quis dixerit sacramenta novæ legis non continere gratiam, quam significant, aut gratiam ipsam non ponentibus obicem non conferre, anathema sit.'

³ *Ibid.* Canon viii.

dentine fathers did not materially differ from the statements of our own reformers; *to place a bar* being much the same as *to receive unworthily*.

The reformers all strongly opposed the doctrine of the *opus operatum*.

The Lutherans, who of all the reformed bodies were considered to hold the highest view of the Sacraments, yet plainly rejected the belief, that grace was inseparably tied to the reception of them. Luther complains that the schoolmen and the papists dreamed of virtue infused into the water of baptism, but he held the gift of the Spirit to the baptized to result from the promise of God to them, but that the water was still but water¹. So, though by the doctrine of consubstantiation Christ's very Body would be received with the bread, yet as the bread is not said to be changed into Christ's Body, it is possible that by the unworthy the bread alone might be eaten, but the Body and Blood might not be communicated. In this, as in many respects, consubstantiation is much different from transubstantiation; since, according to the latter, the substance of the bread and wine are utterly annihilated, and nothing remains but the substance of the Body and Blood, so that all, who receive the Sacrament, must receive by it the very substance of Christ.

It is unnecessary, for the present, to say more concerning our own reformers' views of this subject; they are plainly expressed in this and the following Articles; and we shall hear more of them under Art. XXVth. and XXVIII.

¹ See Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, Note 14 in Sermon VII. pp. 405, 406.

ARTICLE XXVI.

*Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers,
which hinders not the effect of the
Sacrament.*

ALTHOUGH in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them; which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that enquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

*De vi Institutionum Divinarum, quod
eam non tollat malitia Ministro-
rum.*

QUAMVIS in ecclesia visibili, bonis mali semper sunt admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et sacramentorum præsint, tamen cum non suo, sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrentur.

Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiratur, accusenturque ab his, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem justo convicti judicio deponantur.

SECTION I. HISTORY.

IT is natural, in treating of the doctrines contained in this Article, to begin with the question concerning heretical baptism, which agitated the primitive Church. Tertullian denies

that the heretics administered Christian baptism at all, because they did not believe in the same God nor the same Christ with the Christians. Hence, the rebaptizing of heretics was not, according to him, a repetition of the one baptism; for their former baptism was, strictly speaking, not Christian baptism at all, being baptism into a different faith from that of the Gospel¹. The same rule seems to be laid down by the Apostolical Canons, the 46th canon commanding the deposition of any 'bishop, presbyter or deacon, who admitted the baptism or sacrifice of heretics' (comp. canon 47, 68). In the famous dispute between Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, the latter, and the African bishops who were with him, denied the validity of baptism by heretics and schismatics also. The baptism of heretics, Cyprian, like Tertullian, held to be baptism into another religion than the Gospel, into the faith of another God than the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Hence, he concluded that such baptism must be void². But, moreover, the baptism of schismatics appears to have been rejected by the African bishops, because, according to the interrogation in baptism ('Dost thou believe in the life eternal, and remission of sins in the Holy Church?') they held that remission of sins could not be given but in the Church³.

Stephen, Bishop of Rome, took the directly opposite view, admitting all baptism, whether by schismatics or heretics, so it was with water in the name of the Trinity; and such has been the rule of the Latin Church ever since. The Greek Church has taken a middle course, rejecting heretical, but admitting schismatical baptism.

This was quite a different question from that, on which this Article is treating. But, in the controversy, the African

¹ Tertull. *De Baptismo*, c. 15.

² Cyprian. *Epist.* 73, *Jubaiano Fratri*, p. 203.

³ *Epistola Synodica Numidis Episcopis, de Rebaptizandis Hæreticis in Epistol. Cypriani*, *Epist.* 70, p. 190.

Church used language, as if they thought that one reason, why heretics could not administer baptism aright, was because they themselves had not the grace of baptism, and so could not bestow it on others. 'What prayer,' they ask, 'can a sacrilegious and impious priest offer? As it is written, God heareth not sinners; but who worships Him and doth His will, him He heareth. And who can give what he hath not? or how can a person perform spiritual offices who hath himself lost the Holy Spirit¹?' Such a statement, which must be considered as *obiter dictum*, was perhaps naturally put forth, as one among other arguments, without having been maturely weighed or traced up to all its consequences. When however, in the fourth century, arose the famous schism of the Donatists, more was made of it than might at first have been intended. The synodical letter, in which that statement is made, was addressed to certain bishops of the Numidians. Now the Donatist faction arose among the Numidians. It originated in an opposition to the election of Cæcilianus into the see of Carthage. His opponents, the Numidian bishops, accused his consecrator Felix, of being *a traditor* (i. e. one who in Diocletian's persecution had delivered up the sacred writings to the heathen magistrates to be burned); and hence they denied that his consecration was valid; for a bishop in deadly sin could not confer the grace of ordination². The length to which this controversy went was very great. The Donatists (as they were called from their chief leader Donatus) became a large and influential sect, having no fewer than 400 bishops of their own. They refused all communion with the African Church, of which Cæcilianus was the chief bishop, and even rebaptized those who came over to their own faction. They naturally referred to the authority of Cyprian and his contemporary bishops, and made the most of their statements concerning the invalidity of heretical baptism.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 191.

² See the *History of the Donatists*, Mosheim, cent. iv. part II. ch. v.

The controversy, which thus arose, hinged much on the question with which we have now to deal. The Donatist writers (Petilianus, Parmenianus, Cresconius) appear to have maintained the invalidity of the acts of those ministers who were in deadly sin; and seemed almost to deny the position, that a true Church can contain 'the evil mingled with the good.' Augustine and Optatus were their chief opponents; and some of the most valuable treatises of the former were called forth by this dispute.

Augustine lays it down as a rule, that ministers do not confer remission of sins, or the grace of the Sacraments, but that the Holy Spirit confers them through their ministry¹. The remission of sins is given by virtue of the Sacraments, not by the merit of him who ministers them². 'It matters not to the integrity of baptism how much the worse he is who ministers it. For there is not so much difference between the bad and the worse, as between the good and the bad. Yet when a bad man baptizes, he gives no other thing than a good man gives³.' Still he seems to agree in some measure with Cyprian; for he says, that heretical baptism, although it be real baptism, yet tends not to salvation, but to destruction⁴.

St. Chrysostom bears a like testimony in the Greek Church, at the same time. 'It is not just,' he writes, 'that those, who approach by faith, should receive hurt from the symbols of our salvation through the wickedness of another⁵.' So again, 'God

¹ 'Satis ostenditur non ipsos id agere, sed per eos utique Spiritum Sanctum,'—*Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, Lib. II. c. 11, Tom. IX. p. 41.

² *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, Lib. IV. c. 4, Tom. IX. p. 124, a.

³ 'Nihil interest ad integritatem baptismi, quanto pejor id tradat. Neque enim tantum interest inter malum et pejorem, quantum interest inter bonum et malum: et tamen cum baptizat malus, non aliud dat quam bonus.'—*Ibid.* Lib. VI. c. 24, p. 174, f.

⁴ *Ibid.* Lib. V. c. 22, p. 156, b.

⁵ Οὐ δίκαιον ἦν διὰ τὴν ἑτέρου κακίαν εἰς τὰ σύμβολα τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν τοὺς πιστεῖ προσιόντας παραβλάπτεισθαι.—*Homil. LXXXVI. in Johannem*. See Suicer, Tom. II. p. 383.

uses to work even by unworthy persons, and in no respect is the grace of baptism injured by the life of the priest¹.

Isidore of Pelusium is very clear to the same effect: 'If a wicked man approaches the altar and unholyly handles sacred things, he shall bear his punishment, but the altar receives no contamination².' 'He that is baptized receives no damage from the symbols of salvation, if the priest be not a good liver³.'

There can be no greater obstacle to the progress of religion than inconsistency in its professors, and especially in its ministers. The earnest and enthusiastic naturally sigh for a state of things, which shall be free from all such blemishes, and picture to themselves a Church, the members of which shall be all sincere, and its ministers holy. They ill endure, that the tares shall grow up with the wheat until the harvest. The Montanists, the Cathari, and later, the Anabaptists, were of this spirit. In the middle ages, the ill-living of the lower class of friars appears to have been a great cause of scandal to the laity, and a principal ground for the cry of reformation. We know that Wickliffe and his followers inveighed loudly against such corruption; and it is probable enough, that much was said at that period concerning the damage that might occur from the ministrations of ungodly men. The Council of Constance (Sess. viii.) condemned the errors of Wickliffe, contained in forty-five propositions; the fourth of which imputes to him the doctrine that 'a bishop or priest in mortal sin cannot ordain, baptize, or consecrate.' The Council of Trent (Sess. xiv. *de Pœnit.* cap. 6) decrees, in like manner, that those are in error, who contend that the power of absolution is lost by wicked priests;

¹ νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δι' ἀναξίων ἐνεργεῖν ὁ Θεὸς εἴωθε, καὶ οὐδὲν τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἡ χάρις παρὰ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἱερέως παραβλάπτεται.—*Homil.* viii. in 1 *ad Corinth.* This passage is quoted by Bp. Beveridge on this Article.

² Isidor. Pelus. *Epist.* 340, Lib. iii.; Suicer, *ubi supra*.

³ ὁ τελούμενος οὐδὲν παραβλάπτεται εἰς τὰ σωτηριωδῆ σύμβολα, εἰ ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ εὖ βιοῦς εἴη, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν παντός.—*Epist.* 37, Lib. ii. Suic. ii. 1083.

for they exercise this power as Christ's ministers and by virtue of their ordination.

Whatever may have been the popular feeling on this subject among the advocates of reformation in general, there is no doubt that the Anabaptists (in conformity with their general principle, that the whole church should be pure and sincere¹), held the impropriety of receiving Sacraments from ungodly ministers².

The foreign reformers, however, like the English, rejected these notions of the necessity of personal holiness in the minister to the validity of his ministrations. The VIIIth Article of the Confession of Angsburgh is the original of this XXVIth Article of our Church. It was a little modified in the Vth of the Articles agreed on between the Anglicans and Lutherans in 1538; which contains a paragraph nearly word for word the same as the former part of our present Article. The Article stands now exactly as it did in 1552³.

¹ Mosheim says they taught that 'the Church of Christ ought to be exempt from all sin.'—Cent. xvi. sect. iii. part ii. §§ 5, 17.

² See *Reformatio Legum de Hæresibus*, c. 15, which is cited by Hey.

³ *Confession of Augsburg*.

ART. VIII.

A. D. 1531.

QUANQUAM Ecclesia proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium; tamen cum in hac vita multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis quæ per malos administrantur, juxta vocem Christi, 'sedent Scribæ et Pharisei in Cathedra Moysi,' &c. Et sacramenta et verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

Damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in ecclesia, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse.

A. D. 1540.

CUm autem in hac vita admixti sint Ecclesiæ multi mali et hypocritæ, qui tamen societatem habent externorum signorum cum ecclesia, licet uti sacramentis, quæ per malos administrantur, juxta vocem Christi, &c.

It has been thought that, besides what we have been considering, the Roman Catholic doctrine of 'Intention' may have been aimed at. This, however, does not appear probable. The Lutheran Article especially mentions 'The Donatists and others like them:' and the state of the Church at the time of the Reformation, the disaffection of the laity to the clergy, the scandals said to exist in the lesser monasteries, the irregular lives of the mendicant friars, the ignorance of some among the reformed clergy, the springing up of anabaptist sentiments—all these things sufficiently point out a reason and necessity for such an Article as the present. The Roman doctrine of Intention is indeed of most 'desperate consequence.' If no Sacrament is valid, unless the priest intends that it should be so; then we know not whether our children be baptized, our wives married, our communions received, or our bishops consecrated. And this last question has been made much use of by the Church of Rome against the Church of England. It is urged, that a bishop or presbyter, who has a defective view of the grace of the Sacrament, cannot rightly administer it, because he does not intend to convey the full grace of that Sacrament. The bishops, for instance, who consecrated Archbishop Parker and others in the reign of Elizabeth, had a defective view of the effects of ordination and of the power of the clergy; they therefore did not intend to give, nor the consecrated ministers to receive, the full grace and privileges of the priesthood. Hence those ministers were not rightly consecrated.

Portion of the Vth Article of 1538.

'Et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum nonnunquam præsent; tamen cum ministrent non suo, sed Christi, nomine, mandato et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam in recipiendis sacramentis, juxta illud, "Qui vos audit, me audit." Nec per eorum malitiam minuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus; sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.'

This Article was not originally directed against this error ; but it virtually and in effect meets it. Plainly, the relying on the intention of the minister results from a sort of belief that the minister himself is the depository of grace, and can dispense that grace of his own will. If then, in outwardly ministering a Sacrament, he does not intend to confer the benefits of the Sacrament, they will not be conferred. Such seems the rationale of the doctrine of Intention. This Article, on the contrary, truly sets forth, that the clergy minister the Sacraments, not ' in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority ;' and that the Sacraments be ' effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, though they be ministered by evil men.' So then, it is not because ministers will, or intend to bestow grace, but because Christ has ordained to give grace through their ministry. If then they rightly administer, and we rightly receive the ordinance, we need not consider what is the mind of the priest, since it is not in the power of man's intention to frustrate the gracious purposes of God. Were it otherwise, no Church could be sure of its orders, no Christian of his baptism. For none can tell, whether in Rome, or Greece, or England, that some careless or some malicious bishop may not have been indifferent, or opposed to the conferring of ordination, and so the whole line of succession have been cut off, and all the orders of the Church invalidated. None can tell that an evil minister may not secretly have cursed his infant, whilst outwardly invoking a blessing on him, and so his baptismal privileges been annulled. But if we believe Christ's Sacraments to be blessed, and Christ's ministers to have authority, not as themselves indued with grace, but as instruments, whereby God pours it down upon us, then we need not fear to lose the treasure, though the vessel be but earthen, and itself fit only to be burned¹.

¹ The Council of Florence (*Instr. Armenor. Concil.* Tom. XIII. p. 535) and the Council of Trent (Sess. VII. can. 11) require only an *implicit*

The concluding paragraph in the Article lays it down, that inquiry ought to be made of evil ministers, and that if they are found guilty, they should by just judgment be deposed. There is not need of much history here. From the first, such discipline prevailed, and has prevailed in every Church and sect. Thus the twenty-fifth of the Canons of the Apostles enjoins, that 'a bishop or priest found guilty of fornication or perjury shall be deposed¹.' The twenty-seventh commands, that a bishop or priest, who strikes one of the faithful, be deposed². The ninth canon of the first Council of Nice forbids that any be advanced to the order of presbyter who have been previously guilty of any grievous sin; and, if it be found out afterwards that he had so sinned, he is to be deposed³.

But so patent and obvious has been this custom of the Church, to inquire concerning scandalous ministers, to remove them that have erred, and, if possible, to forbid the ordination of the undeserving, that it is needless to enlarge on it. Of course, there have been times of laxer, and times of stricter discipline; but all times and all Churches have admitted the principle.

intention in the minister, i. e. to do what the Church doth, or what Christ instituted. But this distinction, which seems to have some justice in it, is easily drawn out so as to save themselves, and yet to enable them to condemn us. The student may refer to Abp. Bramhall, *Protestants' Ordination Defended*, Vol. v. p. 210, *Lib. of Anglo-Cath. Divinity*.

¹ Beveridge, *Synodicon*, Tom. I. p. 16.

² *Ibid.* p. 17.

³ *Ibid.* p. 70.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

1 THE first statement of the Article is, that 'In the Visible Church the evil are ever mingled with the good.' We saw something of this under Article XIX. It is clearly proved by our Lord's comparison of His Kingdom to a field, in which tares and wheat grow together till the harvest (Matt. xiii. 24—30, 37—43); to a net, containing fish of every kind, that is, both the wicked and the just (Matt. xiii. 47—56); to a marriage-feast, where some have the wedding-garment, some have not, all, 'both bad and good,' having been gathered into it (Matt. xxii. 10, 11). So St. Paul compares the Church to a great house, 'in which there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour (2 Tim. ii. 20). These arguments are so conclusive, as, according to St. Augustine, to have converted even the Donatists¹.

The Article adds, that 'sometimes the evil have chief authority (*præsent*) in the ministration of the word and Sacraments.' We need go no further than Judas for proof of this. Our Lord Himself gave all the same authority to him, that He gave to the rest of the Apostles; and yet He knew, when He chose him, that he was a devil (John vi. 70, 71). And so, later in the new Testament, we read of Diotrephes (3 John, 9), and others, who, though ministers of God, were not men of godliness. Our Lord Himself describes especially the character of some who should be made 'rulers over His household, to give them meat in due season,' but who should 'smite their fellow-servants, and eat and drink with the drunken,' and who at last

¹ See Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. ix. p. 344, who quotes Augustine, *lib. post collationem*, c. 9, 10.

should be 'cut asunder, and have their portion with the hypocrites' (Matt. xxiv. 45—51).

2 It should hardly need much argument to prove that that ministry, which Christ permitted in His Church, may lawfully be used by His people. If He ordained Judas, we may use the ministry of such as Judas, and yet not lose blessing. And so He taught us, 'The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not' (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3). And the Apostles plainly teach, that, not holiness in the minister, but God's blessing on their ministry, is the cause of good to His Church and growth to our souls. It was not by their 'own power and holiness' that they made the lame to walk; but 'His name through faith in His name' (Acts iii. 12, 16). Paul may have 'planted, and Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase' (1 Cor. iii. 6, 7). Paul and Apollos were but 'ministers, by whom men believed, even as the Lord gave to every man' (ver. 5). Great and glorious as the ministration was (2 Cor. iii. 7, 8); yet the treasure was in 'earthen vessels, that the excellency might be of God, and not of' them (2 Cor. iv. 7).

3 Still, though we do not believe, that God's ordinances lose their effect, because unworthy hands administer them; yet it is obviously to be much desired, that those who minister in holy things should themselves be men of holiness. If ungodly members should be excommunicated, much more should ungodly ministers be deposed. For, not only do such hinder the free course of the Gospel, and offend weak brethren; but the torch of truth and holiness is most surely lit and handed on by those, in whose heart it is burning and bright. The old Testament teaches that 'the priests should be clothed with righteousness' (Ps. cxxxii. 9); and that the Lord 'will be sanctified in them

that come nigh Him' (Lev. x. 3). In the new Testament, besides general instructions concerning discipline, there are special instructions concerning the discipline of the clergy. These are mostly to be found in the Epistles to Timothy, who, as bishop, has directions given him concerning the importance of 'laying hands suddenly on no man' (1 Tim. v. 22), concerning the mode of receiving an accusation against an elder (ver. 19), and as to how he was to rebuke those that sinned (ver. 20). This is a matter too plain to be insisted on; the common instincts of our nature, and the universal practice of Christians consenting, render argument unnecessary.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Of Baptism.

BAPTISM is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of Regeneration or new Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

De Baptismo.

BAPTISMUS non est tantum professionis signum, ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod, tanquam per instrumentum, recte Baptismum suscipientes, ecclesiæ inseruntur, promissiones de remissione peccatorum, atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinæ invocationis gratia augetur.

Baptismus parvulorum omnino in Ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.

SECTION I.

DEFINITION OF DOCTRINE.

IT is, unhappily, well known to every one, how much discord has arisen on the subject of baptismal grace. On the one side, men, perceiving that in Scripture the new birth of the Spirit is closely coupled with new birth by water, and that the ancient Church ever identified baptism with regeneration, have unhesitatingly taught, that regeneration is the grace of baptism, never separated from it, but when the recipient places a bar against it by impenitence. On the other side, it has been observed, that the grace of regeneration is a death unto sin

and a new birth unto righteousness; that it extends to an entire renewal of the moral nature of man, restoring him to the image of Him who created him; that no such change as this can be attributed to the washing with water; that such a change can only result from the influences of God's Spirit, subduing the perverse will and bringing the whole man into captivity to the obedience of Christ; and that, as a matter of fact and experience, the vast majority of the baptized never have undergone, and never do undergo, a change so momentous and unmistakable.

The difference of opinion has often been considered to depend on the different tenets of the opposing parties concerning predestination; the Calvinist denying that baptized infants are regenerate, because grace once given can never be forfeited; the anti-Calvinist explaining the apparent anomaly, that the baptized are often practically unregenerate, by saying that the grace has been given, but lost by unfaithfulness. Something beyond this, however, must be at the root of the disagreement; for St. Augustine, and a large number of zealous predestinarians, have held high doctrine on baptismal grace; whilst many, who reject the tenet of absolute predestination, have been as strongly opposed to the doctrine of baptism, which Augustine and many of his followers have allowed.

It is perhaps too much to say, that the diversity is dependent on mere difference of definition. Yet accurate definition is no doubt very desirable; and it is probable that, if both parties understood either their own, or their opponent's principles better, they would find many more points of contact, and many fewer grounds of disagreement than at present. As it is, both sides see one important aspect of truth, and both perhaps often overlook its opposite, and equally necessary phase. On the one hand, the importance of training up children as heirs of immortality and recipients of the seed of life, is much and rightly insisted on; on the other side, too much overlooked.

But again, the belief in the grace of baptism at times has led to some degree of formalism and neglect of spiritual vitality; whilst those, who deny that grace, have exhibited a greater zeal for conversion of souls from sin and error, because putting no trust in the supposed existence of a spark of grace derived to all professing Christians in the initiatory Sacrament.

May there not be a possibility of holding the truth, which there is on both sides, without the error of either?

Baptism is confessedly an embracing the service of God, an enlisting into the army of Christ, to fight under His banner, the Cross. Every one therefore, who is baptized, is thenceforth bound to be a faithful follower of Him, whose soldier he has professed himself. But it is not God's plan to entail responsibilities on us, without giving us the power to fulfil them. Hence naturally we might expect that, when He has called us to His service, He would furnish us with arms and strength to the contest. It is better therefore to begin with God's gifts to us: for we can only give Him of His own: 'Εκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα.

1 We know then, first of all, that God, in Christ, has made with man a *covenant of grace*. The terms of that covenant are on God's part, that He, for Christ's sake, not for our merit, freely, fully, graciously pours down upon undeserving sinners, (1) pardon of sin; (2) the aid of the Spirit; (3) in the end, everlasting life. All this is given us *in Christ*. No terms are in the first place required from us; for we have none to give. We have but to accept the offer of free pardon made to rebellious subjects, and, with pardon, of strength for the future to obey.

Now baptism is the formal act, by which we are admitted into covenant with God. It is the embracing of God's covenant of grace in Christ; in the case of adults, by their own deliberate choice; in the case of infants, by God's merciful appointment, and according to the election of grace.

We cannot doubt of the truth of God's promises. Hence we may be assured, that He will make good His covenant to all that are brought within the terms of it: *i.e.* to all who are baptized. Hence again, we infer that the promises to the baptized, and therefore the blessings of baptism, are :

- (1) Pardon of sins.
- (2) The aid of the Spirit of God.
- (3) If not forfeited, everlasting life.

2 But, moreover, baptism is the engrafting into the *Church*, to which belong the covenant and the promises. The Church is the body of Christ; and Christ is its covenanted Head. Hence we see another relation, consequent on baptism; namely, that we thereby become members of Christ. And indeed, without this, we could not receive the blessings of the covenant. For pardon and grace can only flow to us from Christ. It is *in Him* that God gives us both—that God will give us everlasting life. 'In Him is life.' 'He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.'

So too, the Church is the family of God, as well as the body of Christ. Hence by baptism we become, not only members of the mystical body of the Lord, but adopted children of our heavenly Father. God thenceforward looks on us as united, according to covenant, to His Son, and hence as His children by grace; and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ.

Thus, in the language of the Catechism, we are made in baptism members of Christ, children of God, and therefore inheritors of the kingdom of heaven¹.

¹ Inheritance, be it observed, implies not certainty of possession, but the possibility of being disinherited. Thus St. Paul: 'Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering *into His rest*, any of you should seem to come short of it.' (Heb. iv. 1). There may be a promise

All this results from the nature of a covenant and the nature of the Church.

But here a great practical question has arisen, which it is of the utmost importance not to disregard. Does all this merely indicate a new outward federal relation of the baptized to God? or does it imply a spiritual change in the soul itself, and a moral change of disposition? A federal relation it undoubtedly points out; for the soul is by baptism taken into covenant in Christ. But a covenant on God's part implies the faithfulness of the Covenanter. Hence, undoubtedly, baptism guarantees a *spiritual change* in the condition of the recipient. But we must not confound a spiritual change in the condition of the soul, with a moral change of the disposition and tempers. It is a great *spiritual* change to be received into Christ's Church, to be counted as a child of God, to obtain remission of sins, and to have the aid and presence of the Spirit of God. But a *moral* change can only be the result of the soul's profiting by the spiritual change. If the presence of the Sanctifier does not produce sanctification, no moral change has been effected. If the pleadings of the Spirit have been rejected, and the soul has remained unmoved under them, it cannot be said that there is a moral renovation of the character.

We may therefore define the *internal* grace of baptism to consist, rather in the assured presence of the Renovator, than in the actual renovation of the heart. The latter is indeed the natural result of the influence of the former; but it requires also another element, namely, the yielding of the will of the recipient to the previous influences of the Sanctifier¹.

of future blessing, which may be forfeited by sin (Comp. Heb. xii. 15, 16, 28).

¹ Hooker (though rather practical and devotional, than formal and logical in his statements) seems to say much the same as I have said in the text. 'Baptism is a Sacrament which God hath instituted in His Church, to the end that they, which receive the same, might be incorpo-

It is unnecessary to inquire here, whether the presence of God's Spirit is not vouchsafed to others besides the baptized. We have instances of such in Cornelius, whose prayers and alms were accepted, whilst he was yet in ignorance of the Gospel ;

rated into Christ, and so through His precious merit obtain as well that saving grace of imputation, which taketh away all former guiltiness, as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost, *which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life.*—*Eccl. Pol.* v. ix. 2. Waterland more accurately defines the distinction (in the case especially of infant baptism) between the grace given in baptism, called regeneration, and the effects of it when cultivated in the heart and life, called renovation. 'Regeneration is a kind of renewal, but then it is of the spiritual state considered at large; whereas renovation seems to mean a more particular kind of renewal, viz. of the inward frame or disposition of the man. . . . Regeneration may be granted and received (as in infants) where that renovation has yet no place at all for the time being.' Again, 'Regeneration and renovation differ in respect to the effective cause or agency: for one is the work of the Spirit in the use of water, that is of the Spirit singly, since water really does nothing, is no agent at all; but the other is the work of the Spirit and the man together.' Again, 'It may reasonably be presumed that from the time of their new birth by water and the Spirit (which at that very moment is a renewal of their state to Godward) the renewing also of their heart may come gradually in, with their first dawnings of reason, in such measure as they shall be capable of; in a way to us imperceptible, but known to that Divine Spirit who regenerates them, and whose temple thenceforth they are, till they defile themselves with actual and grievous sin. In this case, it is to be noticed that regeneration precedes, and renovation commonly follows after.'—Waterland, *On Regeneration*.

Bishop Bethell appears to adopt the same view: 'Regeneration is a spiritual grace, and, in a certain sense, every spiritual grace may be said to be moral, because it effects a change in a man's moral nature. But the word Moral, to speak more properly, implies choice, and consciousness and self-action, and faculties or dispositions expanding themselves into habits; and hence moral graces or virtues are, as Waterland expresses himself, "the joint work of the Spirit and the man."—*Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism*. Fifth edition, p. 247.

I must venture to say that, agreeing fully in the general statements of all these passages, I should rather speak of the 'yielding of the man's will to the Spirit of God,' than of 'the joint work of the Spirit and the man.' The latter sounds to me too much like a claim of independence for weak and sinful humanity.

and upon whom the Holy Ghost fell before he had received the baptism of water (Acts x. 4, 44, 47). The point to be remembered is this, that to the baptized the aid of the Spirit is *promised by covenant*; and therefore to them it is *assured*. Others *may* receive it, according to the will of God; but cannot *claim* it, according to His promise.

Now this fact, that baptism, from the very nature of the covenant, carries with it an assurance of pardon for sins, of adoption into the Church, and of aid from the Spirit, is sufficient to warrant the term, 'Baptismal Regeneration.' Birth into the Church and adoption into the family of God, remission of original sins in *infants*, and of all *past* sins in *worthily receiving adults*, and the gift of the Spirit to renew and sanctify—comprise the elements of the new birth, the germ of spiritual life. Hence they are called by the Church 'Spiritual Regeneration.' Yet, as God's gifts of grace are not compulsory, it follows that the baptized, by his own perverseness, may reject them all. Whether then he received baptism in infancy or in maturity, if he has not profited by its blessings, he has never received such a renovation of heart and nature that he can be called *practically* regenerate. Nay! his *heart* is unregenerate, although his outward state and his covenanted privileges be never so great. He yet needs conversion and renewal of spirit. And hence it comes to pass, that many of our greatest divines (*e.g.* Hammond, J. Taylor, Beveridge), who held distinctly the doctrine of baptismal grace, or baptismal regeneration, yet constantly spoke of some of the baptized as still unregenerate; because, though God could not be supposed to have failed to make good His promise to them, yet they had not yielded to His Spirit's gracious influences; and so their hearts had never been renewed 'after the image of Him that created them;' and they had continued in darkness and in the bondage of corruption, though 'called to the glorious liberty of the children of God.'

If we take this, as the explanation of the great doctrine in question, we may see at once :

1 That the absence of practical results, and of any thing like practical spiritual life in many of the baptized, is not to be accounted for *merely and solely* by the theory, that such have early fallen away from grace and from a state of holiness once effected ; for from the first they may never have yielded to the gracious workings of the Spirit, and so, real practical holiness may never have been produced.

2 Nor again, must it be accounted for by the hypothesis, that their regeneration is in a state of abeyance, until their own will rises to meet and co-operate with the grace bestowed upon them. For this hypothesis seems to savour of Semipelagianism, making the will, as it were, an independent agent, co-ordinate and equally efficient with the Holy Spirit ; and allowing it a spontaneous movement towards good. Whereas, sound evangelical truth will teach us to consider the will utterly incapable of moving towards holiness, till *first* quickened to it by the grace of God.

3 But the real solution of the difficulty will appear to be, that, though God never failed of His promise, and though the aid and presence of His Spirit were ever vouchsafed to the recipients of baptism ; yet their wills had never yielded to be renewed by it ; and therefore, though subjects of the grace of God, they had never brought forth the fruits of holiness.

Yet all baptized persons, though not personally sanctified, have a relative holiness : For,

1 They are members of the Church, which is holy ; branches therefore of the true Vine, even if they are fruitless branches, and so withering and dying. They have a covenanted relation to, and a spiritual union with Christ, who is the Head of His Body mystical.

2 They are adopted into the family of God, and, though they be from the first rebellious and prodigal sons; yet they have a covenanted title to be regarded as children; and moreover, if they return from their wanderings, to be received and welcomed as children.

3 They have been solemnly set apart and dedicated to God, consecrated to be temples of the Holy Ghost: and as such, have a real, even though it may be a rejected presence of the Spirit assured to them. That presence will, if they cultivate and obey it, truly sanctify them, but, if not cultivated but resisted, it will leave them in unfruitfulness¹.

A distinction must be drawn between adult and infant recipients.

1 In the case of adults, faith and repentance are necessary prerequisites: and without them we must not expect the blessings of the Sacrament. But then the reason why these graces are requisite, is not because they contribute their share to the production of the grace of baptism. That would be to derogate from the free gift of God, and from the bounty of the Giver. On the contrary, we must ever esteem the grace of God to be free and unmerited, and not attracted to us by any good which is in us. It is not the active quality of our faith, which makes us worthy recipients. That would be to make faith a fellow-worker with, and in itself independent of the Spirit of God; which is closely bordering on Semipelagian heresy. But,

¹ Whether the Spirit ever finally leaves in this life the soul which has been consecrated to Him, and utterly ceases to plead with it, is a question too hard to answer. God's covenant is to give His Spirit; and if we do not drive Him away, He will abide with us for ever, and lead us daily onward. Thus our baptism may be called a life-long work. Even when resisted and grieved we may hope that He does not soon take 'His everlasting flight.' Yet we cannot say that there may be no period of impenitence, when God shall swear in His wrath, 'My Spirit shall no longer plead.'

though our faith cannot be of that meritorious character, that it should elicit grace from above, yet our impenitence and unbelief are permitted to act as obstacles to the free-working of the grace of God ; and, by our own obstinacy and hardness of heart, we may 'quench the Spirit.'

Hence, that there may be no impediment to their regeneration, a believing and penitent spirit must be cultivated in those who are to be baptized ; lest, like Simon Magus, they receive the washing of water, but still remain, as regards their hearts and consciences, 'in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity.'

2 Concerning infants the case is different. Active faith in them is not possible ; nor is it even to be desired. It is not the active character of his faith which seems to qualify the adult. It is rather, that it implies and assures an absence of that repelling obstinacy and hardheartedness, which makes sinners reject the mercy of the Lord.

The very helplessness of infants is, in this case, their protection. We cannot too much remember, that God's gifts come from Him and not from us ; from His mercy, not our merits, our faith, or our obedience. The only obstacle, which infants can offer to grace, is the taint of original corruption. But to say that original sin is a bar to receiving remission of original sin, (which is one chief grace of this Sacrament), is a positive contradiction in terms.

Again, the theory, that the faith of parents or of sponsors is necessary to give effect to baptism in infants, is not to be maintained for an instant¹. This were to cross the whole principle of evangelical mercy. It would be to make the child's salvation hinge on its parents' faithfulness. It would make God's grace contingent, not even on the merits of the recipient, but

¹ That is to say, beyond the fact that, without an act of faith on the part of parents or sponsors, infants would not come to baptism at all.

actually on the merits of the recipient's friends. Sponsors, after all, are probably of human institution, and therefore cannot affect a Divine ordinance. And this theory does sadly derogate from the grace of God, which acts ever freely and spontaneously; and grievously magnifies the office of human faith, which is humbly to receive mercy, not arrogantly to deserve it¹.

Once more, the theory that infants have need of a 'preventive act of grace,' to make them meet for remission of sins, is evidently founded on a low appreciation of God's pardoning love. The very thing, which makes them meet for pardon, is their helpless sinfulness. This is their very plea for mercy; and cannot therefore be the bar opposed to it. If they were not sinful, they would need neither pardon nor grace. Active hostility and wilful obstinacy they cannot exhibit. And God's mercy in Christ extends to the pardon of all sinners who do not wilfully reject it. Hence the Church has ever held, that there is nothing in the character of infants (whose sinfulness is inevitable, and not wilfully contracted), which can offer an insuperable obstacle to receiving the grace of remission of sin, or the aid of the Spirit of God.

But, though it be true that infants can, at the time of their baptism, oppose no obstacle lest they should receive pardon and grace; and though therefore, in case of their death before actual sin, we believe in the certainty of their salvation; yet we must bear in mind that the pardon of sin and the aid of the Spirit, assured (and therefore surely given) at baptism, will not have produced an entire change in their nature, eradicating the propensity to sin, and new creating a sanctified heart. The grace of the Spirit, we may believe, will, as the reason opens and

¹ It is quite another question how far any but the children of Christians and believers are proper subjects of baptism. This may be the case from God's appointment, not because of an imputation to the infant of the parent's fitness for grace.

the will developes, plead with their spirits, prompt them to good and warn them from evil; and, if not resisted, will doubtless lead them daily onwards in progressive holiness. But the power too to resist, which they did not possess in infancy, will daily increase with their increasing reason and activity; and their *actual and internal sanctification* will result only from an obedient yielding to the grace of the Sanctifier; and will be utterly abortive, if, through sinful propensities and sinful indulgence of them, that grace be stifled, disregarded, or abused.

Thus, though we may not define the grace of the Spirit, vouchsafed in infant baptism, to be a 'mere potential principle,' and, until it be stirred up, 'dormant and inactive;' yet we may define it, so as to understand, that its active operations are only to be expected, when the dawning reason and rising will themselves become active and intelligent; and that anything like a real moral renovation of disposition and character can only be looked for, where the adolescent will does not resist and quench the gracious influences of the Spirit of God, but suffers itself to be moulded and quickened into a state of subjection to the good pleasure of the Lord, and of likeness to the character of Christ.

Yet this need not prevent us from believing, that the aid of the Spirit has been vouchsafed, even to those who have never profited by it. It is possible for a branch to be grafted into a vine, and a stream of nourishment to flow from the root to it; and yet, if a knot or obstacle exist in the branch, the life of the vine may never reach the engrafted member; from no fault in the parent stem, but from the hardening of the bough itself. It is, in like manner possible, that the infant grafted into the true Vine, a member of the Body mystical of Christ, may, through its own fault as it grows to maturity, fail of deriving grace from the life of the Spirit, and yet there be no unfaithfulness on the part of the Giver, no want of liberality in the Fountain of goodness. And this seems suf-

ficiently to account for the well-known and familiar fact, that so many millions of baptized Christians grow up to manhood with no profit from their baptism, and when grown up, can be considered, in their spiritual condition, as no better, if not worse, than heathen men: except at least, that they are in the formal covenant of grace, and are therefore admitted to its outward ordinances; have probably from time to time the Spirit's warnings and pleadings; and have the assurance too, that, on their repentance and conversion, God will ever receive them to His mercy, and welcome them as prodigal *sons* returning to their *Father*, as *sheep* coming back to the Shepherd of their souls.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

HAVING thus defined the doctrine, we may proceed to consider the Scriptural evidence for its truth¹.

I. First, let us see what aid we can derive from the old Testament, and from Jewish rites and language.

1 It is an acknowledged fact, that circumcision among the Jews was the typical and corresponding rite to baptism in the Church. It admitted into the Mosaic covenant; as baptism admits into the Christian. It was given to Abraham for that very end, that it might be the initiatory rite, the seal and token of the covenant between God and the posterity of Abraham. (See Gen. xvii. 9—14; Acts vii. 8). The person, who had received circumcision, was a partaker of God's promises to the Israelites. (See Exod. xii. 48). The person, who neglected it, was to be cast off from the people (Gen. xvii. 14; Exod. iv. 24, &c.). St. Paul himself draws the parallel between this Jewish rite and the Christian rite of baptism; which latter he calls 'circumcision made without hands' (Col. ii. 11, 12). And from his language it is plain, that the parallel altogether holds good, allowing for this important difference, that circumcision admitted to a legal or carnal covenant, baptism admits to a spiritual covenant.

¹ The principal heads or divisions of the subject considered in this section are:

- I. The light to be derived from the old Testament.
- II. Baptism considered as admitting us to a *Covenant*; involving a promise, 1 of pardon, 2 of spiritual aid, 3 of eternal life.
- III. Baptism considered as admitting to the *Church*; which is, 1 the Body of Christ, 2 the Family of God, 3 the Kingdom of Heaven, 4 the Temple of the Holy Ghost.
- IV. Baptism, as related to spiritual regeneration.
- V. Objections considered and answered.

2 In addition to circumcision, thus given by God, it is well known that the Jews, in admitting proselytes from heathenism, ever added a form of washing, or baptism. They baptized all, men, women and children, of any proselyted family; and then they esteemed them as new born from their Gentile heathenism into the Church or family of Israel. The language, which they used concerning such, was very remarkable. 'If any one become a proselyte, he is like a child new born.' 'The gentile that is made a proselyte, and the servant that is made free, behold, he is like a child new born; and all those relations, which he had while either a gentile or a servant, they now cease from being so.' Nay! they even taught that men might *legally* marry those who had been their former relations; though, for edification and propriety, it was forbidden¹.

This well accounts for the way, in which the Jews understood the baptism of John. They knew that baptism implied admission into a new covenant or faith; and when he baptized, they thought he did so, because the age of Messiah was come, and that he himself must be either the Messiah, or else Elias, who was to prepare the way for Him. (See John i. 19, 25). Those too, who were baptized of him, came confessing their sins, because in the baptism of proselytes it had been always the custom to examine into the spirit and motives of the converts, before they were admitted to the rite of initiation².

Our Lord was ever pleased to adapt His teaching and ordinances to the habit and understanding of the people whom He taught. The Lord's Prayer is a collection from familiar Jewish forms³. The cup in the Lord's Supper was taken from the wine-cups used, by ordinary custom, at the ancient Passover, one of which was called 'the cup of blessing⁴.' These were but human

¹ See Lightfoot, *H. H.* on John iii. 3.

² See at length Lightfoot, *H. H.* on Matt. iii. 6. See also Wall, *On Infant Baptism*, Introduction, *passim*.

³ Lightfoot, on Matt. vi. 9.

⁴ Lightfoot, on Matt. xxvi. 27.

institutions; yet our gracious Saviour, stooping to man's infirmities, sanctioned with His approval, and sanctified with His blessing, things which before had but earthly authority. There can be little, or no doubt, that it was so with baptism. Washing was a common mode of typical purification, in use on all occasions with the Jews: especially it was ordained, for the ceremonial purification of proselytes. And accordingly, our Lord adopts and authorizes it, as the means for the admission of proselytes, or converts, from Judaism or heathenism, into the Gospel and the Church; for admitting to a participation of the covenant of grace, as circumcision had admitted to the covenant of works.

Circumcision then, and Jewish baptism, were both types and precursors of Christian baptism; and from the signification and use of them we may infer somewhat concerning the signification and use of baptism.

3 Besides these, there were certain great events in Jewish history, to which the Apostles point, as typical of baptism, especially the ark of Noah and the passage of the Red Sea. In the ark of Noah, God's chosen people were saved, so as by water, from the destruction of a perishing world. The ark was, as it were, the body of the Church, in which all who entered it might be safe. To this, St. Peter tells us, baptism is the counterpart (*ἀντίτυπον*) (1 Pet. iii. 21); because by baptism we have access to the Church, and to that salvation, which God has ordained in the Church.

4 The passage of the Red Sea was the first step of the Israelites from the land of their bondage. Before they passed it, they were slaves; after they had passed it, they were free, their enemies were overthrown, and they were delivered. Yet it was a passage, not into Canaan, but into the wilderness; deliverance from inevitable bondage, but not deliverance from fighting and toil. They had yet forty years to wander, before

the passage of Jordan should lead them into rest. In these forty years' wanderings they had contests, temptations, and dangers. Though saved from Pharaoh, their disobedience and unbelief overthrew most of them in the wilderness; and but few of those, who had passed through the sea, ever reached the home of their inheritance. St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 1—12) sets this before us as a type of Christian baptism and Christian life. Baptism is to us a rite ordained for our deliverance—deliverance from sin and the slavery of sin; but it is only our first step in the course of our profession; and if we, like the Israelites, though bathed in the waters and fed from the manna and the rock, yet lust, and murmur, and tempt Christ, and commit idolatry and impurity, we must expect to fall under the power of the serpent, to be destroyed of the destroyer, and never to enter into that promised land, which is nevertheless the inheritance prepared for us of God.

II. Baptism then is admission into the Christian covenant, as circumcision was admission into the Jewish covenant. Now a covenant implies two parties, and certain stipulations. In the case of enemies it requires a mediator. In the old covenant, the parties were God and the Jews: the Mediator was Moses: the stipulations were, 'This do;' and then the promise was, 'Thou shalt live.' The whole dispensation was worldly and legal. It had no promise of *eternal* life, but only of temporal prosperity. It had no sacrifice which could take away sin (Heb. x. 4). It had no assurance of the aid of the Spirit of God¹.

But the new covenant is widely different; a covenant of grace, not a covenant of works; not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life. Its promises are not earthly, but heavenly. Its Mediator is not Moses,

¹ See some reflections on this subject, Art. VII. sect. II. Vol. I. p. 258.

but Jesus Christ. In Him there is forgiveness of sins. From Him flows the Spirit of grace. By Him is an everlasting inheritance. And so God Himself describes the blessings to those within the new covenant to be, that He would be 'merciful to their unrighteousness,' and no more remember their sins; and that He would 'put His laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts' (Heb. viii. 10, 12).

We may see at once therefore, wherein circumcision and baptism differ; why neither remission of sins nor spiritual aid were promised to the recipients of the former; why both are promised to the recipients of the latter. Neither could belong to a covenant of works; neither could flow from their mediator Moses. Both are parts of the covenant of grace, both flow to us from our Mediator Christ. In short, God's part in the new covenant is this; He assures to us pardon, the Spirit, life eternal. This, however, involves a response on our parts. We promise renunciation of sin, faith in the Gospel, obedience to the commands. This is the covenant between God and man, made in Christ. But God's part must come first. We cannot move a step, till He gives us life. We are helpless, but in His strength. Hence God must first move, to give us grace, before we can move, to do Him service. He will not break His part of the covenant. He will not keep back His promise. Therefore, when we are baptized, being received into the covenant, we may be sure that God will give us, 1 pardon in Christ, 2 help through Christ: if we reject both, we shall fail of the final promise, which is, 3 eternal life. But the failure will be from us, not from Him; from our will not responding to His motions; from our spirit not yielding to the influence of His Spirit; not from a keeping back on His part of pardon or grace. All this seems to be the necessary result of the striking of a covenant, which is done at the baptismal font, between us and God.

To this view of the subject belong the questions and answers made at Baptism. The Church recounts God's promise, 'to

receive the person baptized, to release him of his sins, to sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, to give him the kingdom of Heaven, and everlasting life:’ And adds, ‘which promise He, for His part, will most surely keep and perform.’ But then she goes on to require that the person to be baptized (or his sureties, if he be an infant) shall respond to God’s promises, by engaging to fulfil his part of the covenant, viz. to renounce the devil, to believe all the articles of the Christian faith, and obediently to keep God’s commandments. This custom has existed from the very earliest times. It is mentioned by Tertullian (who wrote but a hundred years after the Apostles) as having prevailed in the Church by immemorial tradition¹. The ancients very generally understood St. Peter to allude to this, in the famous passage concerning the ark of Noah (1 Pet. iii. 21)². There, having spoken of the deliverance of Noah and his family from the deluge, which overwhelmed the wicked, he goes on to say, that baptism is the counterpart of (ἀντίτυπον, that which accurately corresponds with and resembles) the ark. For, as the ark saved Noah, so baptism saves us³. But then, lest it should appear as if he taught baptism to act as a charm or incantation, *ex opere operato*, he adds, ‘not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God⁴.’ That is to say, the mere washing

¹ *De Coron. Milit.* c. 3.

² See Cave, *Primitive Christianity*, pt. 1. ch. x. p. 315; Bingham, *H. E. Bk. XI. ch. vii. sect. 3*; Neander, *Church History*, Vol. 1. sect. iii.

³ ‘Ο καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον τῶν σωζέει βάνησιν.

⁴ *ἐπερώτημα* properly signifies *question* or *questioning*. So the Vulgate, *conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio in Deum*; which is too literal to be intelligible. We must probably understand a metonymy of *question* for *answer*. So the Syriac renders it, ‘Not when you wash the body from filth, but when you confess God in a pure conscience.’ So the fathers evidently interpret it, as Tertullian: *Anima responsione sancitur*.—*De Resurrect.* c. 48. So more modern interpreters, for the most part, *e. g.* Erasmus: *Quo fit, ut bona conscientia respondeat apud Deum*. And Beza: *Stipulatio bonæ conscientiæ apud Deum*.

with water will not save the soul. It is the appointed ordinance for bringing the soul into the ark of the Church, into covenant with God, and therefore into a state of salvation. God's Spirit and blessing too are assured to its recipients. But, in order that it may be truly a saving ordinance, the conscience of the recipient must respond to the mercy of God; just as the catechumen is required to make answer to the interrogations then proposed to him. 'The answer of a good conscience'—most probably alludes to the pledge given by the baptized in reply to the questions: but it seems still farther to indicate, that, as the lips then move in answer to the questions of the minister, so, if the ordinance is to be truly life-giving, the heart of the respondent must move in obedience to the grace received by it, must spring up in response to the good motions of the Spirit of God.

To return then to what was said above; God's part in the covenant is to give, (1) pardon or remission of sins, (2) the aid of the Spirit, and (3) (in the end, and our part of the covenant not being violated,) eternal life. Now these are just the blessings which are not only the obvious promises of the baptismal covenant, but which moreover Scripture couples immediately with the actual rite of baptism.

1 Remission of sins is promised to the baptized.

Even John the Baptist preached 'the baptism of repentance, *for the remission of sins*' (Mark i. 4); although he constantly pointed to 'One mightier than himself, who should baptize with the Holy Ghost' (Mark i. 7, 8). But Christian baptism is far more distinctly spoken of as bringing this grace with it. St. Peter told the multitude convinced by his preaching, to 'repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, *for the remission of sins*' (Acts ii. 38). Ananias bade Saul of Tarsus, 'Arise and be baptized, and *wash away thy sins*' (Acts xxii. 16). In allusion to this doctrine of God's pardoning love;

assured to those who come for it in baptism, we find St. Paul mentioning, as one of the requisites for drawing near to God through our great High Priest, that we should have 'our bodies washed with pure water' (Heb. x. 22). Again he tells us, that Christ cleanses the Church 'by the washing of water' (Eph. v. 25, 26). And when he reminds the Corinthians of their past lives of sin and impurity, he comforts them by adding, 'But ye have been *washed*, but ye have been sanctified,' &c. (1 Cor. vi. 11). In which passage it is true, that '*washed*' may be to be taken figuratively; yet at least the figure is borrowed from baptism; and the more literal and obvious interpretation of it would apply it directly to baptism. In another place, we find, 'the washing of regeneration' put as the correlative of justification (see Tit. iii. 5, 7). According to such words of Scripture, the Constantinopolitan Creed contains the clause, 'I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins;' where, although some lay all the stress on the word '*one*,' as intended to prohibit the iteration of baptism; yet it cannot be denied, that the words 'for the remission of sins,' indicate the belief of the council, that that grace was annexed to baptism; a belief which the fathers of that council repeatedly have expressed in those works of theirs which have come down to us.

2 The aid of the Holy Spirit is promised to the baptized. This is the express declaration of St. Peter in the passage just quoted. 'Repent, and *be baptized*, every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and *ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*.' And lest it should be thought that this meant but the temporary, miraculous gifts of the Spirit, he continues, 'For the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call' (Acts ii. 38, 39).

It is scarcely necessary to add proofs to so plain a statement; yet we find direct evidence in the history of the Acts,

that the presence of the Spirit accompanied the administration of baptism. Thus, in the case of Cornelius and his household, who had received the Holy Ghost by direct effusion from above, St. Peter immediately enjoined that baptism should be administered to them, that the outward rite should not be wanting to whom the inward grace was already given (Acts x. 47, 48). Certain Ephesian converts had not received the Holy Ghost. St. Paul finding this to be the case, then asked them, 'Unto what they were baptized?' and they said, 'Unto John's baptism.' Whereupon, the Apostle enjoined them to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus; and, when they had been so baptized, he laid his hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost (Acts xix. 2, 6). It is probably true that, in both these instances, the miraculous gifts of the Spirit were given; yet the connexion between the gift of the Spirit and the Sacrament of baptism is plainly pointed out by them; confirming the doctrine, which the words of St. Peter so distinctly have laid down.

3 Eternal life is promised to the baptized.

Here indeed we must qualify the promise. Eternal life is not so much a present gift, as a future contingency. It is a treasure laid up for us; not a deposit committed to us. Both pardon and grace may be forfeited; yet they are present possessions. Heaven is not a present possession, but a promised inheritance. Still it is part of the promise of the covenant, and therefore one of the blessings of the baptized. The very commission to admit into the covenant by baptism expressed this.

The Apostles were to make disciples of (*μαθητεύσατε*) all nations (Matt. xxviii. 19). The Gospel was to be preached to every creature. He that so believed it as to be baptized, was *to be saved*; he that disbelieved and rejected it, was to be damned (Mark xvi. 15, 16). *Salvation* then was promised us to follow on believing baptism; where plainly we must understand, not eternal life, but the way to life—a *state of salvation*.

So it is said, that 'the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved' (τοὺς σωζόμενους): the Lord, that is, brought into His Church by baptism all those who were being saved, or placed in the way of salvation. And so St. Peter says, that, like the ark of Noah, 'baptism doth now *save* us' (1 Pet. iii. 21). In all such passages (and many might be added looking the same way) baptism is declared to be a *saving* ordinance: salvation appears to be attached to it. Yet it is evident, from the whole tenor of Scripture, that the title to such salvation is defeasible; that the promise of eternal life, though sure on God's part, may be made of none effect by us; so that, 'a promise being left us of entering into His rest, we may come short of it.'

Yet thus we see that, as we are admitted to covenant by baptism, so baptism has the promise, 1 of pardon, 2 of spiritual aid, 3 of everlasting life.

III. The Ark then, into which we are thus admitted by baptism, is the *Church*. The Church is the great company of baptized Christians, the number of those who are within the covenant.

Here we have another relation to consider; the baptized, not only embraces the covenant, but he is formally grafted into the Church. Now the Church in Scripture is called, 1 the Body of Christ, 2 the household or Family of God, 3 the Kingdom of Heaven.

1 Christians therefore by baptism are made members of the Body of Christ.

St. Paul tells us, that the Church is one Body, of which Christ is the Head, and all Christians the different members (1 Cor. vi. 15, xii. 12—27; Eph. iv. 15, 16; Col. ii. 19). 'Ye,' he says, addressing the whole Church of Corinth, 'are the Body of Christ, and members in particular' (1 Cor. xii. 27).

And he shews us how we become members of that Body, when he says, 'By one Spirit are we all *baptized* into one Body' (1 Cor. xii. 13). By a very similar figure our Lord calls Himself the Vine, and His disciples the branches; and as St. Paul tells us, that the Body of the Church derives strength and vigour from the Head (Eph. iv. 16), so our Lord says, that the branches of the Vine derive life and nourishment from the Vine (John xv. 1—8). Yet it is plain enough that, in both the Lord's and His Apostle's teaching, it is not meant, that none but the devout believer can be a member of Christ: for St. Paul reasons with the Corinthians against causing divisions in the one Body, and so losing the blessing of belonging to it (1 Cor. xii.), and against making their bodies, which are members of Christ, to become members of an harlot, and so liable to be destroyed (1 Cor. vi. 13—20). And our blessed Lord explains to His hearers, that those branches of the true Vine, which do not bear fruit, or do not abide in Him, shall be cast forth, and withered and burned (John xv. 2, 6).

Another expression of Holy Scripture, concerning the union of the Christian to his Saviour, is especially applied by St. Paul to baptism; 'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ' (*Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε*, put on Christ as a garment). And again, referring to his favorite figure of the Head and the Body, he tells the Christian Church, that they are complete, 'in Him, which is the Head of all principality and power: in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands'.... '*buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him*, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead' (Col. ii. 10—12. Comp. Rom. vi. 3, 4).

On such authority it is, that the Church has ever taught its children to say, that in baptism they were made 'members of Christ;' that is members of that mystical Body, of which Christ is the Head, and to which He communicates grace and strength,

as the head communicates vigour to the body, as the Vine sends forth life and strength into its several branches.

The question which has been raised, whether this union be real and vital, or merely formal and federal, seems altogether inadmissible. It is plainly real and lifegiving, except the fault of the individual renders it ineffectual. The branch grafted into the Vine is really united to it: yet it may fail of deriving life from it. Though it die, it will still be a dead *branch*. Then, indeed it may be, that its attachment to the Vine cannot be strictly called vital union. Yet all the language of our Lord and of St. Paul shews, that the members of Christ, the branches of the Vine, are really privileged to draw life and strength from Him, and may surely receive that life and strength, unless they reject or disregard it. (See John xv. 4; Eph. iv. 16, 17; Col. ii. 18, 19). If they reject or disregard it, they will then, but by their own fault, lose the benefit of membership, and in the end be cut off (John xv. 6).

2 The Church is also called the Household or Family of God (Gal. vi. 10; Eph. ii. 19, iii. 15).

Accordingly, when persons are baptized into the faith of Christ, they are said to be made children of God; and that, by right of their union with Christ, who is the true only-begotten Son of God. Thus the Apostle tells us that all, who have embraced the faith of the Gospel, are made children of God; because they put on Christ in baptism. 'Ye are all the children of God by the faith in Jesus Christ (διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ): for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ' (Gal. iii. 26, 27. Compare iv. 5).

Hence the Church says, that, in baptism we are made, not only 'members of Christ,' but also 'children of God.' Baptism is the seal of our adoption. We are brought into God's family, God's household, the Church; and thus 'to all, who receive Him, does Christ give power to become the sons of God' (John i. 12).

Yet here again we must make the same reservation. Though the baptized have a covenanted title to be God's children, and hence are permitted to approach Him as their Father, there is nothing which says that they shall not be prodigals, that they shall not even 'go astray from the womb,' and so lose all the privileges and blessings of sonship. As there may be an union to the true Vine, which, because the branch draws not its own nourishment, ends in cutting off and casting into the fire, so there may be a sonship which leads only to disinheriting.

If the privileges vouchsafed in baptism be profited by, the sonship will be real, living, lasting. If the privileges be neglected or despised, the sonship will become but nominal, and to be done away. For, 'as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they' only are the true 'sons of God' (Rom. viii. 14). 'In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother' (1 John iii. 10).

3 The Church is called a kingdom, 'the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. iii. 2, v. 19, &c. &c.) It is the spiritual reign of Christ upon earth; the Israel, of which He is the King.

Accordingly, all Christians by baptism are admitted into the earthly kingdom of Christ; and 'except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into this kingdom' (John iii. 5). The baptized then are the subjects of Christ here. They may prove rebellious subjects, and so be cast out of the kingdom, but still they are enrolled among His subjects; and if they are faithful, they shall continue His subjects in the eternal kingdom of His glory.

Nay! this right results to them from another title, viz. that they are sons. 'If children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ' (Rom. viii. 17). And so the Church, having taught us that we are 'children of God,' teaches us also that we are 'inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.' We are 'begot-

ten again to an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us' (1 Pet. i. 3, 4). Yet heirs may be disinherited. The inheritance is sure; but the heirs may be prodigal. And, as the branch may wither, and the child may be an outcast, so the heir may be cut off, and the inheritance never be attained.

4 There is one more character of the Church, to which we may refer, viz. that it is set apart to be a temple of the Spirit of God.

St. Paul describes the whole Church as 'fitly framed together, growing into an holy temple in the Lord;' and speaks of individual Christians, as 'builded together' in it, so that the whole should become 'an habitation of God through the Spirit' (Eph. ii. 21, 22. Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 5). So again, he calls the whole Corinthian Church 'the temple of the living God' (2 Cor. vi. 19). Hence the individual Christian, when brought into the Church, becomes a portion of that sacred building which is consecrated for the Spirit to dwell in.

But moreover, St. Paul speaks of Christians as in like manner set apart to be individually God's temples; and urges this upon them as a motive why they should keep their bodies holy, and not pollute them with sin; lest they should defile the temple of God, and be destroyed for desecrating so sacred an abode. 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple are ye' (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17). 'Flee fornication. . . . What, know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you? &c. (1 Cor. vi. 18, 19).

This seems to teach us, that as the whole Church is God's temple, so every member of the Church is consecrated to be a temple of the Holy Ghost—as a member of Christ, so a temple

of the Spirit. But, as unholiness will defile the member of Christ, and spoil the blessedness of membership, so sin will pollute the temple of God, and bring destruction, rather than salvation, on such as walk after the flesh, not after the Spirit. The Holy Ghost, if not repelled, will come and dwell with, and sanctify every member of the Church ; but if dishonoured, not only may He take His flight, but the guilt will be aggravated by the holiness of the heavenly visitor, thus driven from His dwellingplace.

IV. We come, lastly, to speak of what has been most commonly called the special grace of baptism, viz. *Regeneration* or the *new birth*.

We have indeed anticipated the consideration of this already. If by baptism we are all made ‘members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven ;’ then are we new born in baptism : for therein we are joined to Christ, cut out of the wild olive-tree, and grafted into the good tree, born into the Church, into the family of God, as children of our Father which is in heaven. Moreover, if then the Spirit of God becomes our assured guest and present help, the first germ of spiritual life must be ours : and this is all that is meant by new birth.

The theology of later days, among the Zuinglians and Calvinists, but still more among the Arminians, has attached a different sense to *regeneration* ; identifying it with *conversion* or *renovation*, and denying its existence, except in such persons as attain to a state of true sanctification. Enough has already been said in the way of definition. It is merely needful here to shew that, as we have already seen, that Scripture assigns certain graces to baptism, so it speaks of those graces under the name of *regeneration*. In John iii. our Lord especially seems to refer to the Jewish language concerning the baptism of proselytes. Of them the Jews were wont to say, that, at their

baptism they were born anew, and had entered on a new life. So our Lord says of proselytes to the Gospel or Kingdom, that 'except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' (ver. 5). And when Nicodemus expresses his astonishment, our Lord says, 'Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?' (ver. 10): as though the language of his own nation and of the masters in it might have taught him some understanding of the words of Christ. The Calvinistic divines have followed the Zuinglians, in denying that baptism is here alluded to at all. They think, that, by 'water and the Spirit,' we must understand only 'the Spirit which washes as with water¹.' But it is a strong argument against this interpretation, which is brought by Hooker, and was before him admitted by Zuingle², that 'of all the ancients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise expound or allege the place than of external baptism³.' 'When the letter of the law hath two things plainly and expressly specified, water and the Spirit; water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit, as a gift which God bestoweth; there is danger in presuming so to interpret it, as if the clause which concerneth ourselves were more than needeth. We may by such rare expositions attain perhaps to be thought witty, but with ill advice⁴.'

Confirmatory of the meaning of these words of our Lord is that expression of St. Paul, where he speaks of us as 'saved by the washing of regeneration,' (λουτρον παλιγγενεσι̃ας, Tit. iii. 5); a passage which, like the last, the whole ancient Church understood of the laver of baptism.

So much has been said already concerning our becoming children of God, clothed in Christ, and members of Christ—

¹ Calvin. *Institut.* iv. xvi. 25.

² *Opera*, Tom. i. fol. 60, *De Baptismo*.

³ Hooker, Bk. v. sect. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.* sect. 59.

concerning our being buried with Christ and rising again with Him—concerning our being baptized into the Church by the Spirit of God, (see Gal. iii. 26, 27; Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12; 1 Cor. xii. 13); all bearing on the subject of our new birth; that it is scarcely necessary to do more than again refer to such expressions here, in confirmation of the just cited passages, which distinctly speak of being born again in baptism¹.

I have purposely delayed this part of the subject to the last; because here we meet with the chief difficulty and the greatest diversity of opinions. Many, who perhaps will concede that baptism admits to covenant with God and to the Church of Christ, and therefore to a participation in the blessings of the covenant, viz. remission of sins, the aid of the Spirit, and the promise of eternal life, will yet refuse to call these blessings by the name of regeneration. To them that name bears a deeper signification. It implies *renovation* of the whole man, or, in the school-language, an *infused habit of grace*. We so naturally identify the thing signified with the name by which we have been used to signify it, that we almost as readily part with a truth, as with the word by which we have known that truth. It is like the name of one dear to us, dear almost as the bearer of that name.

At all events, then, let us understand that it is the word, in which the difference lies, rather than the substance. Let us remember that regeneration is itself a figure of speech. I do not mean that the birth of the Spirit is an unreality. God forbid! It is as real, if not more real, than natural birth. But

¹ We may especially compare St. Paul's teaching, that we are buried with Christ, and raised again with Him in baptism (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12), with St. Peter's teaching, that 'God hath begotten us again to a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead' (1 Pet. i. 3). St. Paul's exhortation consequent on such doctrine is, 'If ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above' (Col. iii. 1). St. Peter's is, 'Laying aside all malice, &c., as new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby' (1 Pet. ii. 1, 2).

when we call it a birth, or regeneration, we adopt natural images to express spiritual truths. In figures there is always a *likeness*, but not an *identity*, between the image and that which it represents. Now the term or figure, *regeneration*, has been applied in various languages to many things. We saw that the Jews applied it to the manumission of a slave, to the conversion and reception into their Church of a proselyte. Heathens too have used like terms to express initiation into their mysteries, and the like. But it is obvious that a much greater change than any of these takes place in the condition of a person who is grafted into the Christian Church, pardoned of his sins, and with the grace of the Spirit bestowed to quicken him. And hence, with great propriety, such a person may be said to be new-born. However, the fathers often used glowing terms of the blessings thus given to the baptized: so that it might be easy to suppose that with them regeneration signified far more than this, and involved of a certainty newness of life and sanctification of heart. The schoolmen followed to its consequences the language which had been used by their predecessors; making it to include an entire eradication of original corruption, and an infused habit of holiness in the heart. Thus the term 'regeneration' came to signify far more than its original force implied; and hence Zuingli, and after him the Calvinists, and still more strongly the Arminians, adopting the scholastic view of regeneration, saw clearly that such an extent of grace was not the grace of baptism, and were so led to deny that regeneration took place in baptism at all, and to assign it to a different, and generally subsequent, period of life.

No little difficulty again may probably have arisen from want of observing that the figure, regeneration, may not unreasonably have a twofold significance. For first, it may be used of the time when the new-creating grace is bestowed upon us: secondly, it may be applied to the hearty reception of that grace by the subject of it, and to the springing up and growth

of it in his heart and life. So, the person baptized may be said to be new born, because the quickening Spirit is given to him; and yet, afterwards, the same person may be called unregenerate, because the life of the Spirit (rejected and uncultivated) has never grown up in him. This we have already seen in the language of St. Paul. In one place he says, we are all made children of God by being baptized into the faith of Christ (Gal. iii. 26, 27). In another, that only they can truly be called sons of God, who are led by the Spirit of God (Rom. viii. 14).

Does not the very same reasoning explain the often objected language of St. John? He it is who records the discourse in which the Lord Jesus tells us, that a man must 'be born again of water and of the Spirit'—a passage which all antiquity expounded of the new birth of baptism. Yet he too tells us, that 'he who is born of God sinneth not' (1 John iii. 9); and that faith is the evidence of new birth; for that, 'he that believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God' (1 John v. 1). He too tells us that in 'this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother' (1 John iii. 10). The distinction between the one and the other set of passages seems still the same—the distinction namely between the germ and the expanded blossom—between the principle calculated to produce holiness, and the actual renewal and sanctification of the heart.

We may add, that the different objects in view in the different passages explain the difference in the use of terms. Our Lord was instructing Nicodemus, how a man must first come to Him and be admitted into His Kingdom; and so he points out to him baptism by water, to be accompanied by its covenanted grace of God's Holy Spirit. St. John, on the contrary, was plainly combating the errors of certain heretics, who prided themselves on their *Gnosis* or illumination, and who claimed to be born of God, though neglecting holiness and the

fruits of the Spirit. The Apostle therefore tells them, that real new birth shewed itself in a renewal of the heart, that a sound faith and an active obedience manifested the true sons of God, and that to pretend to know God, and yet not to keep His commandments, was to act the part of a liar and dissembler (1 John ii. 3, 4, 6, 22; iii. 7—10, 24; iv. 2; v. 1, 2, 4).

It is said, probably with justice, that the past tenses, used by St. John, shew that he meant to speak, not only of those who had once been regenerate, but of those who yet retained their new life of the Spirit, and had not fallen away from it by sin¹. Yet it seems to me, that apart from all questions of grammatical nicety, it may be correct enough to admit the doctrine of regeneration in baptism, in the acceptation already expounded; and yet, to say that regenerate Christians, true children of God, live a life of faith, overcome the world, and keep themselves by the Spirit from the commission of wilful sin. And this will exactly explain the language of St. John; and will furnish an unfailing key to those passages which seem to differ with each other, because some speak of us as born anew in baptism, whilst others deny the grace of regeneration to any but such as walk after the Spirit, and live the life of the Spirit.

V. Some objections considered.

The chief objections, which have been made to the statements of the Church concerning baptismal grace, apply to an imaginary view of the subject, rather than to that stated in the foregoing pages.

1 On the hypothesis, that ‘regeneration’ always means a real change or renovation of the moral character, a conversion of the heart from sin to godliness, it is urged that such grace

¹ *e.g.* πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ.—1 John iii. 9. The exposition of this passage by St. Jerome, and reflections upon it, may be found under Art. XVI.

cannot be given in baptism. As a matter of fact, we see a large proportion of baptized infants growing up with no sign that their natural corruption has been subdued, and a new heart created within them. If all the change, that is to be looked for in our souls, be such as we see daily exhibited in the life of the baptized; then we must sadly dilute and explain away the language of the Scriptures concerning the new birth, the new creation, the regenerate and converted soul. The belief, that this language applies merely to what takes place in baptism, is calculated to lower our standard of Christian holiness and our estimate of the effects of the operations of the Spirit. In our actual experience we know that many mere formalists have taken shelter under the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, satisfied to believe that all the necessary change had passed upon them then, and that they need look for no more.

I am fully prepared to go all lengths with those, who would protest against such mere heartless formalism as this. But such protest applies to a totally different view of the doctrine of baptism from that which has been taken above. It is a most important truth that, if we would enter into the kingdom, we must undergo a great moral change of heart and nature; and it is most true that many have grown up from baptism, and gone down to the grave, without ever undergoing such a change. Such (as has been already observed) are practically unregenerate. Still they may have had given them all the grace, which has been above defined to be the grace of baptism. Yet, though God made good His promise, they may never have embraced it. He may, at baptism, have received them to His Church and favour, and have bestowed on them the grace of His Spirit. Yet they may never have responded to the grace, never have yielded to the influence, and so never have profited by the aid of the Spirit. Though grafted into the Vine, they drew no life from it. They were dead branches, and in the end were to be burned.

Still, the grace which they derived from their baptism may be correctly called regeneration; because, if it had been accepted, instead of being rejected, it would have gone on springing up in them, as a well of life. The new creation, like the natural creation, is progressive. Strong men are first helpless infants. A particular period must be fixed as the moment of birth. None can be so truly pointed out as that when first by covenant the Spirit is given, and the soul is counted in Christ, and not in Adam. Now that period is baptism. It is the starting-post of the Christian race; the seed-time of spiritual growth; the moment when the Spirit of God breathes into the nostrils the breath of life. Yet it by no means is meant that the race always is run, because he who should run it is at the starting-post, nor that the seed grows up, because it is then sown; nor even that the infant quickens into life, because God's Spirit is there to kindle it. And if it be so, still it is but the first beginning of life. The new creation goes on through life. It is first the seed, then the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear (Mark iv. 28). Thus Luther, whilst admirably stating his views of baptismal grace, observes, that the grace of baptism is not a thing transient and confined to the moment, but which, if cultivated, remains and renovates through the whole course of life¹.

If then a person has been baptized, but still remains with his carnal nature unrenewed, we are not to conclude that God was unfaithful, though the man has been unfruitful. But we are still to look upon that person as practically unregenerate: and we ought to try to bring him to conversion of heart, to a real change of soul and spirit. We may indeed still hope that God's Spirit, promised in baptism, will be ever ready to aid him, when he does not continue obstinately to resist. But we

¹ *De Sacramento Baptismi. Op. Tom. i. p. 72.* The marginal heading is *Baptismus durat per vitam.*

must look that 'Christ should again be formed in him'—that he should 'be converted and become as a little child,' before we can pronounce that he is a true son of God. It has been the custom of the Church to call such a change, when wrought after baptism, not *regeneration*, but *conversion* or *renewal*; but the practical effect is the same; viz. that at conversion that change is really and practically wrought upon the soul, which actually was not produced at baptism, but which, except for his own fault, would have been wrought by the Spirit assured to the baptized¹.

2 Another objection is drawn from the Calvinistic scheme. Baptismal grace is supposed to contradict the doctrine of final perseverance. The Calvinistic scheme teaches that grace is always irresistible, and that grace once given always abides. The soul, once in a state of grace, is always in a state of grace. If therefore grace was given at baptism, it can never fail.

The most rigid form of Calvinism might make this inevitable. Yet very high predestinarians have thought otherwise. Augustine held that persons might be predestinated to grace, but not to perseverance; nay, that they might be ordained to persevere for a time, yet not to the end². Calvin himself does not seem to have held his doctrine of perseverance so rigidly as to make it impossible that God should give some degree of aid to such as reject it. At all events, many who have followed

¹ We must not however deny that true renovation or conversion is at times the immediate effect of God's grace given in infancy. John the Baptist was not the only one that ever was 'sanctified from his mother's womb.' Nor would our Lord have said concerning children, that 'of such is the kingdom of heaven,' if they were never both the subjects of God's renewing grace, and themselves obedient to that grace. Too generally, alas! the dew of God's Spirit is early wiped from the heart. But there have been many pious men who have grown up from childhood in the faith and fear of God; many of whom we read in the lives of God's servants; some whom we ourselves have been privileged to know and esteem.

² See his statements under Art. XVI.

him a great way in his predestinarianism, have believed that grace was given in baptism, yet rejected and forfeited by sin. Of such was our own Hooker, and many other of our most eminent divines. It has been already shewn, that the more extreme and exaggerated forms of the doctrine of final perseverance are not sanctioned by our own formularies, nor, it is believed, by the word of God. (See Art. XVI.)

3 A third objection is, that all the promises of God are to faith, that it is by faith we embrace Christ, and through faith receive the Spirit of God ; that therefore to make baptism the means of receiving grace, is to put it in the place of faith.

It is undoubtedly true, that an adult should not come to baptism without faith ; and that, if he comes in an unbelieving spirit, he cannot expect to find grace in the Sacrament. But the objection, to the extent to which it has been urged, would magnify the office of faith beyond all reason, and utterly beside the teaching of scripture. It cannot be, that faith is requisite, before any grace can be given ; for it is quite certain that there can be no faith, unless grace has first been given to generate faith. Otherwise we are inevitably Pelagians. 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.' Therefore it is quite clear that there must be some quickening from the Spirit before there can be any faith. To magnify faith, so as to make it essential to the *first* reception of grace, is to take away 'the free gift of God.' If God cannot give till we believe, His gift is not free, coming down from the bounty of Him 'who giveth liberally, and upbraideth not,' but is attracted (that we say not merited) by our faith.

Besides, this would go near to damn all infants. They cannot have faith. Yet unless they be regenerated, they are not within the promise of eternal life (John iii. 3, 5). This is Calvin's argument against impugners of infant baptism. Infants, he contends, must be capable of regeneration, though they are not capable of faith ; else they could not receive purgation

from innate corruption. ‘How, ask they, can infants be regenerate who know neither good nor evil? We reply, God’s work is not of none effect, though not down to our understanding. It is clear that infants, who are saved, must first be regenerate. For, if they bear a corrupt nature from their mother’s womb, they must be purged of it before entering God’s kingdom, where nothing entereth polluted or defiled¹.’

Luther, who of all men spoke most earnestly of the importance of faith and its office in justifying, uses still stronger language in condemnation of this opinion. He complains that Papists and Anabaptists conspire together against the Church of God, ‘making God’s work to hinge on man’s worthiness. For so the Anabaptists teach, that baptism is nothing, unless the person baptized be believing. From such a principle,’ he says, ‘it needs must follow that all God’s works are nothing, unless the recipient be good. Baptism is the work of God; but a bad man maketh that it is not the work of God.’ We may add, though not subscribe to, his vehement conclusion, ‘Who sees not in such Anabaptists, not men possessed, but demons possessed by worse demons²?’

¹ *Institut.* iv. xvi. 17.

² *Præfatio in Epist. ad Galat. Opera,* Tom. v. p. 271.

One school of divines amongst us is supposed to insist very much on this necessity of faith, as though, without it, God could not act. I am sure the better instructed and more pious among them would shrink from any such extreme statement. Let me instance the justly-venerated names of Cecil, Scott, Wilberforce, Simeon. They, and such as they, may have used language unlike the Church’s language on holy baptism, but I feel no doubt that they would have repudiated the language which Luther, in the text, quotes as the arguments of the Anabaptists. To speak of one of them; Mr. Simeon’s views of baptism do not appear to have been very distinctly propounded. Perhaps he varied a little from his own views at different times. I hardly see any difference between many of his statements and my own. In his *Sermons on the Holy Spirit*, indeed, he asserted that ‘Baptism was a change of state, but not a change of nature:’ but this probably meant no more than a denial that baptism necessarily involved an *actual moral* change, a

4 A fourth objection is as follows. In the case of adults it is admitted, that baptismal grace will not be bestowed on such recipients as come in an unbelieving and impenitent spirit. But if there be already repentance and faith, there must be already regeneration, and therefore regeneration cannot be given in baptism.

Here again, the misunderstanding results from difference of definition. The Church calls the grace of baptism by the name of regeneration, for reasons already specified ; but she does not deny that God may work in the souls of men previously to their baptism ; nay ! she does not deny that there may be true spiritual life in them before baptism. But that spiritual life she does not call the new birth, till it is manifested in the Sacrament of regeneration. We must remember, that the terms *new birth* and *regeneration* are images borrowed from natural objects, and applied to spiritual objects. In nature, we believe life to exist in the infant before it is born,—life too of the same kind as its life after birth. Nay ! if there be no life before it is born, there will be none after it is born. So the unbaptized may not be altogether destitute of spiritual life ; yet the actual birth may be considered as taking place at baptism ; when there is not only life, but life apparent, life proclaimed to the world ; when the soul receives the seal of adoption, is counted in the family of God, and not only partakes of God's grace and mercy, but has a covenanted assurance and title to it.

5 One more objection we may notice. It is said, that Sacraments and all outward ordinances are but the husk and shell : the life of God in the soul is the kernel and valuable part of religion. Let us regard the latter, and then we may throw the former away.

But we may reply, that He, who has made the kernel, has

real internal renovation ; for in his sermons on the Liturgy he has expressed himself in terms almost as clear in favour of properly-explained baptismal grace, as any of the Fathers or Anglican reformers could have used.—See *Excellency of the Liturgy*, Sermon II.

made too the husk and the shell. In the natural creation, He has ordered that no seed shall grow to maturity, if the husk and shell are untimely stripped off from it. If we have a treasure in earthen vessels, we may not rashly break the vessels, lest the treasure be lost. In God's Kingdom of nature, He has created for man a body as well as a spirit; we must not think to insure the life of the spirit, by disregarding and despising the body. Such conduct seems precisely that of Naaman the Syrian, who refused to bathe in the waters of Jordan, as seeing no natural virtue in them to heal his leprosy. But had he persisted in his refusal, he would have returned to Syria a leper, as he came. It was not the waters of Jordan, that healed him: it is not the water of baptism, which heals us. But God appointed both them and it; and to despise His appointment may be to forfeit His grace.

6 There is indeed one difficulty, which I cannot solve, which Scripture has not solved. How is it, that, if God's Spirit is given to every infant baptized, some profit by the gift, and others profit not? It cannot be, that God is faithful to His promise in one case, and not in others. Nor again, can we believe, that there is some inherent merit and excellence in the one child, but not in the other. This is one of the deep things of God—of the secret things, which belong to the Lord our God. Why one heart responds to the calls of grace, one steadily resists them, we inquire in vain. If we gain a step in the inquiry, we only find a new inquiry beyond it. The Calvinistic theory cuts the knot; but it leaves harder knots uncut. It is safer to admit the difficulty—to acknowledge the impotence of our own intellects to disentangle it—and humbly to rest satisfied with adoring, reverent, trusting, patient faith. We may feel assured concerning our God, that, though clouds and darkness are round about Him, yet righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His seat.

SECTION III.

HISTORY.

IT has generally been considered, that, on the doctrine of baptismal grace, the testimony of primitive antiquity is more than ordinarily clear, uniform, and consentient. A very high esteem of the Sacraments pervades the writings of all the fathers, and is especially apparent in their respect for baptism. The controversies of later days, of course, had never arisen. Many of the early writers were rather eloquent rhetoricians, than accurate reasoners. We may therefore expect to find extreme and exaggerated statements. Yet such language (allow what you will for it) is the index to something more solid than itself. It would never have been used concerning things of little moment or low estimation¹.

¹ I have been induced to enter more fully into the question of the patristic doctrine of baptism than I should otherwise have done, owing to the doubts which have lately been thrown upon it by various writers, and especially by Mr. Faber, in his *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*. Whatever comes from Mr. Faber deserves consideration. There is one argument which appears of weight in his treatise, viz. that the fathers ever *identify* baptism with circumcision. Yet the careful reader will observe, that every passage from the fathers, which Mr. Faber adduces to this purpose, speaks of circumcision as a *type* of baptism, *not* as *identical* with baptism. We have already seen that the fathers distinguished between the Sacraments of the old Testament and those of the new. 'The Sacraments of the new Testament *give* salvation; those of the old Testament *promise* a Saviour.' (August. in *Ps.* lxxiii. Tom. iv. p. 769, quoted under Art. XXV.). The same distinction is constantly referred to: 'The former carnal circumcision is made void; and a second spiritual is assigned' (Cyprian. *Testimon.* i. 8). 'No other advantage attended on circumcision, except that by it the Jews were distinguished from other nations. But, our circumcision, I mean the grace of baptism, has a healing free from pain, procures us myriads of good things, and fills us with the grace of the Holy Spirit' (Chrysostom, *Homil.* xl. in *Genesin.* quoted by Bishop Beveridge on this Article). It may well be doubted whether one single passage from the fathers can be found, in which circumcision is made of the same force as baptism, or in which any legal ordinance is placed on a level with the Sacraments of the Gospel.

The most obvious example of this is to be found in the fact, that the fathers ordinarily call the Sacraments themselves by the name of the grace of the Sacraments. Thus baptism is perpetually called *regeneration* or *illumination*; not the Sacrament of regeneration, but simply regeneration. So the Eucharist is called the Body and Blood of Christ. And again, *to be regenerated* is used for *to be baptized*. All this is without qualification. And if these expressions stood alone, we should naturally infer that the primitive Christians believed the grace of the Sacraments to be inseparably tied to the Sacraments, and to be wrought by them *ex opere operato*. Happily, however, abundant testimonies exist, to prove that they esteemed unworthy recipients partakers of the Sacrament, but not partakers of its life-giving power. This has already appeared by what was said on the subject under Article XXV. It is very difficult to convey a correct impression of the teaching of four or five centuries on such a subject as this, by the quotation of a few isolated passages. I will endeavour to exhibit it, as well and as honestly as I can, in the small space which must necessarily be allotted to it. And, I believe, we shall see every reason to conclude, that the fathers held, that conversion of heart did not accompany baptism, when unworthily received, or not duly profited by; but that they did hold, that remission of sins and the grace of the Spirit were promised to accompany baptism, and that that grace, if yielded to and cultivated, would regenerate and new create the soul. Hence, they assigned the name of regeneration to the Sacrament, to which regenerating grace was promised; and sometimes, no doubt, they spoke as if regeneration were tied to that Sacrament. Yet still we shall see that, when they explained themselves accurately, it always appeared, that the Sacrament did not work *ex opere operato*; but that the effect was to be attributed to God's Spirit acting, according to covenant, on the soul, when the soul did not harden itself against His grace.

We may remember then, that Ignatius calls baptism the Christian's arms¹; meaning probably that, as the Christian at baptism enlists as Christ's soldier, so then he is furnished with armour from above to fight in His service. We may remember also the strong statement of Barnabas, or the writer under his name; 'We descend into the water full of sins and pollutions, and ascend out of it full of good fruits².' So Hermas speaks of our 'life being saved by water³;' and again he says, 'Before a man receives the Name of the Son of God, he is destined to death; but when he receives that seal, he is freed from death, and delivered to life. That seal is water, into which men descend bound over to death, but ascend out of it assigned to life⁴.' Justin Martyr, professing to give to the heathen emperors an account of the Sacraments and ordinances of the Christian Church, thus describes to them the rite of baptism: 'As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach is true, and undertake to lead lives agreeable to the same, are brought by us to a place where there is water, and are regenerated, after the same manner of regeneration in which we ourselves were regenerated: for they are washed in the water, in the name of the Father and Lord of the Universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost⁵.' The reason of this, he says, is that, as in our first birth we, without our own knowledge, and of necessity, were born in sin, 'so we should no longer remain children of necessity and ignorance, but become children of choice and knowledge, and should receive in the water remission of all our former sins⁶.'

¹ *Ad Polyc.* c. 6, quoted under Art. XXV.

² *Epist. Barnab.* c. 11; also quoted Art. XXV.

³ Hermas, Lib. I.; *Vision* III. c. 3.

⁴ Lib. III. *Similitud.* IX. c. 15.

⁵ ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται, κ. τ. λ.—*Apolog.* I. p. 93.

⁶ ἀφέσεώς τε ἁμαρτιῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν προημάρτομεν τύχωμεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι.—*Ibid.* p. 94.

Irenæus, in like manner, puts regeneration as a synonym of baptism—‘baptism, which is regeneration to God¹.’ So, when speaking of the commission given by our Lord to baptize, he says, ‘Committing to His disciples *the power of regeneration*, He said to them, Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them²,’ &c. Accordingly, he speaks of infants as born anew by Christ to God³. Yet, on the other hand, he appears not to have esteemed the mere reception of baptism, as a proof that there would be newness of life. It was the Sacrament of regeneration; but it would be life-giving only, if its grace was cultivated, and so productive of faith. Therefore he describes the Christian as by nature like a wild olive branch, which is grafted into a good olive; not losing the nature of the flesh, but suffering a transmutation from the carnal to the spiritual man. But the good olive, neglected, becomes wild; so the negligent Christian ceases to be fruitful, and returns to his old condition of a mere natural man. He, who does not by faith obtain and keep the grafting in of the Spirit, will be but flesh and blood, not capable of inheriting the kingdom of God⁴.

In the time of Irenæus, some Gnostic heretics had rejected Sacraments on the ground, that they were material, and that all matter was impure⁵. Soon after, we find Tertullian ascribing this error to the Cainites⁶. Against them he wrote his treatise *De Baptismo*. He begins it thus: ‘Happy the Sacrament of our water, whereby being cleansed from the sins of our

¹ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως.—Lib. I. c. 18. Edit. Grabe, p. 88.

² ‘Et iterum potestatem regenerationis in Deum demandans discipulis, dicebat eis, *Euntes docete gentes, baptizantes eos*,’ &c.—Lib. III. c. 19, p. 243.

³ ‘Omnes enim venit per semetipsum salvare; omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos, et juvenes, et seniores.’—Lib. II. c. 39, p. 160.

⁴ See at length, Lib. V. c. 10, p. 413.

⁵ Irenæus, Lib. I. c. 18, p. 91.

⁶ *De Baptismo*, c. I. 13.

former blindness, we are made free unto eternal life!.... We, as lesser fish, after our ΙΧΘΥΣ, Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor are we safe, except we abide in the water¹. 'Water first brought forth that which had life; so that there may be no wonder if in baptism the waters should be life-giving².' 'Thus the nature of water, sanctified by the Holy One, itself also received the power of sanctifying³.' 'Wherefore all waters obtain, after prayer to God, the Sacrament of sanctification. For the Spirit straightway cometh down from the Heavens above, and is over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and they so sanctified acquire the power of sanctifying⁴.' He shortly afterwards explains his belief, that the Spirit is not given in the water, but that in the water the angel cleanses and purifies, and prepares for the Holy Spirit, to be given in the imposition of hands, which anciently formed a part of the baptismal ordinance⁵. So, speaking of water flowing from the Rock he says, '*If that Rock was Christ*, without doubt we see baptism blessed by the water in Christ. How great is the grace of water for the confirmation of baptism before God and His Christ! Never is Christ without water, forasmuch as He Himself is washed in water⁶.' Again, he calls baptism 'the

¹ *Ibid.* c. 1. See under Art. XXV.

² c. 3.

³ c. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ 'Non quod in aquis Spiritum Sanctum consequamur; sed in aqua emundati per angelum, Spiritui Sancto præparamur.'—c. 6, conf. c. 7.

Of the imposition of hands following immediately on baptism, and considered as a part of it, see under Art. XXV. Mr. Faber quotes this passage thus: 'not that we obtain the Holy Spirit in the mere water, but, being cleansed under the angel in the water, we are prepared by the Holy Spirit.'—*Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, p. 138. There is nothing about mere water in Tertullian. What he means is obvious enough. Alluding to the stirring of the pool of Bethesda by the angel, he considered that water-baptism was appointed for remission of sins; but that the grace of the Holy Spirit did not come upon the recipient until the bishop had laid his hands on him.

⁶ *Ibid.* c. 9.

most holy laver of new birth¹ :’ and declares that none can be saved without baptism².

Yet, on the other hand, very strong as these expressions appear, we must judge that Tertullian did not teach the *opus operatum* : for we find him exhorting the candidates for baptism, to prepare for it with the most earnest and frequent prayers, fastings and watchings, and with confession of all past sins ; evidently that they might not miss the grace to be expected in it³. And to unworthy receivers he believed, that the Sacrament would be, not the fountain of life, but the sign of death⁴.

The doctrine of Clement, Tertullian’s great contemporary at Alexandria, and of Clement’s still more illustrious pupil and successor, Origen, seems to have been just the same. ‘The Pædagogus,’ *i. e.* Christ, says St. Clement ‘forms man from the dust, *regenerates him with water*, gives him increase by the Spirit, and instructs him by the Word⁵.’ ‘Being baptized, we are illuminated, being illuminated we are adopted as sons, being adopted we are perfected, being perfect we are rendered immortal.... This work (*i. e.* baptism) is called by many names, grace, illumination, that which is perfect, and the laver. Laver, because by it we are washed from sins ; grace, because the punishment due to our sins, is remitted ; illumination, because by it we see that holy and saving light, *i. e.* by it we are clear-

¹ ‘Sanctissimo lavacro novi natalis.’—c. 20 ; comp. *De Anima*, c. 41 ; *Cont. Marcion*. Lib. I. c. 28 ; *De Pœnitentia*, c. 6.

² ‘Præscribitur nemini sine baptismo competere salutem, ex illa, maxime, pronuntiatione Domini, qui ait, *Nisi natus ex aqua quis erit, non habet vitam*.’—*De Baptismo*, c. 10.

³ c. 20.

⁴ ‘Symbolum mortis.’—*De Pœnitentia*, c. 6. See above, Art. XXV. Tertullian’s inclination to deny remission to deadly sins after baptism (see on Art. XVI. sect. 1.) originated partly from his high esteem for baptism, partly from his own highly ascetic temper.

⁵ *Pædagog.* Lib. I. c. 12, p. 156, line 18.

sighted to behold the Divine; that which is perfect—for what is lacking to him who knoweth God¹?’ ‘Our sins are remitted by one sovereign remedy, baptism according to the word (λογικῇ βαπτίσματι). We are washed from all our sins, and at once are no longer evil. This is one grace of illumination², that a man is no longer the same in manners as before he was washed. For knowledge rises along with illumination, shining around the mind; and immediately we, who were unlearned, are called learners (μαθηταί); this learning having at some former time been conferred on us; for it is not possible to name the precise time³: for catechetical teaching leads to faith, and faith, at the very time of baptism, is instructed by the Spirit⁴.’

It may be remembered that, under Article XXV., Origen was quoted as saying that some, who received baptism unworthily, receive not the Spirit of God with it; as Simon Magus ‘not being baptized to salvation, received water, but not the Spirit of God⁵.’ Yet Origen distinctly asserted, that baptism was ordained for remission of sins and spiritual regeneration. ‘Children,’ says he, ‘are baptized for the remission of sins. . . .

¹ *Pædagog.* Lib. i. c. 6, p. 113, line 27.

² φωτισματος—this is a common name for baptism among all the fathers.

³ οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔχοις ἐπεὶ τὸν χρόνον. Mr. Faber (*Prim. Doct. of Regeneration*, pp. 131, 144) puts this clause in capitals, and cites it as proving that Clement did not hold God’s grace to be given in baptism, but, at any time before, in, or after baptism. The force of his argument, however, entirely depends on his having dissociated the passage from its context; for the context, in which it stands, exactly disproves his position. Clement is explaining the great blessings of baptism; but he also explains that catechumens were regularly trained for it, and that they had reason to expect that their previous preparation, with which they came to the Sacrament, would be specially blessed, and their faith instructed, ἅμα τῇ βαπτίσματι, ‘at the very moment of baptism.’ Bishop Bethell has some good remarks in reply to this argument of Mr. Faber. Bethell, *On Regeneration*, pp. 254—260. Fifth edition.

⁴ *Pædagog.* Lib. i. c. 6, p. 116, line 13.

⁵ *In Numeros. Homil.* iii. num. 1; *In Ezechiel. Hom.* vi. num. 5, cited under Art. XXV.

By the Sacrament of baptism the uncleanness of our birth is put away; and therefore even infants are baptized. . . . In the regeneration of baptism, the Sacrament is received, that, as Jesus, according to the dispensation of the flesh, was purified after His birth by an oblation, so we should be purified by spiritual regeneration¹. We have already spoken of the error, into which Origen fell, of believing that deadly sin after baptism was the sin against the Holy Ghost². Such a notion would have been impossible, had not a very high esteem of the blessings of baptism been prevalent when he wrote.

This brings us to the age of Cyprian. Thenceforth it would be far easier to convict the fathers of holding the *opus operatum*, than of doubting that grace was given in baptism. Cyprian himself says, 'All, who come to the Divine laver, by the sanctification of baptism put off the old man by grace of the saving laver, and being renewed by the Holy Spirit, are purged of the filth of the old contagion by a second birth³.' 'Thence begins the origin of all faith, and a salutary entrance to hope of eternal life⁴.' His own experience of the blessings of baptism he sets forth in the enthusiastic language of a young convert⁵. We perhaps need not attribute very much weight to such a glowing picture; for the passage was written soon after his baptism; and Augustine has expressed his opinion, that it was in the taste of a young writer, not of a matured divine⁶.

¹ 'Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum . . . Et quia per baptismi sacramentum natiuitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli. . . . In regeneratione baptismi assumitur sacramentum et quomodo Jesus secundum dispensationem carnis oblatione purgatus est, ita etiam nos spiritali regeneratione purgamur.'—*Homil. xiv. in Lucam*.

² See under Art. XVI. sect. 1.

³ *De Habitu Virginium*. Oxf. 1682, p. 103.

⁴ *Epistol. lxxiii.* p. 203.

⁵ *Ad Donatum De Gratia Dei, circ. inst.* p. 2.

⁶ Augustine, *De Doctr. Christ.* iv. 14. The passage from Cyprian is quoted by Bishop Bethell. Fifth edit. p. 127.

Cyprian appears to have followed Tertullian in considering chrism, or the imposition of hands, essential to the completion of the grace of baptism¹.

From Cyprian we may pass to the great Athanasius. A few words will express his doctrine. 'He who is baptized puts off the old man, and is renewed, being born of the grace of the Spirit².'

It is natural, on this subject, to turn with much interest to the works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem; whose Catechetical Lectures were addressed to catechumens preparing for baptism. His prefatory lecture sets forth at once the great blessings of baptismal grace, and the great need of duly preparing the mind of the adult recipient, lest by unbelief or hypocrisy he should miss the benefit. To those, who were training for it, he says, that already 'the savour of blessedness was upon them, and they were gathering spiritual flowers, to wreath heavenly crowns. The blossoms of the trees have budded; may the fruit be brought to perfection.' But he adds, that an honest intention was necessary to blessing; 'for though the body be present, yet if the mind be absent, it is of no avail³.' He then goes on to speak of Simon Magus, as brought to baptism, but not enlight-

¹ See *Ep.* LXXII. p. 196; *Epist.* LXXIII. p. 207, quoted under Art. XXV.

M^r. Faber quotes, as of great consequence to his own theory, the former of these passages: 'Tum demum plene sanctificari et esse filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascantur, cum scriptum sit, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu*,' &c.—*Prim. Doct. of Regener.* p. 68. He strangely infers that Cyprian held *water* to be one sacrament, and the *Spirit* the other; as though any divine could really call God's Holy Spirit a sacrament; i. e. an *outward sign* of an inward grace. So common a book as Bingham's *Antiquities* will tell us that the two sacraments, by which Tertullian and Cyprian believed regeneration to be bestowed upon us, were water and imposition of hands, both then considered parts of baptism. See Bingham, XII. I. 4, XII. 3.

² 'Ὁ δὲ βαπτιζόμενος τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν ἀποδιδύσκειται ἀνακαινίζεται δὲ ἄνωθεν γεννηθεὶς τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτι.—*Epist.* IV. *ad Serapion*, 13. The passage is given more at length by Bishop Bethell, p. 311.

³ *Præfat. Cateches.* 1.

ened; 'dipping his body in the water, but not permitting the Spirit to illuminate him¹.' He therefore bids his catechumen to look, 'not on the bare water, but to salvation from the working of the Spirit².' The blessings, however, of the Sacrament, if duly accepted, he rates at the highest value. 'Great is the baptism which is set before you. Liberty to the captives; remission of sins; death of sin; regeneration of the soul; garment of light; holy seal, indissoluble; chariot to heaven; delight of Paradise; procuring for us the kingdom; the free gift of the adoption of sons³.' 'Jesus sanctified baptism by being Himself baptized⁴.' 'By baptism the sting of death is destroyed⁵.' 'Thou descendest into the waters dead in sins; thou risest again quickened in righteousness⁶.'

Gregory Nazianzen sums up the blessings of baptism in words, which bear a striking resemblance to those above quoted from Cyril. 'Baptism (τὸ φῶτισμα) is the splendour of souls, the change of life, the answer of the conscience to God. It is the aid of our infirmity, the putting off of the flesh, the following the Spirit, the participation of the Word, the correction of images (πλασμάτων ἐπανόρθωσις), the drowning of sin, the participation of light, the destruction of darkness, the chariot of God, the travelling with Christ, the confirmation of faith, the perfecting of the mind, the key of the kingdom, the change of life, the destruction of slavery, the loosing of chains, the conversion of the constitution, (συνθέσεως μεταποιήσις), the

¹ *Ibid.*

² Μὴ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ ὕδατος πρόσχεε, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐνδέχου.—*Catech.* III. 2. See Beveridge on this Article.

³ Μέγα τὸ προκείμενον βάπτισμα· αἰχμαλώτοις λύτρον· ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσις· θάνατος ἁμαρτίας· παλιγγενεσία ψυχῆς, ἔνδυμα φωτεινόν· σφραγίς ἁγία ἀκατάλυτος· ὄχημα πρὸς οὐρανόν· παραδείσου τρυφή· βασιλείας πρόξενον· υἱοθεσίας χάρισμα.—*Catech. Præfat.* 10. St. Basil has almost, word for word, the same sentence.—*Exhortat. ad Baptism.* Tom. I. p. 413.

⁴ *Catech.* III. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Catech.* III. 9: νεκρὸς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις καταβὰς, ἀναβαίνεις ζωοποιηθεὶς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.—*Comp. Catech.* XX. 4, 5.

most beautiful and glorious of the gifts of God. . . . It is illumination, more holy than all other illuminations. . . . It is called gift, charisma, baptism, unction, illumination, the clothing of incorruption, the bath of regeneration, the seal¹, &c. &c. Elsewhere he speaks, like Cyril, of the need of diligent preparation, and counsels: 'Let the laver wash, not thy body only, but thine image².' And, in one place, he seems to consider, that all the graces of baptism might possibly, though not probably, be given before the reception of that Sacrament, to which the Sacrament itself would then be the seal; for of his sister Gorgonia he says, that 'to her almost alone baptism was not the the gift of grace, but the seal only³.'

St. Ambrose in the West, contemporary with St. Gregory in the East, calls the dividing of the waters of Jordan by Elijah (whereby some of the water must have flowed back to its source) 'a type of the Sacrament of salutary laver; by which infants, who have been baptized, are reformed from a state of wretchedness, to the primitive state, in which they were created⁴.'

One word more from St. Chrysostom. Comparing God's pardon to us with the pardon granted to criminals by earthly rulers, he says, that, if kings were to pardon, and even to invest their offending subjects with their own royalty, they could still not free them from their sins. 'It is God only who does this; which He will accomplish in the laver of regeneration. For His grace touches the soul, and eradicates its sins'.... 'As when iron or gold is recast, it is made pure and new again; so the

¹ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* XL. *Opp.* Tom. I. p. 638. Colon.

² *Ibid.* p. 661.

³ καὶ μόνῃ σχεδόν, ἵν' εἴπω τόλμησας, σφραγὶς ἀλλ' οὐ χάρισμα ἦν τὸ μυστήριον.—*Orat.* XI. Tom. I. p. 188.

⁴ 'Significat salutaris lavacri futura mysteria; per quæ in primordia nature sue qui baptizati fuerint parvuli a malitia reformantur.'—*Comment. in Evangel. Luc.* Lib. I. § 37. The passage is given more at length by Wall, *Infant Baptism*, Pt. I. c. 13.

Holy Spirit, recasting the soul in baptism, as in a furnace, consumes its sins, and makes it shine with more purity than the purest gold¹.

If we stopped here, might we not conclude, that the fathers *uno ore* affirm, that baptism, rightly administered and duly received, is an ordinance appointed by God, in which He promises to receive the sinner to Himself, to give him for Christ's sake pardon of his sins, and to bestow upon him the gift of the Spirit? And, although some rhetorical language may obscure their meaning, is it not yet clear, that this grace is not to be looked for from baptism, as though it worked as a charm, but that baptism is to be diligently prepared for, and its grace made use of; and that the unbelieving and the hypocrite may receive the water without receiving the Spirit of God, enhancing his condemnation, rather than obtaining remission of his sins?

We have yet to consider the views of St. Augustine. No one speaks more fully, no one has a juster claim to be heard. Perhaps the greatest of uninspired divines, he has influenced, more than any, the opinions of all succeeding generations. The reformers especially drank deeply from the fountain of his thoughts. He writes not with the rhetoric of an orator, but with the logic of a thoughtful reasoner, and yet with the eloquence of an earnest and devoted Christian.

His predestinarian sentiments may, doubtless, have affected his views of baptismal grace. It has been asserted that, in one point only, he materially differed from Calvin. Both believed, that God's predestination was irrespective of individuals, and to eternal life. But Calvin held, that once regenerate a person could never finally fall; and so taught, that none but those elect to glory could receive regeneration in baptism. Augustine, on the contrary, held that *all* infants are regenerate in baptism;

¹ Chrysost. *Homil. in 1 Epist. ad Corinth. Homil. XL.*

and therefore, that the regenerate may fall away. It has, however, been said, that this difference is not real, but apparent only: for that by *regeneration* Calvin meant *a moral change of disposition*, but Augustine meant only *a beneficial federal change of relative condition*¹.

If we remember what was said of Augustine's predestinarianism (under Artt. XVI. XVII.), we shall see that this statement falls short of the truth. We there saw, that St. Augustine distinctly taught, not only that persons regenerate in baptism might finally fail of salvation, but even that persons might believe and live for some years in a state of piety and godliness, and yet fall away and be lost. He distinguished between predestination to grace, and predestination to perseverance. He said indeed, that persons could not with the strictest propriety be called elect, who had not the gift of perseverance; but yet that persons might be baptized, regenerate, believing, and for a time persevere—that a man might live for ten years and persevere for five, and yet for the last five fall away and be lost². 'We call those elect,' he writes, 'and Christ's disciples, and children of God, because they are to be so called, whom we see having been regenerated, living piously; but then only are they truly to be called so, if they *continue* in that, for which they so are called³.' 'They were then in a good state, but because they did not continue in it, *i. e.* did not persevere unto the end, therefore the Apostle says, *they were not of us*, even when they were with us, that is, they were not of the number of sons, even when they had the faith of sons⁴,' &c. He takes the case of two godly men; to one perseverance is given, to the other not. This is God's inscrutable decree, (*inscrutabilia sunt judicia*

¹ Faber, *Prim. Doct. of Election*, Bk. I. ch. vii. p. 81, &c.

² See quotations and references under Art. XVI. sect. I. Art. XVII. sect. I.; especially *De Corrept. et Grat.* § 16, 20, 22; *De Dono Persev.* 1, 19, 21, 32, 33.

³ *De Corrept. et Grat.* § 22, p. 762.

⁴ *Ibid.* § 20, p. 761.

Dei). One, no doubt, was of the predestinated; the other, not. 'Yet were not both created by God, born of Adam, made out of the earth, and received souls of like nature? Nay! had not both been called, and had followed Him that called them? Had not both been justified, though before ungodly, and both by the laver of regeneration made new creatures?' (*utrique ex iniquis justificati, et per lavacrum regenerationis utrique renovati*). 'Whence then,' he asks, 'this distinction?' and he resolves it into the decree of God¹.

Now here is the great difference between Augustine and Calvin. Whatever the latter may have held, the former certainly did *not* hold, that *grace inevitably leads to glory*.

With respect to the meaning which Augustine attached to the term *regeneration* as applied to baptism, it is, perhaps, not incorrect to say that he held, that it was not conversion of heart or 'a moral change of disposition,' but rather, 'a *beneficial* federal change of relative condition.' His own words clearly prove, that he did not believe the necessary consequence of baptism to be conversion of heart, nay, that in infants conversion of heart could not be the *immediate* consequence of baptism². Yet we may venture to say, that he was too profound a thinker and too sound a divine to have believed, that baptism admitted us into a new federal relation with God, or, in plainer words, that it brought us into a new covenant of grace, without also believing that it made us partakers of the *blessings* of that

¹ *De Dono Persev.* § 21, Tom. x. p. 831.

² 'Quibus rebus omnibus ostenditur aliud esse sacramentum baptismi, aliud conversionem cordis, sed salutem hominis ex utroque compleri; nec si unum horum defuerit, ideo putare debemus consequens esse ut et alterum desit; quia et illud sine isto potest esse in infante, et hoc sine illo potuit esse in latrone, complente Deo sive in illo, sive in isto, quod non ex voluntate defuisset; cum vero ex voluntate alterum horum defuerit, reatu hominem involvi. *Et baptismus quidem potest inesse, ubi conversio cordis defuerit: conversio autem cordis potest quidem inesse non percepto baptismo, sed contempto non potest.*'—*De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, Lib. iv. c. xxv. § 32, Tom. ix. p. 141.

covenant. He could never have taught, that under the dispensation of the Gospel, God would bring us into a covenanted relationship with Himself, thereby saddling us with fresh obligations to obey Him, without also bestowing upon us the power, which would enable us to fulfil those obligations.

The view, which he takes of the difference between baptized and unbaptized infants, clearly shews his high estimation of baptismal blessing. We need not herein follow his teaching, but it is quite certain that he held, that all unbaptized infants, if they died in infancy, would perish everlastingly; and, on the other hand, he clearly held, that if they died in infancy, having been baptized, they passed at once into eternal life¹. The distinction between the state of the baptized and the unbaptized infant he thus clearly marks: 'In infants, born but not baptized, Adam may be recognized; in infants born and baptized, and hence born again, Christ may be recognized².' He identifies baptized with believing infants (*fidelibus infantibus, id est, in Christo baptizatis*); and says of them, that, 'though infants, they are members of Christ, partakers of His Sacraments, that they may have in them life³.' When they are baptized, nothing less is done than that they are incorporated into the Church,

¹ 'Absit ut causam parvulorum sic relinquamus, ut esse nobis dicamus incertum, utrum in Christo regenerati si moriantur parvuli, transeant in æternam salutem, non regenerati autem transeant in mortem secundam.'—*De Dono Persever.* § 30, Tom. x. p. 837.

'Cum videant alios parvulos non regeneratos ad æternam mortem, alios autem regeneratos ad æternam vitam tolli de hac vita.'—*Ibid.* § 32.

'Cum moriuntur infantes, aut merito regenerationis transeunt ex malis ad bona, aut merito originis transeunt ex malis ad mala.'—*De Prædestinat.* § 24, Tom. x. p. 806.

'Quia parvulus non baptizatus non intrat in regnum cælorum, et tu dicis et ego.'—*Serm.* 294, c. 7, Tom. v. p. 1186.

² 'In parvulis natis et nondum baptizatis agnoscatur Adam: in parvulis natis et baptizatis et ob hoc renatis agnoscatur Christus.'—*Serm.* 174, c. 8, Tom. v. p. 834.

³ 'Infantes sunt, sed membra Ejus sunt. Infantes sunt, sed sacramenta accipiunt. Infantes sunt, sed mensæ Ejus participes fiunt, ut habeant in se vitam.'—*Ibid.* c. 6.

that is, are joined to the Body and members of Christ; and this, he says, is so important, that without it they would be damned¹. However holy their parents may have been, they themselves cannot be free from the taint of original sin, but by baptism². But in baptism it is effected by God's grace, that all original sin is made void. Yet it is not so made void, that concupiscence is also destroyed with it, but only so that, if the child dies, it shall not operate to his destruction. If, however, the infant lives, and grows to an age of understanding and responsibility, he will have need to fight against that concupiscence, and, by God's help, he may overcome it, unless he have received God's grace in vain³. Those then, who are baptized, receive remission of all their sins⁴. Infants cannot believe, when they are baptized, nor make responses and stipulations for themselves. Therefore the response of others is sufficient for their consecration⁵. In Cornelius, spiritual sanctification preceded the Sacrament of regeneration; but in baptized infants the Sacrament of regeneration precedes; and if they hold fast Christian piety, conversion in heart will follow, the Sacrament of which precedes in body⁶. But how is such conversion of heart to follow? If baptism be a *mere* outward change, nothing in it could give hope of future conversion of heart. Accordingly,

¹ *De Peccat. Merit. et Remiss.* Lib. III. c. 4, Tom. x. p. 78.

² *Ibid.* c. 12, p. 83.

³ 'In parvulis certe gratia Dei per baptismum . . . id agitur ut evacuetur caro peccati. Evacuatur autem non ut in ipsa vivente carne concupiscentia conspersa et innata repente absumatur et non sit; sed ne obsit mortuo, quæ inerat nato. Nam si post baptismum vixerit, atque ad ætatem capacem præcepti pervenire potuerit, ibi habet cum qua pugnet, eamque adjuvante Deo superet, si non in vacuum gratiam Ejus susceperit, si reprobatus esse noluerit.'—*De Peccat. Meritis et Remiss.* Lib. I. c. 29, Tom. x. p. 39.

⁴ *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. I. c. 27, Tom. VII. p. 25.

⁵ *De Baptismo c. Donatist*, Lib. IV. c. 24, Tom. IX. p. 141.

⁶ 'Ita in baptizatis infantibus præcedit regenerationis sacramentum; et si Christianam tenuerint pietatem, sequetur etiam in corde conversio; cujus mysterium præcessit in corpore.'—*Ibid.* p. 140.

St. Augustine teaches that, 'in baptized infants, though they know it not, the Spirit of God dwelleth¹.' And again, that 'a power is given them, by which, from the sons of this world, they may become the sons of God².'

I believe these quotations give a faithful representation of the general teaching of St. Augustine on baptism. They are not garbled extracts; but, on the contrary, if consulted at length, will be found to give only more fully the same impression of the writer's meaning. Is it not plain then that his meaning is, as nearly as possible, coincident with the doctrine laid down in the two preceding sections?

He teaches that baptism is not in itself conversion of heart; and of adults he says, that a person may be baptized with water, but not born of the Spirit³. In infants also, he says that the Sacrament of regeneration precedes conversion of heart. He considers that the regeneration of baptism consists in a grafting into the Church, the body of Christ; a remission of all original sin, so that baptized infants dying in infancy are sure of salvation; and, moreover, in an assured presence of the Holy Spirit, which, if not obeyed, will profit them nothing; but which, if held fast, and not received in vain, will lead, with the opening reason, to that faith and conversion in heart, of which, in unconscious infancy, they had been incapable. Accordingly, he

¹ 'Dicimus ergo in baptizatis parvulis, quamvis id nesciunt, habitare Spiritum Sanctum.'—*Epist.* 187 *ad Dardan.* c. viii. Tom. II. p. 686. So also, 'Ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli, sanctificati sacramento Christi, regenerati Spiritu Sancto.'—*Ibid.* c. vi. p. 684.

² 'Frustrata potestate captivatoris sui, et data potestate qua fiant ex filiis hujus sæculi filii Dei.'—*De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*, Lib. I. c. 22, Tom. X. p. 292.

³ He asserts that one of two things must be determined; either that adults receiving unworthily, like Simon Magus, are born of water and of the Spirit, but to their destruction, not to their salvation; or else that the hypocritical, and those not converted in heart, must be esteemed to have been baptized, but not born of the Spirit.—*De Baptismo c. Donatist.* Lib. VI. c. 12, Tom. IX. p. 169.

uses the term 'child of God' in a twofold signification. At one time, he speaks of all the baptized as regenerate in Christ, and made children of God, by virtue of that Sacrament. At another time, he speaks of baptismal grace as rather enabling them to become, than as actually constituting them God's children; and says that, in the higher and stricter sense, persons are not to be called sons of God, unless they have the grace of perseverance, and walk in the love of God¹.

It has very justly been observed, concerning this teaching of St. Augustine, that, over and above the great value of his own judgment and testimony, he appeals to the uniform voice of antiquity, and declares that, in his baptismal doctrine, he proceeds upon principles, which from the earliest ages have been admitted in the Church².

¹ See the passages quoted above. See also *In Epistol. Johann.* c. 3, Tract. vi. 6, 7, Tom. iii. par. ii. pp. 859, 860, where he argues that, though a man may have received the Sacrament of baptism, so great a thing, that it makes a new man by remission of all his sins ('ut novum hominem faciat dimissione omnium peccatorum'); yet if he have not charity, he must not say that he is born of God. ('Habeat caritatem; aliter non se dicat natum ex Deo.') The sons of God are distinguished from the children of the devil only by charity. Those who have charity are born of God. Those who have not charity are not born of God.

² 'Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi autoritate Apostolica traditum, rectissime creditur.'—Lib. iv. c. 24, Tom. ix. p. 140.

On this Mr. Faber remarks: 'Thus, by this remarkable attestation, he becomes as it were a host of witnesses in himself' (*Prim. Doct. of Regeneration*, p. 324). I am much pained at being obliged to express decided dissent from some of the positions of Mr. Faber, a writer for whom I entertain much respect, and in whose writings I have taken great interest. I believe that his view of the subject cannot be so different from that which I have taken above, as might at first appear. His great argument is, that the fathers did not believe moral renovation or conversion of heart to be the necessary concomitant of baptism. Of this, I think there can be no doubt. Mr. Faber himself fully admits that 'all sin is pardoned in baptism' (p. 321). He also holds that God's predestination, as revealed to us in Scripture, is not, as Arminians teach, *ex prævisis meritis*; nor yet as Calvinists teach, to eternal glory; but, as

It is needless to trace the chain of fathers beyond St. Augustine. The scholastic discussions too may have had a sufficient interest in themselves, but we have neither need of, nor space for them here, and must at once pass to the period of the Reformation.

The Council of Trent declared that, in baptism, not only remission of original sin was given, but also all, which properly has the nature of sin, is cut off. In the regenerate there is nothing which God hates. Concupiscence indeed remains; but has not the nature of sin, and will never hurt those who fight against it¹. As a general principle, the Council decided (Sess. VII. can. VIII.), that the Sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*.

Luther and the Lutheran reformers are clear and express in their assertion of baptismal grace. Luther lays great stress on Gal. iii. 27; which, he says, 'is much to be observed against fanatical spirits, who lower the dignity of baptism, and speak impiously concerning it. St. Paul, on the contrary, adorns it with glorious titles, calling it the laver of regeneration and of the renewing of the Holy Ghost. And here, he says, all baptized persons have put on Christ; as though he would say, Ye received not by baptism a sign or watchword (*tessera*), by which you were enlisted into the number of Christians, as many

the fathers teach, to baptismal blessing; and that all baptized persons may, if they will, become elect to glory. (See *Prim. Doct. of Election, passim*). Surely then, he must consistently hold that all baptized persons are entitled to the aid of God's Holy Spirit. I am therefore quite at a loss to understand him, when I find him stating that infants, from original sin, 'cannot be worthy recipients of baptism . . . without an antecedent operation to make them worthy' (p. 345). Surely original sin is not a bar to God's pardoning mercy in Christ, nor to the grace of His Spirit, to quicken us from such sin. And how to believe that an antecedent operation is necessary to make them worthy, except on Arminian or Calvinistic principles, I cannot imagine.

¹ Sess. v. *De Pecc. Origin.* See also under Art. IX. Vol. i. pp. 321, 322.

fanatics of our day think, who make baptism a mere watch-word, i. e. a short and empty sign. "But as many," he says, "as have been baptized have put on Christ," that is, Ye have been snatched from the Law into a new nativity, which was effected in baptism. Therefore ye are no longer under the Law, but are clothed with a new garment, i. e. Christ's righteousness. St. Paul therefore teaches that baptism is not a sign, but a clothing in Christ, yea, that Christ Himself is our clothing. Wherefore baptism is a most potent and efficacious rite¹. 'To be baptized in God's name, is not to be baptized by man, but by God. Wherefore, though it be done by man's hands, we must believe and hold that it is the work of God².' 'God himself honours baptism with His Name, and confirms it with His own power (*sua virtute*)³.' 'Separated from the Word, it is but water. Joined with the Word, it is Christ's Sacrament⁴.' 'The effect of baptism is remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit'. Some had urged, that to ascribe such blessings to baptism was to attribute salvation, not to faith, but to works. Luther replies, that one of the objects of faith, and one of those things on which faith rests, is the grace of God in baptism. Besides, baptism is not our work, but God's. On God's work we rely for salvation, not on men's. And baptism is not the work of the bather, but of God⁵.

He denies that, in the case of infants, there is any need of faith. God's work is not rendered ineffectual, because they have no power to believe⁶. The work of God is then begun in the soul: but the effect of baptism is a thing which remains through the whole of life⁷. For the mortification of the body of sin, which is part of the grace proper to baptism, is a work which we are constantly to experience through life, till the sin

¹ Luther in III. cap. ad Galat. Tom. v. p. 370.

² Catechismus Major, Tom. v. p. 657.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. p. 638.

⁷ Ibid. p. 639.

⁸ Ibid.

be altogether abolished, and we rise and reign with Christ¹. 'This life therefore is a perpetual spiritual baptism, till we die².' 'Baptism is the deluge of grace; as Noah's deluge was the deluge of wrath³.' Baptism does not take away sin. 'But in it God makes a covenant with you.' 'Immediately from your baptism, God begins to renew you. He bestows on you His Spirit, and the Spirit begins immediately to mortify your nature and sins, and so to prepare you for death and resurrection.' 'God pledges Himself not to impute to you the remains of sin, which still cleave to you, nor to condemn you on their account⁴.' A baptized person may therefore humbly say: 'I know my works to be impure and defiled; but I am baptized, and I know that God, who cannot lie, has bound Himself to me in baptism, not to impute my sins to me, but rather to mortify them in me and abolish them⁵.' All this, however, on God's part, Luther considers to involve a corresponding obligation on ours, to use the grace so assured to us, and to mortify by its help the deeds of the body⁶.

Zuinglius took a view the exact opposite to Luther's, on this Sacrament, as on Sacraments in general. He begins by stating, that almost all, whoever went before him, from the very times of the Apostles, have erred concerning baptism⁷. He states his

¹ *Præfat. in Epist. ad Romanos*, Tom. v. p. 100.

² *De Sacramento Baptism.* Tom. i. p. 72.

³ *Ibid.* p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 73. Melancthon speaks exactly like Luther: 'Quod Deus approbat baptismum parvulorum, hoc ostendit, quod Deus dat Spiritum Sanctum sic baptizatis.'—Melancth. *Opp.* Tom. i. p. 61.

'Sentimus eos (h. e. parvulos) in baptismo fieri filios Dei, accipere Spiritum Sanctum, et manere in gratia tamdiu, quoad non effundant eam peccatis actualibus ea ætate, quæ jam dicitur rationis compos.'—Tom. iv. p. 664. See Bethell, *On Regeneration*, p. 155; Laurence, *Doctrine of the Church of England on Baptism*. Third edit. p. 89.

⁷ 'Illud mihi ingenue circa libri initium dicendum est: fere omnes eos, quotquot ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus de baptismo scribere instituerunt, non in paucis (quod pace omnium hominum dictum esse

own opinion to be, that a person, who is signed by the sign of baptism, promises that he will be a hearer and disciple of God, and that he will obey His laws. 'If,' he says, 'the Sacraments were the things they signified, then could they not be signs. For the sign and the thing signified cannot be the same. Baptism therefore is the sign which binds and initiates us to Jesus Christ¹.' External baptism with water contributes nothing to the washing away of sin². To get rid of a difficulty, which naturally presented itself, he says, that 'Original sin does not deserve damnation, if a person have believing parents Original sin is a disease, which yet is not blameworthy in itself, nor can bring with it the pain of damnation until a person, corrupted by its contagion, transgresses God's law; which then mostly happens when he sees and understands that law³.' Accordingly he argues for the undoubted salvation of infants, baptized or unbaptized⁴.

Calvin, in his general view of Sacraments, was in accord neither with Luther nor Zuinglius. It is by no means easy to define his doctrine of baptism. Inconsistency is very little his character; yet on baptism he appears to have been somewhat inconsistent with himself. His peculiar predestinarian system made it difficult for him to believe that infants received grace; because, according to him, grace given was always effectual, not to be resisted, never to be lost. Yet his sacramental system

velim) a scopo aberravisse.'—Zuinglius, *De Baptismo, Oper.* pars 2, Tigur. 1581, Tom. i. fol. 60.

¹ *Ibid.*

² 'Externus baptismus ergo qui aqua constat, ad peccatorum ablutionem nihil facit.'—*Ibid.* fol. 71.

³ 'Peccatum ergo originale damnationem non meretur, si modo quis parentes fideles nactus fuerit Unde colligimus peccatum originale morbum quidem esse, qui tamen per se culpabilis non est, nec damnationis poenam inferre potest donec homo contagione hac corruptus legem Domini transgreditur, quod tum demum fieri consuevit, cum legem sibi positam videt et intelligit.'—Tom. i. fol. 90.

⁴ Compare his *De Peccato Originali Declaratio*, Tom. i. fol. 116, seq.

led him to teach that Sacraments were effectual means of grace, by which God acted on the recipient, unless the recipient opposed an impenitent and unbelieving heart. If we took only his famous work, the *Institutes* (which was a youthful production, but from the general principles of which he never departed); we might think his views of baptism scarcely higher than Zuingli's. He argues indeed, against the Anabaptists, that infants must be proper recipients of baptism, because they can be saved, and can only be saved by being regenerate; and therefore they must be fit to receive the Sacrament of regeneration¹. He objects to the statement, that baptism is a mere badge or watchword (*tessera*), whereby Christians, like soldiera, may be distinguished among men². Yet he seems to make baptism little more than a figure or sign of an inward blessing; not a means also, whereby that blessing may be conferred. 'Baptism is a sign of our initiation, whereby we are admitted into the society of the Church; that, being grafted into Christ, we may be counted among the sons of God. Moreover, it was given us, that it might serve for our faith with Him, and for our confession before men³.' We must not suppose that water can wash away our sins. St. Paul connects the word of life and baptism of water together (Eph. v. 26); signifying that the promise of our ablution and sanctification is brought by the word, and sealed by baptism⁴. Still, he says, that those, who receive baptism with a right faith, perceive the efficacy of Christ's death in mortifying their flesh, and of His resurrection in renewal of the Spirit; as the branch derives nourishment from the stock into which it is grafted⁵. Original sin, which of itself would bring certain damnation, is by no means abolished by baptism; but the elect and believers are assured by baptism, that the guilt of original sin will not condemn them⁶. Ananias, when he exhorted Saul to 'arise, and be baptized, and

¹ *Instit.* iv. xvi. 17.

² iv. xv. 1.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ iv. xv. 2.

⁵ iv. xv. 5.

⁶ iv. xv. 10.

wash away his sins' (Acts xxii. 16), did not mean that, in baptism, or by virtue of baptism, sins were remitted; but that by baptism he might have testimony and assurance that his sins had already been remitted¹. As regards infants, the children of faithful parents, dying before the age of reason, are certainly saved, whether baptized or not baptized. Therefore the children of faithful parents are not baptized that they may then first become sons of God, but rather are by a solemn sign then received into the Church, because by virtue of the promise they already belonged to the body of Christ². He denies, that John iii. 5 has any reference to baptism³: and, on the whole, seems to teach, that elect children (among whom are all children of the faithful dying before the age of reason) receive from God the grace of remission and regeneration, and therefore are sealed with the seal of baptism; the effect of which is not to be confined to the period of baptism, but endures throughout life⁴.

Here then, notwithstanding some difference of expression, and a material difference about the guilt of original sin⁵, there is no considerable disagreement between Calvin and Zuinglius on the grace of baptism. I do not know, that Calvin ever retracted any of the opinions which he thus expressed. I will not say that he ever materially modified them. Perhaps other expressions, which he used afterwards, may be reconciled with all that has just been referred to. Yet certainly, in some of

¹ *Instit.* iv. xv. 15.

² 'Unde sequitur, non ideo baptizari fidelium liberos, ut filii Dei tunc primum fiant, qui ante alieni fuerunt ab ecclesia; sed solenni potius signo ideo recipi in ecclesiam, quia promissionis beneficio jam ante ad Christi Corpus pertinebant.'—iv. xv. 22. *Comp. Epist.* 193.

³ iv. xvi. 25.

⁴ See iv. xv. xvi. *passim*; especially xvi. 22, xv. 3, &c. *Comp.* iii. iii. 9.

⁵ Zuinglius held that original sin would not damn any in whom it had not broken out in actual sin. Hence that all infants, dying in

his later works, he speaks much more favourably of the grace of baptism; as though, when off his favourite system, he were constrained, by the evidence of Scripture, to attach more importance to it. In the Catechism, which he composed for the children of the Church of Geneva, (which bears date A. D. 1545), he teaches it to be ‘certain, that pardon of sins and newness of life are offered to us in baptism¹.’ It is possible enough, that this Catechism was itself designed for the use of (presumed) elect children. It must therefore be read with some allowance. Yet, in other of his works, somewhat similar statements may be found. In his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles (in Acts ii. 38), he says, that we cannot indeed receive miraculous gifts, as the Apostles, yet the promise, ‘Ye shall receive the Holy Ghost,’ applies to all ages of the Church, in a more exalted sense than any promise of mere miraculous gifts. ‘To baptism therefore the grace of the Spirit will ever be annexed, unless an impediment from us occurs².’ Again he says, ‘We must take notice, that no mere figure is proposed to us in baptism, but that an exhibition of the thing signified is annexed to it; for God never fallaciously promises, but really fulfils, what he signifies by figure. But then again, we must take heed not to tie God’s grace to the Sacraments; for the administration

infancy, were saved. Calvin held that it was, of its own nature, fraught with damnation; but that, in the case of elect infants, the curse was reversed.

¹ ‘*M.* Verum, annon aliud aquæ tribuis, nisi ut ablutionis tantum sit figura?’

‘*P.* Sic figuram esse sentio, ut simul annexa sit veritas. Neque enim, sua nobis dona pollicendo, nos Deus frustratur. Proinde et peccatorum veniam et vitæ novitatem offerri nobis in baptismo, et recipi a nobis certum est.

‘*M.* Quomodo per baptismum nobis hæc bona conferuntur?’

‘*P.* Quia nisi promissiones illic nobis oblatas respuendo infructuosas reddimus, vestimur Christo, Ejusque Spiritu donamur.’—*Catechismus Ecclesiæ Genevensis*, J. Calvino Authore. *Calvini Opuscula*. Genevæ. 1552.

² ‘Baptismo igitur semper annexa erit Spiritus gratia, nisi a nobis impedimentum occurrat.’—J. Calvin. *Commentar. in Act. Apostol.* c. II. v. 38.

of baptism profits nothing, except where God thinks fit¹. In another place, after bidding us direct our minds in baptism not to the water, but to Christ, he adds; 'But if any one, relying on this, should make baptism a mere frigid spectacle, and void of all grace of the Spirit, he will be much deceived².' And again he tells us, that in Sacraments the sign is joined with the word; and then there is grace received by the faithful. 'So Christ breathed on His Apostles. They received not only the breathing, but the Spirit too. Why? Because of Christ's promise. So in baptism, we put on Christ, are washed with His Blood; our old man is crucified, and God's righteousness reigns in us.... Whence so great a power, but from Christ's promise, who effects and makes good by His Spirit what He witnesses by His word³?'

Notwithstanding these statements, which are certainly very different from those of Zuingle, it is probable that Calvin limited the reception of sacramental grace to the elect. There can be little doubt that he was not always consistent on this head; yet I think it cannot be denied, that he did believe some grace to be promised in baptism. But then God's promises he limited to the elect. Hence he probably believed, that the elect received an accomplishment of these promises, and therefore remission of sins, and God's Spirit in baptism; but that the non-elect received the sign only, without the grace⁴.

The followers of Calvin have, for the most part, been purely Zuinglian in their views of baptism: not indeed all pre-

¹ *Ibid.* in c. xxii. 16.

² *Ibid.* in c. xi. 16.

³ 'Flat Christus in Apostolos: hi non flatum modo, sed Spiritum quoque recipiunt. Cur? nisi quia illis Christus promittit? Similiter in baptismo Christum induimus, abluimur Ejus sanguine, crucifigitur vetus homo noster, ut regnet in nobis Dei justitia. In sacra Coena spiritualiter Christi Carne et Sanguine pascimur. Unde tanta vis, nisi ex Christi promissione, qui Spiritu suo efficit ac præstat, quod verbo testatur.'—J. Calv. in *Johann.* c. xx. 22.

⁴ 'Neque enim quicquam prodest externa baptismi administratio, nisi ubi ita Deo visum est.'—In *Act. Apostol.* xxii. 16.

destinarians since Calvin's time; but those who have expressly adopted Calvin's predestinarianism. It may be added, that the Arminians, who sprang from the Calvinists, though on one point at least widely separated from them, not only agreed with them in their Zuinglian view of baptism, but far more decidedly repudiated baptismal grace than the Calvinists themselves, calling baptism by the name to which Calvin had specially objected, a mere watchword, or badge of profession (*tessera*)¹.

Our own English reformers seem to speak very strongly and plainly. It has been said of late, that it is impossible they could hold the doctrine, that infants uniformly receive remission of sins and the assured help of God's Spirit in baptism, because they were all Calvinists. It cannot be meant that they were, in all respects, followers of Calvin: for such an assertion would be obviously and notoriously untrue. The statement probably implies no more, than that they were predestinarians, *i.e.* believers in an absolute and irrespective predestination of individuals to eternal glory. There is very slight, if any, foundation even for this. Yet allowing it to be true; it is by no means a consequence, that Cranmer and Ridley must have followed out to its natural conclusions this doctrine of irrespective decrees. Calvin did, no doubt; though even he appears to have had some misgivings about baptism. But much greater men than Calvin held the same doctrine of irrespective personal election to glory, but did not follow it out to what may seem its inevitable consequences—for instance, St. Augustine and Luther; though the latter appears ultimately to have shunned all discussions on predestination. If the English reformers were absolute predestinarians, it is quite certain that they took Augustine's, not Calvin's view. Now Augustine's, as has been shewn,

¹ 'Baptismus ritus est, quo fideles tanquam sacra tessera confirmantur de gratiosa Dei erga ipsos voluntate.'—Limborch. *Theol. Lib.* iv. c. 67, § 5.

'Baptismum non esse lavacrum regenerationis satis . . . constare potest.'—*Ibid.* § 10. See Bishop Bethell, p. 171, *seq.*

did not in any way influence his baptismal doctrines. There can therefore be no propriety in disposing at once of the opinions of the Anglican reformers, by saying they were predestinarians, and that they therefore could not but have coincided with Calvin on baptism.

Here, as elsewhere, Cranmer and Ridley must be our great authorities, because they were the chief compilers both of the Articles and the Liturgy. It was their genius which directed the Reformation, and their spirit which is infused into its formularies.

Cranmer, in 1548, published his Catechism, translated and modified from the Latin of a Lutheran divine, Justus Jonas. In that Catechism, the statements are remarkably like Luther's. It is said, that 'without the word of God water is water, and not baptism; but when the word of the living God is joined to the water, then it is baptism, and water of wonderful wholesomeness, and the bath of regeneration, as St. Paul writeth¹.' Again, 'We ought not to have an eye only to the water, but to God rather, which did ordain the baptism of water, and commanded it to be done in his name. For He is Almighty, and able to work in us by baptism forgiveness of our sins, and all those wonderful effects and operations, for the which He ordained the same, though man's reason is not able to conceive the same. Therefore, consider, good children, the great treasures and benefits, whereof God maketh us partakers, when we are baptized, which be these. The first is, that in baptism our sins be forgiven us, as St. Peter witnesseth. Let every one of you be baptized for the forgiveness of his sins. The second is, that the Holy Ghost is given us . . . according to this saying of St. Peter, Let every one of you be baptized in the name of Christ, and then ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. The third is, that by baptism the whole righteousness of Christ

¹ Cranmer's Catechism, pp. 191, 192.

is given us Fourthly, by baptism we die with Christ¹. It is then said, that before baptism we cannot have peace or quietness of conscience. 'But, after our sins in baptism be forgiven us, and we believe the promise of God, and so by our faith be justified, then our consciences be quieted².' A sinner that is not baptized, 'although he had the Holy Ghost to this effect to help him to fight against sin, yet oftentimes he is overcome and falleth into sin But when in baptism the righteousness of Christ is given and imputed to him, then he is delivered from all those perils. For he knoweth for a surety that he hath put upon him Christ, and that his weakness and imperfection is covered and hid with the perfect righteousness and holiness of Christ³.' Once more, 'The second birth is by the water of baptism, which Paul calls the bath of regeneration, because our sins be forgiven us in baptism, and the Holy Ghost is poured into us as God's beloved children⁴.' 'He that is baptized may assuredly say thus, I am not now in the wavering opinion that I only suppose myself to be a Christian man, but I am in a sure belief that I am made a Christian man; for I know for a surety that I am baptized, and I am sure also that baptism was ordained of God....and the Holy Ghost doth witness that he, which is baptized, hath put on him Christ⁵.'

So completely is this Luther's language, that similar statements, word for word, may be taken from all parts of his writings. But it nevertheless appears exactly to exhibit the sentiments of Cranmer who adopted it; for the same tone pervades all his subsequent writings; and I know of no single contrary statement, though I have carefully read and noted all his remains, with special reference to this doctrine. He attributes no holiness to the water itself⁶; denies the grace of baptism to those who come feignedly, 'who be washed with

¹ Cat. p. 186.

² *Ibid.* p. 187.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 188, 189.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 182.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 184.

⁶ *Works*, Vol. III. p. 490.

sacramental water, but be not washed with the Holy Ghost, and clothed with Christ¹. But to others (infants or worthily receiving adults) he teaches, that 'Through baptism in this world the body is washed and the soul is washed: the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one²:' and that 'that doctrine is not to be suffered in the Church, which teacheth that we are not joined to Christ by baptism³.' 'In baptism we must think that as the priest putteth his hand to the child outwardly, and washeth him with water; so must we think that God putteth to His hand inwardly, and washeth the infant with His Holy Spirit, and, moreover, that Christ Himself cometh down upon the child, and apparelleth him with His own self⁴.'

His great friend and contemporary, Bishop Ridley, calls baptism by the name of 'regeneration⁵;' says that 'the water in baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of regeneration⁶;' that 'the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given; not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water⁷.'

There was little dispute in England at the time of the Reformation about baptism. Most of the passages above cited occur in controversy with Romanist divines, and it is truly remarkable that Cranmer, instead of maintaining lower ground than the Romanists on baptismal grace, maintains rather higher ground; for the Romanist divines were inclined to derogate from the dignity of baptism, in order the more to elevate the importance of the Communion⁸. The most systematic state-

¹ *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 439. See also Vol. III. pp. 322, 323.

² Vol. IV. p. 39.

³ *Ibid.* p. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 553. See also Vol. II. pp. 302, 34; III. pp. 65, 118, 171, 276, 490, 534, 553; IV. pp. 39—44, 55, &c.

⁵ *Works*, Park. Soc. p. 57.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 240.

⁸ See this especially in the 'Disputation with Chedsey,' Cranmer's *Works*, Vol. IV. pp. 41, 42.

Latimer has been much referred to, as having in one passage denied
VOL. II. D D

ments are to be found in Cranmer's Catechism, which, as noticed above, uses the very language of Luther. Luther appears exactly to have followed, on this head, his great master, St. Augustine. We may therefore naturally infer, that the sentiments of Cranmer and Ridley were nearly those of Augustine. Certain it is, they were not those of Zuinglius nor of Calvin. A few quotations can never bring out the full force of an author's meaning. The works of Cranmer are readily to be obtained. In the notes I have put a considerable number of references. It is easy to turn to them, and each reader may convince himself whether the context does not fully bear out the impression which the extracts convey.

If from the reformers, who first drew up our services and Articles, we turn to those of the reign of Elizabeth, who adopted and slightly modified them, we shall find no different language. Jewel's *Apology* says that 'Baptism is the Sacrament of remission of sins and of our washing in the Blood of Christ!.' 'We assert that Christ exhibits Himself truly present in His Sacraments; in baptism, that we may put Him on?,' &c. In Nowell's *Catechism*, a work, like Jewel's *Apology*, to be esteemed semi-authoritative, the child is taught thus: '*M.* What is the hidden and spiritual grace in baptism? *A.* It is twofold; viz. remission of sins and regeneration....*M.* You seem to make the water only a certain figure of divine things? *A.* A figure indeed it is, but by no means empty and fallacious; but such, that to it the verity of the things themselves is joined

the connexion between baptism and regeneration. Archbp. Laurence, (*Doctrines of Church of England on Baptism*, Third edition, pp. 43—45) has shewn that Latimer's general teaching coincided with Cranmer's. I have not quoted Bp. Latimer, because there is nothing to connect him with the drawing up either of the Articles or the Liturgy; and therefore his testimony is no more important than that of any other divine of the period.

¹ *Juelli Apologia, Enchirid. Theolog.* p. 127.

² *Ibid.* p. 129.

and tied. For as God truly offers to us in baptism pardon of sins and newness of life, so are they certainly received by us. Far be it from us to suppose that God would mock us with vain images! *M.* Do we then receive remission of sins by mere outward washing and sprinkling? *A.* By no means! For Christ alone washes off the stains of our souls with His own Blood. It were impious to attribute this honour to an outward element¹, &c.

If we pass to the formularies themselves, we may begin with the Articles agreed on between the Anglican and Lutheran divines in 1538. In them it is said, that 'in baptism remission of sins and the grace of Christ is offered to infants and adults ...that infants in baptism attain remission of sins and grace, and become children of God, because the promise of grace and life eternal extends not only to adults but also to infants.... But because infants are born with original sin, they need remission of that sin, and this is so remitted that its imputation is taken away. Howbeit the corruption of nature or concupiscence remains in this life, although it begins to be healed, because the Holy Spirit, even in infants, is efficacious and cleanses them².' If we refer to the Articles of 1536, the Bishops' Book, A.D. 1537, and the King's Book, A.D. 1543, we shall find them all agreeing to teach, that 'infants by the Sacrament of baptism receive remission of sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby very sons and children of

¹ *Noelli Catechismus, Enchirid. Theolog.* pp. 314, 315: cf. p. 321.

² 'Et quod per baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum et gratia Christi, infantibus et adultis . . . et quod infantes per baptismum consequantur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, et sint filii Dei, quia promissio gratiæ et vitæ æternæ pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. . . . Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis habent opus remissione illius peccati, et illud ita remittitur ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ seu concupiscentia manet in hac vita, etsi incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax et eos mundat.'—See *Cranmer's Works*, Vol. iv. pp. 279, 280.

God¹:' that 'the effect and virtue of this Sacrament is forgiveness of sins and grace of the Holy Ghost²;' that infants, 'being offered in the faith of the Church, receive forgiveness of their sins, and such grace of the Holy Ghost, that, if they die in the state of their infancy, they shall thereby undoubtedly be saved³.'

The First Book of Homilies is the earliest public document of the reign of Edw. VI. In the 'Homily of Salvation' (Part I.) it is stated, 'that infants, being baptized and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made His children, and inheritors of His kingdom of heaven:' and that 'we must trust only in God's mercy and the sacrifice...offered on the cross, to obtain thereby God's grace and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism, as of all actual sin committed after our baptism, if we truly repent.'

The Second Book of Homilies was not published till the reign of Elizabeth, yet it now is united with the First; and we may therefore quote them together. In a former Article we saw that baptism and the Supper of the Lord were described as the two Sacraments having 'visible signs, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining in Christ⁴.' The 'Homily of repairing of Churches' says of the Church, that 'The fountain of our regeneration is there presented unto us.' The 'Homily of the Passion,' that 'We be therefore washed in our baptism from the filthiness of sin, that we should live afterward in the pureness of life.'

The next authoritative document, after the First Book of Homilies, was the First Service Book of Edw. VI. This was compiled in the same year (1548) that Cranmer's Catechism was put forth. The Baptismal Service in that book differs from

¹ *Formularies in the Reign of Henry VIII.* pp. xix. 7, 93.

² *Ibid.* p. 253.

³ *Ibid.* p. 254.

⁴ *Hom. of Common Prayer and Sacraments.*

our present service for infant baptism, in that the latter lacks some of the ceremonies which were retained in the former. The doctrinal statements (if prayers can be said to contain statements) are the same. It is, however, desirable to postpone the consideration of these till the last. Yet one portion of the First Service Book we must not omit. It is the Catechism. Here we have drawn up by Cranmer (and set forth in the same year with his larger Catechism already cited) all the portion of our present Church Catechism, down to the end of the Lord's Prayer. The latter part, concerning the Sacraments, was not added till after the Hampton Court Controversy, in the reign of James I., more than fifty years later. The teaching in the earliest questions, however, was, as it still continues: 'Who gave you that name? My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.' The child is taught to call this 'a state of salvation,' and to speak of himself as 'sanctified by God the Holy Ghost,' like 'all the elect people of God.'

Immediately before the Catechism in the First Service Book there is a rubric, which now stands in the Baptismal Service, to the following purport: 'It is certain by God's word, that children being baptized, if they depart out of this life in their infancy, are undoubtedly saved¹.' These were the principal public documents put forth at the period of the Reformation, in which baptism is treated of, with the exception of the Articles, and the services for Infant Baptism. Let us then next take the Articles. These were published A.D. 1552, four years after the

¹ Archbishop Laurence (*Doctrines of Church of England on Baptism*, p. 98) quotes a passage from the *Reformatio Legum*, a document drawn up by Cranmer, which most satisfactorily shews that the English reformers by no means adopted the opinions of the later fathers and of the schoolmen, that all unbaptized infants must inevitably perish. 'Quod longe secus habere judicamus,' are the words used.

First Service Book and Cranmer's Catechism, and the same year as the Second Service Book. Those Articles, which treat on baptism, were not altered in the reign of Elizabeth.

Besides the Article on baptism itself, one or two expressions occur in the earlier Articles. Thus, in that on original sin (now the IXth), we read in the English, 'although there is no condemnation to them that believe and are baptized.' In the Latin the word rendered 'baptized' is *renatis*, 'born again.' And the Article 'Of Christ alone without sin' (now the XVth), says: 'All we the rest, although baptized and born again in Christ.' In both these there appears an identification of baptism and regeneration.

To proceed to our present Article, the XXVIIth. It is difficult to find any exact model on which it is framed. It bears little resemblance to any former Article, in any other confession, either English or foreign. It is evidently penned with considerable caution. It begins with a denial of the Zuinglian notion, that 'baptism is a mere sign of profession or mark of difference.' It continues, that it is 'a sign of regeneration or new birth.' So far, however, its statement is not much more than Zuinglius'. But then it adds, '*whereby, as by an instrument*, they, who receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the church; the promises of forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost are visibly *signed and sealed*.' The concluding words of the paragraph contain considerable difficulty. 'Faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer to God,' *vi invocationis Dei*. The Latin and the English do not correspond, and appear to convey different ideas. The former would indicate, that the invocation of God, which accompanies the act of baptism, confirms faith and increases grace. The latter would imply, that the prayers of the congregation might, over and above the ordinance of God, be blessed to the recipient's soul: so that, whereas he might receive grace by God's appointment, whether

prayer accompanied baptism or not; yet the addition of prayer was calculated to bring down more grace and to confirm faith. Whence the confusion sprang, if such it were, it may be hard to say. The Latin and English have both authority; but one does not explain the other. Perhaps they rather supply, than explain each other.

The Articles then speak the same language as the other formularies of our Church on the subject of baptismal grace. Yet it has been truly observed, that the Article, which expressly treats of baptism, speaks less distinctly than any other authorized document, and is more easily explained away. Why this should have been is not apparent. The primate, and his coadjutor Ridley, perpetually, both before and after the publication of the Articles, expressed their own views in strong and unmistakeable language. It is certain that the bishops and clergy in general were not more disposed to Zuinglian doctrines than the primate; but, on the contrary, were rather more favourable to Romanism and doctrines verging on Romanism. The Article could not therefore have been softened to please them. It is not impossible, that the king himself, young as he was, may have had some leaning to the Swiss reformers, and that to please him, and perhaps to satisfy some foreign divines, a certain degree of ambiguity may have been admitted.

We must remember, that the office for Infant Baptism was put out nearly at the same time with the Articles, that it was enjoined by the same authority, that it is of equal obligation on the clergy, and of still greater interest to the laity of the Church. Its meaning has been a fertile source of trouble in the present century. Yet, if fairly considered, its sense can scarcely be ambiguous.

It perhaps would be conceded that, if the sentiments of the reformers were clearly known and fully established, the natural sense of the service would be no longer doubtful. We have had copious extracts from their works; and their own doctrine

has been given in their own words. Most of their statements must have concerned *infant* baptism; for so little was adult baptism known in their day, that no office for adult baptism was appointed, till above a hundred years after them. We know that they speak of infants as regenerated in baptism. The only questions which can occur are these: Did they believe *all* baptized infants to be regenerated, or only some? And, if so, what did they mean by regeneration?

A considerable number of men, whose piety forbids us to doubt their honesty, suppose that the reformers believed *some*, but *not all*, infants to be regenerated in baptism. Such persons therefore say, that the well-known strong expressions in the baptismal service must be interpreted with some reservation. They adopt the notion of a charitable hypothesis. The Church charitably hopes that a particular child may be regenerate, and therefore fearlessly expresses its conviction that he *is* regenerate. In special confirmation of this theory, they adduce the office for Adult Baptism, where nearly the same expressions are used, and where it is impossible to be sure that regeneration is bestowed; for confessedly to adults grace is given, only when there is sincerity and faith. To this they add the Burial Service; where we give God thanks for taking our departed brother out of this world, evidently on the charitable supposition that he is fit for a better.

Now it is quite plain, that the office for Adult Baptism cannot explain the office for Infant Baptism; for this reason. The office for Adult Baptism was not drawn up till a hundred years after that for Infant Baptism, *i.e.* in the reign of Charles II. It was so worded as to be as like, as possible, to the more ancient office for infants; and as few alterations as could be were adopted. An office drawn up A.D. 1661 cannot interpret one drawn up in 1552. Or if it be supposed, that the bishops of 1661 were likely to understand the language of their predecessors in 1552 then we may listen to *their* explanation of the

office for Infant Baptism, the strong terms of which were objected to by the puritans. 'Seeing,' say these very bishops, who compiled the office of Adult Baptism, 'that God's Sacraments have their effects, where the receiver doth not *ponere obicem*, put any bar against them (which children cannot do); we may say in faith of *every* child that is baptized, that it is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit; and the denial of it tends to anabaptism¹,' &c.

The Burial Service does not seem a case in point. There is there no positive assertion of the certainty of the individual's bliss, as there is of the certainty of the infant's regeneration in the baptismal service. Concerning the individual, we indeed give thanks that God has 'been pleased to deliver him from the miseries of this sinful world.' But, as regards his resting in Christ, we only say, 'as our *hope* is this our brother doth.' The expression, 'in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life,' is a *general* proposition, affecting all men, and not specially the individual. The very words then of the Burial Service express plainly a charitable and comfortable *hope*. Those of the baptismal service, on the contrary, contain a positive *assertion*, and a consequent thanksgiving. The one therefore cannot explain the other.

But is it in any manner likely that the reformers should have intended a charitable hope, where they express an undoubting confidence? The belief, that some were regenerate in baptism, and others were not, was, to say the most of it, a perfectly new notion in their day. The fathers believed *all* infants to be regenerate; so did the schoolmen; so did the whole medieval Church; so did Luther and the Lutherans. Zuingle and the Zuinglians, on the contrary, believed that no one was regenerate in baptism; with them baptism was a mere outward sign. With Calvin and his followers originated the

¹ Cardwell's *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 358.

idea, that the elect might receive grace, but the non-elect be left unblessed, in the Sacrament of baptism. It is quite certain that, early in their career, our reformers could have known nothing of this theory. It was not until late, that they had any connexion whatever with the Calvinistic divines. But if, at any period in their lives they obtained from Geneva a perfectly new light on the subject of infants receiving baptismal grace, is it not most strange that their writings should exhibit no trace of this? From 1536 to 1555 we have their documents and disputations. The same tone and statements, concerning baptism and the grace of baptism, prevail from first to last. In the Articles of 1536, in the Bishops' Book of 1537, in the Articles of 1538, in the King's Book of 1543, in Cranmer's Catechism, the Baptismal Service, the Church Catechism of 1548, in the Second Service Book and the Articles of 1552, in the Answer to Gardiner 1551, and the Disputation with Chedsey 1554, exactly the same general assertions occur. There is nothing said about *all* infants, still less is anything said about excluding any. Unworthy adults are excluded, but infants never. Is it not most probable, that the utter silence concerning the inclusion of all, or the exclusion of some, resulted from the fact, that Calvin's theory, which is not very apparent even in his own published works, had never been brought to their notice? that they therefore used the ordinary language of those who went before them, speaking in the general of infants, as the subjects of the grace of God, and not caring to specify *all*, because not dreaming that *some* could be excluded¹? In

¹ It will be remembered that Calvin's difficulty was this. His theory was that grace was never given but irresistibly, and once given, never was withdrawn. Hence, if given to an infant, it must, sooner or later, renew his nature, and save his soul. Hence, again, if grace was given in baptism, the child must be saved. The predestinarians before him had not this idea. Augustine, and probably all predestinarians from him to Calvin, held that grace might be bestowed but not profited by. Hence God's Spirit and aid might be given to an infant, but he never grow up

fact, their own sentiments, to any one who will fairly examine their writings, must seem plainly to have been these. All men, infants as well as elders, are subject to original sin, and as such, subject to the wrath of God. But all too are subjects of the redeeming love of God. He would have all to be saved. He freely offers pardon and grace to all. Thus, even of unbaptized infants we may hope, that they shall share the blessings of the atonement, and dying in infancy, shall be saved from the curse of sin. But baptism is God's special ordinance for bringing them into covenant with Him. Of those infants therefore, who have been baptized, we do not *hope*, but we *know*, that, as they are partakers of the covenant of grace, so they are partakers of the assurance of pardon, and moreover have a right to those graces of the Holy Spirit, which, if cultivated, as they grow up, will surely new-create in them a sanctified nature, mortifying and destroying their old and corrupt nature, and making them sons of God indeed. Hence, as they are by baptism entitled to regenerating grace, we do not scruple to use the language of Scripture and antiquity, and to call them regenerate in baptism. Yet we do not thereby intend that original corruption is quenched in them, or that their whole moral disposition is changed; but only that they are new-born into the Church, that their sin of nature is not imputed to them, and that they have an assurance of that spiritual aid, which, if not hindered, will renew, convert, and restore them.

It will be no small confirmation to the belief, that this was their sentiment concerning baptism, if we learn that the model, on which their baptismal services were formed, was not Calvinistic, nor Zuinglian, but Lutheran. Archbishop Laurence has

the holier for it, because he resisted and quenched the Spirit; and even if he were renewed at first, if not predestinated to perseverance, he might fall away. Unless it can be proved that our reformers had adopted Calvin's theory of irresistible grace and final perseverance, it cannot be probable that they should entertain his difficulties about baptism.

shewn that, on the subject of our formularies in general, there was much correspondence between the English and the Lutheran divines¹. But it has been proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the sources of our present office for Infant Baptism, were, *first*, the Service in common use in the medieval Church and still in the Church of Rome; *secondly*, a formulary adopted by Luther for his own followers in Germany; *thirdly*, a Service composed by Melancthon and Bucer for the use of the Archbishop of Cologne, which was itself adapted from the ancient Liturgy of Nuremburg². This fact directly associates our own formularies with those, first of the ancient Church, secondly of the Lutheran reformers. The parts of the more ancient services, which were deemed superstitious, such as chrism and exorcism, were omitted. But the doctrine involved is evidently the same as that held by Luther and Melancthon; who, it has been seen, followed and symbolized with St. Augustine.

¹ See Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, *passim*.

² Appendix to Laurence's *Doctrine of the Church of England on Baptism*.

SECTION IV.

INFANT BAPTISM.

SO much space has been occupied on the earlier part of this Article, that the latter part must be very briefly considered; especially as some of what has been already said may bear on the question of infant baptism.

We have already traced the analogy between circumcision and baptism. The latter indeed excels the former, as the new covenant excels the old; but both were alike initiatory rites, the means of entering into covenant with God, and the seal of that covenant. If children could be admitted into the covenant of works, why not, *a fortiori*, into the covenant of grace? If, before they knew good from evil, they were capable of being bound by an obligation to do good and to renounce evil, and that without the assurance of quickening grace; how can they be incapable of admission to the promises of pardon, to the offer of life eternal, to the mercy and love of Him, 'who came to seek and to save that which was lost?' In that case, the blessings of the old covenant, instead of being more limited, must have been more extended than those of the new; and the Law which was given by Moses must have been more merciful than the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ. The parallel too is the more exact, if we remember, that to adults, circumcision was 'the seal of the righteousness of faith' (Rom. iv. 11); and so was not given to Abraham till he had believed. But this prerequisite in adults was no prerequisite in infants. The infant children of the Israelites, and of the converts to Judaism, were all circumcised, though they could have no faith to qualify them.

We saw, in a former Section, that not only circumcision, but baptism, was practised among the Jews; and that, when they admitted proselytes into their communion, they not only

circumcised all the males, but baptized all, male and female, infant and adult¹. When therefore our Lord sent out His disciples to 'make proselytes of all nations by baptizing them' (μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς, Matt. xxviii. 19), He addressed persons who had been ever used to the mode of proselyting, or admitting of proselytes, which He commanded; and, as they had always seen infants as well as adults baptized for such proselytism, they could only have understood that they too were to practise *infant* baptism. Unless therefore there were a special bar put upon such a practice, our Lord's words naturally implied that the practice was according to His will. The omission to specify infants is only analogous to the omission of commands to perform other obvious duties, which were well understood before, and which the first teachers of Christianity took naturally for granted.

The necessity of baptism has constantly been inferred from our Lord's declaration, 'Except a man² be born of *water*, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God' (John iii. 5). But the same supreme authority declared too concerning infants, that 'of such is the kingdom of God' (Mark x. 14). If so, they must be capable of baptism, both by water and the Spirit. Otherwise, one would think, they cannot be capable of entering into that kingdom, which is said specially to appertain to them. The whole of our Lord's teaching, on that occasion when infants were brought to Him, seems to shew, as plainly as possible, the propriety of infant baptism. If young children ought to be brought to Christ, and He has peculiar pleasure in and love for them; then can there be no possible reason why we should keep them from the Sacrament of His love. It may be said, that we thereby bind them, without their own consent;

¹ See Lightfoot on Matt. iii.; Wall, *Infant Baptism*, Introduction, quoted in sect. ii.

² *τις*, any one.

to obligations, which they might be unwilling to contract. But every human being, created by God, and redeemed by Christ, is, baptized or unbaptized, bound to believe, to love, to obey Him; and hence, whether acknowledged or not, the obligation exists. And, moreover, if in baptism responsibility is undertaken, far greater is the blessing than the responsibility: for, let it ever be remembered, that it is admission not to a covenant of works and to a bargain, 'This do, and thou shalt live;' but that it is to a covenant of grace, to pardon, and mercy, and spiritual aid, and the promise of eternal life. Great therefore are the blessings of baptism; and, though of course there are consequent obligations, yet they are only such as, more or less, would exist for the unbaptized.

Again, the statement of St. Paul, that the children of Christian parents are holy (1 Cor. vii. 14), is fairly alleged as a proof that Christians' children are fit recipients of the first Christian Sacrament. The other Sacrament, which is a renewal of the covenant made in the first, may be fitter for the adult and intelligent: but there can be nothing to keep the infant from the first. If it be said, that he has original sin, this, so far from keeping him from baptism, is his very reason for needing it. For, though we may hope that, under the Gospel of the grace of God, sin will not be imputed, where it has not been actual and wilful, yet baptism is 'for the remission of sin' (Mark i. 4); and there is no way, but baptism, whereby we can place the infant in formal covenant with God, and so within the terms of the covenant, and having the *assurance* that his sins shall not be imputed to him, and that, if he go hence, his soul shall be safe.

The words of St. Peter, again, sound much like an encouragement to bring the young to baptism. For, when he had exhorted those, who asked what they should do, to be 'baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins,' and assured them that then they should 'receive the Holy Ghost;'

he added, 'For the promise is to you and to your *children*' (Acts ii. 38, 39).

Lastly, though it is true that we read nothing of infants being baptized by any of the Apostles, it being on every account far more likely that we should hear of the baptism of adults; yet we do find that whole households were baptized by them, in more cases than one (Acts xvi. 15, 53; 1 Cor. i. 16); and in households it is most likely that there must have been children.

If we consult the records of antiquity, we shall find every reason to believe that the practice of infant baptism prevailed from the very first. Justin Martyr wrote his Second Apology about A.D. 148 (i. e. 48 years after the death of the last Apostle). He there speaks of persons, 60 and 70 years old, who had been made disciples to Christ in their infancy¹. How can infants be made disciples but by baptism? And, if these had been baptized in their infancy, it must have been during the lifetimes of the Apostle St. John, and of other apostolic men. Irenæus, next in succession to Justin, says: 'Christ came to save all by Himself; all, that is, who by Him are regenerated to God—infants and little ones, and boys and youths and old men. Therefore, He went through every age, being made an infant for infants, that He might sanctify infants²,' &c. If we consider that Irenæus, like other of the fathers, commonly calls baptism by the name of regeneration, this passage will seem conclusive of the custom and doctrine in his day.

Tertullian is an important, though unwilling witness. He shews that, in his day (about a century from the Apostles), the custom of baptizing infants prevailed, and that sponsors

¹ πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλὰ ἐξηγοντοῦται καὶ ἐβδομηγοντοῦται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητευθήσαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀφ' ὅροι διαμένονσι.—Justin. *Apol.* ii. p. 62.

² 'Omnes venit per semetipsum salvare; omnes, inquam, qui per Eum renascuntur in Deum; infantes et parvulos, et pueros, et juvenes, et seniores,' &c.—Irenæus, *Lib.* ii. c. 39, p. 160.

were wont to answer for them; but he himself advocated a delay in baptism; for he thought the innocent age of infants could scarcely need the haste of bringing them to baptism; he thought also that sponsors might, from death or other causes, be unable to fulfil their duties; and he considered it better to seek remission of sins later in life, when temptations were less likely to make men fall away¹. This was his own reasoning against the custom of the Church; shewing what that custom of the Church, against which he reasoned, was. His own view arose from his fear of the heinousness of sin after baptism; which we have already considered.

Origen, a few years later, bears ample testimony to the custom of infant baptism. 'Infants,' he says, 'are baptized for the remission of sins:' and he gives the reason, that 'none is free from pollution, though his life be but of one day on the earth².' He tells us also, that 'the Church received a custom handed down from the Apostles, to give baptism even to infants³.' Origen, it is observed by Wall, was born about 85 years after the Apostles, and his family had long been Christian.

The next father of note is Cyprian. In his day (circ. A.D. 250) there arose a question, as to what day a child should be baptized. Fidus, an African bishop, wrote to him to inquire, whether baptism, like circumcision, should be always deferred till the eighth day; or whether, if need required, it might be administered at once. An answer was returned by Cyprian and a council of sixty-six bishops. The unanimous judgment of the council was, that there was no need of such delay, for 'the mercy and grace of God is to be denied to none that is

¹ *De Baptismo*, c. 18.

² Origen. in *Luc. Homil. xiv.*

³ 'Pro hoc (i.e. propter peccatum originis) Ecclesia ab Apostolis traditionem suscepit etiam parvulis baptismum dare.'—Origen. in *Epist. ad Roman.* Lib. v. 9.

born¹. If anything could be an obstacle to persons obtaining the grace of baptism, they argue, adults would rather be hindered by their grievous sins. But, if no one is so kept from baptism, how much less infants, who have no sins, but such as they derived by inheritance from Adam².

The foregoing testimonies all occur in the first century and a half from the Apostles. It would be easy, but in this brief sketch it is unnecessary, to carry the chain further down. For a moment we may notice the view taken by Gregory Nazianzen; as it seems remarkable and indeed unaccountable. He gives his judgment, that in case of danger baptism ought to be administered without delay; but, if there be no danger, he advises that it be deferred for about three years³. Why deferred at all, if to be deferred but three years, he does not explain.

That, among the later fathers, baptism was not so universally administered in infancy as amongst ourselves, there does indeed seem reason to conjecture. The great potency, which many attached to it, and the fear of the contraction of heinous sin after it, appear to have induced some to delay its administration. Thus Constantine was not baptized till he was dying⁴. St. Augustine, though his mother was a Christian, did not receive baptism in his infancy. He himself deploras the delay; but says, it was owing to his mother's fear of the great temptations, which seemed impending over his boyhood; to which she thought it better 'to expose the clay, whence her son might afterwards be moulded, than the cast when made⁵.'

¹ 'Universi potius judicavimus nulli homini nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam.'—Cyprian. *Epist.* 64 *ad Fidum*.

² *Ibid.* See this part of the passage quoted under Art. IX. Vol. I. p. 316, note 1.

³ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* XL. Tom. I. p. 658, A.

⁴ Euseb. *Vita Constantini*. Lib. IV. c. 62.

⁵ August. *Confess.* Lib. I. c. 11.

Such instances, resulting from peculiar scruples, are no proofs, that the custom of baptizing in infancy did not prevail from the first. Augustine himself clearly asserts, that the Church both held the custom and believed the efficacy of infant baptism, from all times, and so universally that it could only have received it from the Apostles¹.

¹ *De Baptismo c. Donatistas*, Lib. iv. c. 24, Tom. ix. p. 140, cited in the last section.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

On the Lord's Supper.

THE Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean, whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

De Cœna Domini.

CœNA Domini non est tantum signum mutæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque adeo, rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris literis probari non potest; sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur, sacramenti naturam evertit et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur et manducatur in Cœna tantum cœlesti et spiritali ratione. Medium autem, quo Corpus Christi accipitur et manducatur in Cœna, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

SECTION I. HISTORY.

THIS Article treats generally of the Lord's Supper, but more especially of the presence of Christ in that Sacrament, and of the mode in which He is received there. On this mysterious

doctrine there have been four principal opinions; 1 Transubstantiation; 2 Consubstantiation; 3 The real spiritual presence; 4 The denial of any special presence altogether.

1 Transubstantiation is the doctrine of the Church of Rome. As stated by the school-authors and other more subtle reasoners among them, it means, that, in the Eucharist, after the words of consecration, the whole *substance* of the bread is converted into the *substance* of the Body of Christ, and the substance of the wine into the substance of His Blood: so that the bread and wine no longer remain, but the Body and Blood of Christ are substituted in their places. This, however, is said to be true only of the *substance*, not of the *accidents*. The accidents, (such as colour, shape, taste, smell, consistence, &c.) all remain unchanged. The substance, which is interior to, and not necessarily dependent on these external accidents, is that which is converted. Yet we are not to call it a mere spiritual change (though some of their writers have allowed even this); but the change is a real and miraculous conversion of the substance of the bread and wine into the very Body of Christ, which was born of the blessed Virgin and crucified on Calvary.

2 Consubstantiation is considered to be the doctrine of Luther and the Lutherans. It differs from Transubstantiation, in that it does not imply a change in the substance of the elements. Those, who hold this doctrine, teach that the bread remains bread, and the wine remains wine; but that with, and by means of the consecrated elements, the true, natural Body and Blood of Christ are communicated to the recipients.

3 The doctrine of a real, spiritual presence is the doctrine of the English Church, and was the doctrine of Calvin and of many foreign reformers. It teaches that Christ is really received by faithful communicants in the Lord's Supper: but that there is no gross or carnal, but only a spiritual and heavenly presence there; not the less real, however, for being spi-

ritual. It teaches therefore, that the bread and wine are received naturally; but the Body and Blood of Christ are received spiritually. 'The result of which doctrine is this: it is bread, and it is Christ's Body. It is bread in substance, Christ in the Sacrament; and Christ is as really given to all that are truly disposed, as the symbols are: each as they can; Christ as Christ can be given; the bread and the wine as they can; and to the same real purposes to which they were designed; and Christ does as really nourish and sanctify the soul, as the elements the body¹.'

4 The fourth opinion is that of Zuinglius, who taught that the Eucharist is a bare commemoration of the death of Christ, and that the bread and wine are mere symbols and tokens to remind us of His Body and Blood.

The subject, on which we are entering, is one which has produced folios of controversy; alas! what should have been for our peace, becoming to us an occasion of falling. But a brief view is all that is here possible.

When we consider the language of the fathers, one or two cautions are necessary. Of course, their words were not measured and guarded, as ours have been in our times of trouble. Their writings are often rhetorical, that we say not sometimes turgid. They treat such questions as these practically, not argumentatively. Now in such writings, it may be very difficult to tell the exact intention of the writer, when subsequent ages have drawn subtle distinctions.

Thus much we must premise as unquestionable. The whole primitive Church evidently believed in a *presence* of Christ in the Eucharist. All spoke of feeding there on Christ; eating His Body and drinking His Blood. But then, was it a spiritual presence, or a carnal presence? Did they teach a carnal eating and drinking of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood? or did they

¹ Jer. Taylor, *On the Real Presence*, sect. i. 4.

intend a spiritual manducation—an eating spiritually and a drinking in by the soul of the life-giving efficacy of the Body broken and the Blood shed? Did they believe the bread and wine to be actually and literally transmuted into Flesh and Blood? or did they think the bread and wine still to remain bread and wine, though constituted Sacraments of Christ, means in God's Hand of conveying to us Christ's Body and Blood, and so, after Christ's own example, to be called by the *name* of His Body and Blood?

Here is the question; and it must be carefully noted. If there were no other alternative, but that the fathers must have been either Papists or Zuinglians—must have held either a carnal presence, or none at all; then we must perforce acknowledge that they believed in a carnal presence, and were transubstantialists. For some presence they undoubtedly taught; some mode of feeding on Christ they undeniably believed in. But another alternative is possible, and has been acknowledged as possible, even by eminent scholastic and Romanist divines. They may have believed a spiritual presence. They may have thought that the Eucharist conveyed Christ really, and yet spiritually, to the recipient: and they may have taught that the soul was truly nourished by spiritually feeding on His Flesh and Blood, as truly as the body is nourished by carnally feeding upon bread and wine.

Whichever they held, a carnal or a spiritual presence; they may easily have used language, which would sound like the carnal presence. There can be little doubt, that their faith and feelings inclined them to the mysterious; and there was no controversy, no apparent need of caution. But then we may observe, that *one* clear statement, that the presence was spiritual, or that the substance of the bread and wine remained, must outweigh statements innumerable, which merely sound like a belief in transubstantiation or in a carnal presence. For the latter would naturally occur, where people believed in a *real*

presence, and had never learned the necessity of guarding their words, lest they should be thought to teach a carnal and natural presence; but the former could never come from the lips or pens of those, who acknowledged a literal change of the elements, and that the natural Body of the Lord was actually eaten by all who communicate.

For instance, Roman Catholics will never say, that the bread and wine remain unchanged, and that the feeding is *only* spiritual. But Protestants, of many different communions, have freely declared that Christ's 'Body and Blood are really and indeed taken.' Nay! it is acknowledged by them, that the Body of Christ then received is the very Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, dead and buried. For there is no other Body, no other Blood of Christ. Christ's Body is now glorified, but still it is the same Body, though in its glorified condition. It is not even denied, that we receive that Body really, substantially, corporally: for although the word '*corporally*' seem opposed to '*spiritually*,' yet not of necessity. And as we acknowledge that it is a Body which we receive, so we cannot deny its presence corporally, *i. e.* after the manner of a Body. Only, when we come to explain ourselves, we say that, though it be Christ's very Body, we receive in the Eucharist, and though we cannot deny even the word *corporal* concerning it; yet as Christ's Body is now a spiritual Body, so we expect a spiritual presence of that Body; and we do not believe that we *naturally* and *carnally* eat that which is now no longer carnal and natural; but that we spiritually receive Christ's Spiritual Body into our souls, and spiritually drink His life-giving Blood with the lips of our spirit¹. Moreover, it has been abundantly acknowledged, not only by our English divines, but by Protestants of all sorts, that the elements, after conse-

¹ See this excellently laid down by Bp. Taylor, *On the Real Presence*, sect. i. 9—11.

eration, may be called by the name of those things which they represent. But then we call them so, not because we believe them to have lost their original nature, and to have ceased to be what they were; but because, being hallowed to a new and higher purpose, they may be called that which they are the means of communicating.

It was necessary to say thus much, that we might not be startled by strong terms; and so conclude at once, that we had found a doctrine, before it had yet entered even into men's dreams. With this precaution, we shall readily see in the fathers abundant evidence, that the carnal doctrine of transubstantiation had not risen in their days. Let us take one or two of the strongest expressions, and which, if not explained and qualified by other statements, would seem conclusive for transubstantiation and a natural presence.

St. Jerom and others speak of the clergy as making the Body of Christ¹. Yet as the words of consecration make the bread the Sacrament of Christ's Body, and so the means of conveying His Body to the communicant, and as it was an acknowledged mode of speech, and fully sanctioned by the language of our Lord, to call the consecrated bread by the name of that, of which it was the type and Sacrament; it was not unnatural that the priest by his consecration should be said to make Christ's Body and Blood, even by those, who believed no more than a spiritual and sacramental communication of them to the faithful.

St. Chrysostom writes, 'When you behold the Lord sacrificed and lying, and the priest standing by the sacrifice and praying, and the congregation sprinkled with that precious Blood (καὶ πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμίῳ φοινισσομένους αἵματι)....

¹ 'Absit ut de his quidquam sinistrum loquar, qui Apostolico gradui succedentes Christi Corpus sacro ore conficiunt, per quos et nos Christiani sumus; qui claves regni cœlorum habentes,' &c.—Hieron. ad *Heliodorum*, Epist. 1. al. 7.

are you not immediately transported to Heaven, and dismissing from your soul every fleshly thought, do you not with naked spirit and pure mind see the things which are in Heaven? Oh wonderful! Oh! the love of God! who, seated with the Father above, is held at that moment by the hands of all; and who gives Himself to those who desire to receive Him. And all see this by the eyes of faith¹. 'Behold, thou seest Him, thou touchest Him, thou eatest Him. He gives Himself to thee, not only to see, but to touch, to eat and to receive within..... How pure should he be who partakes of that Sacrifice! the hand that divides His Flesh, the mouth filled with spiritual fire, the tongue empurpled with His awful Blood²!' Now these expressions are so strong, that even believers in transubstantiation could hardly use them without a figure. The Roman Catholics allow that the *accidents* of the bread and wine remain unchanged; and would hardly therefore in literal language speak of the tongue as assuming the purple colour of Christ's Blood. But hyperbolic expressions are common with St. Chrysostom and his contemporaries; and they use such language, that they may exalt the dignity of the blessed Sacrament; that they may induce communicants to approach it with devotion and reverence; that they may turn their minds from the visible objects before them to those invisible objects which they represent, and which, as St. Chrysostom says, they may 'see by the eye of faith.'

Still more remarkable perhaps are the expressions used by others of the Greek, especially the later Greek fathers, concerning the change (*μεταβολή, μεταστοιχείωσις*) in the Sacra-

¹ *De Sacerdot.* III. § 4.

² 'Ἰδοὺ αὐτὸν ὁρᾷς, αὐτοῦ ἄπτη, αὐτὸν ἐσθίεις. . . αὐτὸς δὲ ἐάντὸν σοι δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἰδεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄψασθαι καὶ φαγεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν ἔνθον. . . τίνος οὖν οὐκ ἔδει καθαρώτερον εἶναι τὸν ταύτης ἀπολαύοντα τῆς θυσίας; ποίας ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ταύτην διατέμνουσαν τὴν σάρκα, τὸ στόμα τὸ πληρούμενον πυρὸς πνευματικοῦ, τὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν φοινισσομένην αἵματι φρικωδεστάτῳ.—Chrys. *Hom.* 83 in *Matt.* c. 26.

ments. So Gregory Nyssen says, 'These things He gives by virtue of the benediction upon it, transmuting the nature of the things which appear¹.' And Theophylact (the last of the Greek fathers, A.D. 1077), 'Therefore the merciful God, condescending to us, preserves the form of bread and wine, but transforms them into the virtue of His Flesh and Blood².' Those, who translate μεταστοιχειοῦν by *transelementare*, think that we have here the very word made use of, which exactly answers to the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, viz. a change of the elements into something different from their original substance. Yet first of all, *transelementare* is not certainly, nor probably, a right translation³. Secondly, Gregory Nyssen is speaking, not only of a change in the Eucharist, but in the Sacraments generally; and whatever sanctifying efficacy may have been attributed to the water in baptism, *no change of its substance* was ever believed to take place. Thirdly, Theophylact only says the elements are changed into the *virtue* or *efficacy*, not into the *substance* of Christ's Flesh and Blood—a very notable distinction. Fourthly, he uses the same word (μεταστοιχείωσις) of changes very unlike transubstantiation, e. g. the change of our bodies to the state of incorruption, and the change that is made in the faithful, when they are united to Christ⁴. Lastly, we shall find abundant proof from Greek fathers, centuries before Theophylact, to shew that a conversion

¹ ταῦτα δὲ δίδωσι τῇ τῆς εὐλογίας δυνάμει πρὸς ἐκεῖνο μεταστοιχείωσας τῶν φαινομένων τὴν φύσιν.—Gregor. Nyssen. in *Orat. Catechet.*

² Διὰ τοῦτο συγκαταβαίνων ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος· τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου φυλάττει· εἰς δυνάμιν δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μεταστοιχείοι.—Theophyl. in *Evangel. Marc.* cap. cxiv.

³ Suidas has μεταστοιχείουσα, μετασχηματίζουσα, μεταπλάττουσα. Suicer argues at length that *transelementare* will not properly express its sense. (See Suicer, ii. pp. 363, 364). Jer. Taylor (*On the Real Presence*, sect. xii. num. 5) adduces the words of Suarez, the learned Jesuit, in acknowledgment that μεταστοιχείωσις does not properly convey the meaning of *transubstantiation*.

⁴ Theophyl. in *Luc.* xxiv. et in *Joh.* vi. apud Jer. Taylor, *ubi supra*.

of substance was not believed by the early Greek Church; and therefore that Theophylact's transelementation must have meant something else, or that he himself must have adopted comparatively modern views.

The same observations apply to the passages cited from St. Cyril of Jerusalem, where he speaks of Christ's changing the water into wine, and then adds, 'Let us therefore with full assurance receive Christ's Body and Blood; for His Body is given to thee in the figure of bread, and His Blood in the figure of wine¹.' But here St. Cyril happily explains himself; for soon after he speaks of the Capharnaite Jews, as offended at our Lord's sayings in John vi. 53. And this, he says, was from their carnal interpretation of His words, 'They, not receiving His saying spiritually, being offended went backward, thinking that He invited them to the eating of flesh².' He then compares the Eucharist to the shewbread, and says that, 'as the bread is fitted for the body, so the Word for the soul. Look not therefore as on bare bread and wine, for they are according to the Lord's saying His Flesh and Blood³.' The context plainly shews the conversion to be spiritual, not, as the Jews had understood our Lord, as indicating a literal *σαρκοφαγία*, or banquet upon flesh.

There is a famous passage, which the Roman Catholic controversialists coupled with the last from St. Cyril, and much insisted on as plainly in their favour. It comes from the tract *De Cœna Domini*, in former times attributed to St. Cyprian, but which the Benedictine editors assign to Arnoldus, of Bona Vallis, a contemporary of St. Bernard. It speaks of the bread

¹ ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου δίδοται σοι σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδοται σοι τὸ αἷμα.—Cyril. Hieros. *Catec. Mystagog.* IV. 1.

² ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἀκηκοότες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγίαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπεται.—*Ibid.*

³ Μὴ πρόσχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτι καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν.—*Cat. Myst.* IV. 2.

as 'changed, not in form, but in nature'¹. The words of our own reformer shall explain that, even if the language were (as it is not) St. Cyprian's, it would not prove him a supporter of transubstantiation. 'The bread is changed, not in shape nor substance, but in nature, as Cyprian truly saith; not meaning that the natural substance of bread is clean gone, but that by God's word there is added thereto another higher property, nature and condition, far passing the nature and condition of common bread, that is to say, that the bread doth shew unto us, as the same Cyprian saith, that we be partakers of the Spirit of God, and most purely joined unto Christ, and spiritually fed with His Flesh and Blood; so that now the said mystical bread is both a corporal food for the body, and a spiritual food for the soul².

We must not omit one passage from St. Hilary, which contains certainly some startling expressions. He is arguing against heretics, who held that the Unity of the Father and the Son was unity of *will*, not unity of nature. He quotes against them John xvii. 21, 23: 'That they may be one, even as we are one: I in thee, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.' And he contends, that the unity of the Father and the Son must be an unity of nature, not merely of will; inasmuch as the indwelling of Christ in His people is not by

¹ 'Panis iste, quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura, mutatus, omnipotentia Verbi factus est caro.'—*De Cœna Domini*. The tract is usually printed in the Appendix of the works of Cyprian. In the Oxford edition it is in Appendix, p. 39, and the above passage, p. 40. In the edition of Venice, 1729, it is App. p. xcix. There is also a famous passage from St. Ambrose, *De Myst.* ix. § 52, where he speaks of Christ's words as changing the properties of the elements: '*valebit Christi Sermo ut species mutet elementorum;*' and again, *mutare naturas*. The answer in the text to the passage from the Pseudo-Cyprian equally applies to this from St. Ambrose. See also Bp. Cosin, *Hist. of Transubstant.* ch. vi. 14.

² Cranmer, *Remains*, Vol. II. p. 340; *Defence of the Catholic Doctrine*, Bk. II. ch. xi.

concord of will, but by verity of nature ; for He took the nature of our flesh, on purpose that He might dwell in us according to that human nature ; and by His human nature He dwelleth in us and we in Him. Hence our union with Him is by unity of nature, *i.e.* human nature. So in like manner, His union with the Father is by unity of nature, *i.e.* Divine nature. In the course of this argument he says, ‘ If Christ therefore really took flesh of our body, and He is truly that Man who was born of Mary, and we truly under the mystery receive His Flesh, by means of which we shall be one ; for the Father is in Him and He in us ; what room is there for mere unity of will, when the natural property effected by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of perfect unity ! Christ Himself says concerning the truth of His nature in us, *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Concerning the truth of His Body and Blood there is no room for doubt ; for now by our Lord’s witness and our own faith, it is truly Flesh, and truly Blood. And these received and taken in by us, make that we be in Christ and Christ in us¹.’

The passage, strong as it is, does not stagger those who admit a true but spiritual presence of Christ’s Body in the re-

¹ ‘ Quisquis ergo naturaliter Patrem in Christo negabit neget prius non naturaliter vel se in Christo, vel Christum sibi inesse ; quia in Christo Pater, et Christus in nobis, unum in his esse nos faciunt. Si vere igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, et vere homo ille, qui ex Maria natus fuit, Christus est, nosque vere sub mysterio carnem corporis sui sumimus ; (et per hoc unum erimus, quia Pater in eo est, et Ille in nobis ;) quomodo voluntatis unitas aperitur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietates, perfectas sit sacramentum unitatis. De naturali in nobis Christi veritate ipse ait : *Caro mea vere est esca, et sanguis meus vere est potus. Qui edidit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo.* De veritate carnis et sanguinis non relictus est ambigendi locus : nunc enim et ipsius Domini professione et fide nostra, vere caro, et vere sanguis est. Et hæc accepta et hausta efficiunt ut et nos in Christo et Christus in nobis sit.’—Hilar. *De Trinitate*, Lib. viii. § 13, p. 222. Edit. Benedict.

ceiving of the Eucharist, and a true but spiritual union of Christians to the human-nature of their Lord. 'For as concerning the word *truly*,' they say, 'it setteth not lively forth a real and substantial presence; for Christ is truly in all His faithful people, and they truly eat His Flesh and drink His Blood, and yet not by a real and corporal, but by a spiritual and effectual presence¹.' 'And, although he saith that Christ is naturally in us, yet he saith also that we be naturally in Him. And nevertheless in so saying, he meant not of the natural and corporal presence of the substance of Christ's Body and of ours; for as our bodies be not after that sort within His Body, so is not His Body after that sort within our bodies.... And as the union between Christ and us in baptism is spiritual...so likewise our union with Christ in his holy Supper is spiritual...and therefore Hilarius, speaking there of both the Sacraments, maketh no difference between our union with Christ in baptism and our union with Him in His holy Supper².'

Now, although such passages admit of an explanation, whether we adopt the transubstantialist theory, or the doctrine of a true but spiritual presence in the Eucharist; yet it must be conceded that, if all the language of the fathers was similar to the above-quoted sentences, there would be just reason to suspect that, from the first, transubstantiation, or something near akin to it, was the doctrine of the Church. But it is easy to bring a chain of testimonies, from the very earliest ages through many centuries, which cannot be interpreted to mean transubstantiation or a carnal presence, but which declare, though

¹ Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner*, Works, Vol. III. p. 254.

² Cranmer's *Defence of the Catholic Doctrine*, &c., Works, Vol. II. pp. 406, 407. N. B. Just before the passage above quoted, Hilary had spoken of the union of Christians to Christ in baptism, as he speaks afterwards of their union in the Eucharist: 'Docet Apostolus ex natura sacramentorum esse hanc fidelium unitatem, ad Galatas scribens, *Quot quot enim in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis*,' &c.—*De Trin.* Lib. VIII. p. 218. Ed. Ben.

plainly for a real, yet as plainly for a spiritual feeding upon Christ.

The apostolical fathers, for the most part, speak in terms so general, that it is often almost doubtful, whether they speak of the Eucharist, or of that spiritual feeding upon Christ as the bread of life, which all allow to be possible even without the Eucharist. Thus Ignatius, 'I delight not in the food of corruption, nor in the pleasures of this life; I desire the bread of God, which is the Flesh of Christ, and His Blood I desire as drink, which is love incorruptible¹.' Again, 'Let no one be deceived; if any one be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God².' His high esteem for the grace of this Sacrament he shews in general expressions, 'breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, our antidote that we die not, but live for ever in Christ Jesus³.' One passage in this early father alludes to certain sects of the Gnostics or Docetæ, who, not believing that the Saviour had ever taken real human flesh, refused to receive the Eucharist, because they would not acknowledge it to be the Body of Christ. 'They abstain from the Eucharist and public prayer, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness, raised from the dead⁴.' From which we may fairly conclude, that the fathers called the consecrated bread the Body of Christ, and that some early heretics did not admit the language, or perhaps even the Sacrament, because they disbelieved in the

¹ Ignat. *ad Roman.* vii. The passage is in the Syriac.

² Ignat. *ad Ephes.* v.

³ *Ad Ephes.* xx.

⁴ *Ad Smyrn.* vii. The passage is not in the longer epistles, but it is in the shorter (esteemed the genuine) epistles of Ignatius, and it is cited by Theodoret, (*Dial.* 3) and is maintained to be genuine by Cotelierius, Tom. ii. p. 37, note, *in loc.* The Greek is *εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθούσαν, ἣν χρηστότητι ὁ Πατὴρ ἔγειρεν.*

existence of Christ's Body. But even Bellarmine allows that the question between Ignatius and the heretics, was not the doctrine of the Eucharist, but the doctrine of the Incarnation¹. Whatever may have been the belief of the Church as to the *mode* of receiving Christ's Body in the Eucharist, the heretics would have been equally likely to reject the Eucharist, as not acknowledging that Christ had a body at all. For the Eucharist, which symbolizes, and is the means of receiving His Body, presupposes its reality. Another passage from Ignatius is as follows ; 'Hasten therefore to partake of the one Eucharist ; for there is but one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for the unity of His Blood ; one altar, as also one bishop²,' &c. Here the exhortation is to avoid schism, partaking of the one Eucharist, where is exhibited to us the oneness of the Saviour we receive, and so the unity of the Church.

Justin Martyr describes the Eucharistic feast to the heathen emperor. He speaks first of the bread and wine as blessed by the presiding presbyter ; and then says, 'This food is called by us Eucharist, which no one is allowed to take, but he who believes our doctrines to be true, and has been baptized in the laver of regeneration, for the remission of sins, and lives as Christ has enjoined. *For we take not these as common bread and common drink.* For like as our Saviour Jesus Christ, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation, so we are taught, that this food, which is blessed by the prayer of the Word that cometh from Him, by conversion of which our flesh and blood are nourished, is the Flesh and Blood of Him, the Incarnate Jesus³.' There is mani-

¹ *De Eucharistia*, i. 1, cited by Bp. Cosin, *Hist. of Transubstantiation*, ch. vi. 11.

² Σπουδάσατε οὖν μὴ εὐχαριστία χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἑνώσιον τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν θυσιαστήριον ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος, κ. τ. λ.—*Ad Philadelph.* iv.

οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὅν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα

festly in this passage what may be called high Eucharistic doctrine. Justin was plainly no Zuinglian. The Christians of his day took not the consecrated elements 'for common bread and common wine.' But, if Justin was no Sacramentarian, neither was he a transubstantialist. Whereas, he says it is not *common* bread, he evidently believes it to be yet *bread*: otherwise he would naturally have left out the epithet *common*, and have said, that they esteemed it no longer bread at *all*. Moreover he speaks of the elements as changed into the nourishment of our flesh and blood. But he would never have said this, had he believed them to have literally become the unchangeable and incorruptible Body of the Lord. It is evident, therefore, that he held no change in the elements, but a Sacramental change; although he undoubtedly declares, that in the Eucharist the Christians were taught that there was a reception of the Body and Blood of Christ. Dr. Waterland argues that consubstantiation is as much excluded by this passage as transubstantiation¹, though Bishop Kaye appears to admit that it sounds not unlike the former². Still he has justly added, that in the Dialogue with Trypho Justin states the bread to be in commemoration of Christ's Body, and the cup of His Blood³; and in another place applies

καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαρισθεῖσαν τροφὴν ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.—Justin. *Apol.* i. p. 98.

'As it appears to me Justin in this passage does not intend to compare the manner, in which Jesus Christ being made flesh by the Word of God hath flesh and blood for our sake with that in which the bread and wine . . . became the Flesh and Blood of Christ; but only to say that, as Christians were taught that Christ had flesh and blood, so were they also taught that the bread and wine in the Eucharist are the Body and Blood of Christ; ὃν τρόπον is merely equivalent to *as*.'—Bishop Kaye, *Justin Martyr*, pp. 87, 88, note.

¹ Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, ch. vii.

² Bp. Kaye's *Justin Martyr*, p. 74.

³ περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου ὃν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς ποιεῖν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τε σωματοποιήσασθαι, κ. τ. λ.—*Dialog.* p. 296.

to them the expression 'dry and liquid food¹;' and such language would scarcely have been used by a believer in the natural, though the language of the former passage might be readily adopted by a believer in the spiritual presence.

Our next witness is Irenæus. 'As the bread from the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is no longer *common bread*, but the Eucharist, consisting of *two things*, *earthly* and *heavenly*; so also our bodies, receiving the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have hope of eternal resurrection².' Here we have evidently the substance of the bread remaining, still an *earthly* element. Yet it is no longer *common bread*, for by consecration there is a *heavenly* or spiritual grace united to it, which makes it not mere bread, but the Eucharist.

Irenæus had to contend against the Gnostics, who denied the reality of the body of Christ. In more than one place he argues, from the real substantial character of the Eucharistic elements, that the Flesh and Blood of Christ, of which they were the representatives, must be substantial and real. This will make his language sometimes sound as though he believed in a natural presence of that Flesh and Blood; yet, if we remember his object and attentively observe his words, we shall think otherwise. 'That cup,' he says, 'which is a creature, He recognized to be His Blood which is shed, with which He imbues (δεύει) our blood; and the bread which is a creature, He affirmed to be His own Body, by which our bodies grow. When, therefore, both the mingled cup and the created bread receive the word of God, and become the Eucharist of Christ's Blood and Body, and by them the substance of our flesh grows and

¹ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὁ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται.—*Dial.* p. 345.

² Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνα ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα.—Irenæ. Lib. iv. 32 (Lib. iv. 18, Bened.)

consists, how can they say that the flesh is not capable of the gift of God, namely of life eternal, when it is fed by Christ's Body and Blood, and is a member of Him¹?

In a fragment edited by Pfaff, we have a clear explanation of Irenæus's view, that, by the Holy Spirit descending on the Eucharist, the Elements become so the Body and Blood of Christ, that, though they yet remain *figures* or *emblems*, still the partakers of those emblems obtain pardon and eternal life². In another fragment quoted from him by Œcumenius, we read that during persecution some slaves had informed against their masters, having misinterpreted the language used concerning the Eucharist, and so supposing that their masters fed on human flesh. This, Irenæus says, arose from their having heard the divine Communion called the Blood and Body of Christ; 'and they, *thinking that it was in reality flesh and blood*, gave information accordingly³.' The inference obviously is, that Irenæus did not think the bread and wine to have become really Flesh and Blood. So he, like Justin Martyr, is a witness against the Roman doctrine, and yet perhaps, as Waterland observes, still more against the mere figurists or memorialists. For it is certain, that he believed the Body and Blood of Christ to be verily and indeed taken in the Eucharist; but still he gives no indication of a belief in a change of the

¹ *Adv. Hær.* v. 2. Of this passage we may observe, that if Irenæus had meant that the elements were changed in substance into Christ's Body and Blood, he would never have spoken of them as nourishing our bodies, which implies the idea of digestion, acknowledged to be blasphemy.

² καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν πρόσφοραν τελείσαντες ἐκκαλοῦμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅπως ἀποφύγῃ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἵνα οἱ μεταλάβοντες τούτων τῶν ἀντιτύπων τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν.—Irenæi *Scripta Anecdota*, fragm. 2, p. 29.

³ οἱ δοῦλοι οὗτοι, μὴ ἔχοντες πῶς τὸ τοῖς ἀναγκάζουσι καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐρεῖν, παρ' ὅσον ἤκουον τῶν δεσποτῶν, τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν αἶμα καὶ σῶμα εἶναι Χριστοῦ, αὐτοὶ νομίσαντες τῷ ὄντι αἶμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι, τοῦτο ἐξείπον τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσι.—*Fragmentum ab Œcumenio in Comment. ad 1 Petri Epist.* cap. 3, p. 498, *allegatum*; Irenæi *Op.* Grabe, p. 469.

elements; acknowledging them to be *emblems* (ἀντίτυποι), and not thinking that those, who partook of them, were indeed feeding upon flesh and blood¹.

Tertullian says, 'The petition, *Give us this day our daily bread*, may be spiritually interpreted. For Christ is our bread. *I*, said He, *am the bread of Life*: and just before, *The Bread is the Word of the Living God, who came down from Heaven*: and also because His Body is understood in bread, *This is My Body*. (*Tum quod et Corpus Ejus in pane censetur, Hoc est Corpus Meum*.) Therefore by asking our daily bread, we seek perpetuity in Christ and to be undivided from His Body².' Again he writes, 'Our body is fed with the Body and Blood of Christ, that our soul may be fattened of God³.' He speaks of Christ, as *calling* bread His Body⁴. 'Bread,' again we read, 'by which He represents His very Body⁵.' So also, 'Having taken bread and distributed it to His disciples, He made it His Body, by saying, *This is My Body*, i. e. the figure of My Body. But there would be no figure, if there were no true Body. A mere phantom, without substance, would admit no figure⁶.' In the last passage, he is arguing, like Ignatius and Irenæus, against those who denied a Body to our Lord. Now surely this testimony is plain. The bread is not really

¹ There is an excellent chapter in Beaven's *Irenæus* on the subject of Irenæus's statements concerning the Eucharist.

² *De Oratione*, c. 6.

³ 'Caro Corpore et Sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.'—*De Resur. Carn.* c. 8.

⁴ 'Christus . . . panem Corpus suum appellans.'—*Adv. Judæ.* c. 10.

⁵ 'Panem, quo ipsum Corpus suum representat.'—*Adv. Marcion.* Lib. i. c. 14.

⁶ 'Represento—to exhibit as present; ὑποτίθημι, præsentem esse facio, ob oculos pono, refero. Representare dicuntur pictores. Item oratores graphice quippiam describentes.'—Facciolati.

⁶ 'Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, Hoc est Corpus Meum, dicendo, id est, figura Corporis Mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset Corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset.'—*Adv. Marcion.* Lib. iv. c. 40.

Christ's Body, but a figure of His Body, with which however He is pleased to recall (*representare*) His Body to His followers. In this bread His Body is understood (*consuetur*) or accounted; and so our bodies are fed with His Body, that our souls may be nourished of God. Though the bread then is a figure; yet the feeding on Christ is not merely figurative, but real, and spiritual. He is the Bread of life; and by feeding on Him we receive perpetual and indivisible union to His Body.

Clement of Alexandria, of the same date with Tertullian, says, 'The Blood of the Lord is two-fold; the one natural or carnal, whereby we are redeemed from corruption; the other spiritual, whereby we are anointed; and this is to drink the Blood of Jesus, to be partakers of the Lord's incorruptibility. Also the Spirit is the power of the Word, as the Blood is of the flesh¹.' He then goes on to speak of the wine mingled with water; and says, that the mixture of the drink and of the Logos is called the Eucharist—'Blessed and glorious grace, by which those, who partake in faith, are sanctified both body and soul.' 'Christ,' he says a little farther on, 'partook of wine; for He was a man. He blessed it too, saying, *Take, drink, this is My Blood*, the blood of the vine. He thus calls allegorically the Word, who was poured forth for many for the remission of sins, the sacred stream of gladness. . . . He shewed that what He blessed was wine, by saying to His disciples, *I will not drink of the fruit of this vine till I drink it with you in My Father's Kingdom*².' Clement was a very mystical writer; but we can

¹ Διπλὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ σαρκικόν, ᾧ τῆς φθορᾶς λελυτρώμεθα· τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, τοῦτέστιν ᾧ κεχρισμέθα· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πιεῖν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς Κυριακῆς μεταλαμβάνειν ἀφθαρσίας· ἰσχύς δὲ τοῦ Λόγου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὡς αἷμα σαρκός.—*Pædag.* Lib. II. c. 2, p. 177.

² Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβεν οἶνον καὶ αὐτός· καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ αὐτός. Καὶ εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, λάβετε, πείτε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπελου· τὸν Λόγον, τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἅγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νῆμα . . . ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν τὸ εὐλογηθέν, ἀπέδειξε πάλιν, πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγων. Οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπελου

discern this much at least from the foregoing passages; that, whilst he attached great spiritual blessings to the Eucharist, he yet believed the substance of the wine to remain in it, and the Blood received therein to be spiritual, not natural Blood.

In Origen, as in his predecessors, we perceive at the same time deep reverence for the Body of Christ received in the Eucharist, and yet a belief, that the reception of that Body was spiritual and heavenly, not carnal and natural. 'When you receive the Body of the Lord, with all caution and reverence preserve it; lest any the least thereof be lost, or any portion of the consecrated gift pass away¹.' 'Acknowledge that they are figures, which are written in the sacred volumes; therefore as spiritual, not carnal, examine and understand what is said. For, if as carnal you receive them, they hurt, not nourish you. Not only in the old Testament is there a letter which killeth; but also in the new there is a letter which killeth him who does not spiritually consider it. For, if according to the letter you receive this saying, *Except ye eat My Flesh and drink My Blood*, that letter killeth².'

St. Cyprian, in his 63rd Epistle, is very full on the subject of the cup in the Sacrament. He is writing there against the Aquarii, who rejected wine as evil, and so used water at the

ταύτης, μέχρις ἂν πίνω αὐτὸ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡμῶν.—*Pædag.* Lib. II. c. 2, p. 186.

¹ 'Cum suscipitis Corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decadat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur.'—*In Exod.* Hom. XIII.

² 'Agnoscite quia figuræ sunt quæ in divinis voluminibus scripta sunt, et ideo tanquam spiritalis et non tanquam carnalis examine et intelligite quæ dicuntur. Si enim quasi carnales ista suscipitis, lædunt vos et non alunt. Est enim et in evangeliiis litera quæ occidit. Non solum in veteri Testamento occidens litera deprehenditur; est et in novo Testamento litera quæ occidat eum qui non spiritaliter quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum*, occidit litera.'—*In Levit.* Hom. VII. n. 5.

communion. He argues that the tradition of the Lord should be preserved; and that nothing should be done but what Christ did before: that therefore 'the Cup, which is offered in commemoration of Him, be offered mixed with wine. For whereas Christ says, *I am the true Vine*, the Blood of Christ is surely wine, not water. Nor can it appear that in the cup is His Blood with which we are redeemed, if wine be absent by which Christ's Blood is represented¹.' There is much there to the same purpose. But these words alone prove that Cyprian, whilst calling the consecrated wine the Blood of Christ, and believing (as is abundantly evident through his writings everywhere) that there was in the Sacrament a real partaking of Christ, yet considered that there was still remaining the substance of the wine; for, says he, 'The Blood of Christ is wine,' i. e. that cup, which we drink, acknowledging it to be the Blood of Christ, is wine. Moreover, he considered the wine to be a representation, or means of shewing Christ's Blood, and the cup to be offered in commemoration of Him.

St. Athanasius, quoting John vi. 61—63, observes, 'Christ distinguished between the flesh and the spirit, that believing not only what was apparent, but also what was invisible, they might know that what He spake was not carnal but spiritual. For to how many could His Body have sufficed for food, that this might be for nourishment to all the world? But therefore He made mention of His ascension into heaven, that He might draw them from understanding it corporally; and that they might understand that the Flesh, He spoke of, was heavenly food from above, and spiritual nourishment given them by Him. For, says He, *the things that I speak unto you, they are spirit*

¹ 'Ut calix, qui in commemoratione Ejus offertur, mixtus vino offeratur. Nam cum dicat Christus; *Ego sum vitis vera*; sanguis Christi, non aqua est utique, sed vinum. Nec potest videri sanguis Ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quando vinum desit calici quo Christi sanguis ostenditur.'—Cyprian. *Epist.* LXIII.; *Cæcilio Fratri*, p. 148. Oxf.

and they are life. Which is as though He had said, My Body, which is shewn and given for the world, shall be given in food; that it may be spiritually distributed to every one, and become to each a preservative unto the resurrection of eternal life¹.

We have already heard St. Cyril of Jerusalem, the contemporary of Athanasius, declare his belief that the Body and Blood of Christ are given us, under the figure of bread and wine, and that the Capharnaïtes were misled by interpreting our Lord carnally, as though He meant a banquet upon flesh, not, as He ought to be interpreted, spiritually². So, in a former lecture, speaking of the unction which was given with baptism figuring the anointing of the Holy Ghost, he writes, 'Beware of supposing this bare unction. For as the bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer mere bread (οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτός), but the Body of Christ; so also this holy ointment is no longer simple ointment, nor common, after the invocation, but the gift of Christ. . . . While thy body is anointed with the visible ointment, thy soul is sanctified by the Holy, life-giving Spirit³.' Here is a denial that the bread is *mere* bread, not that it still continues really bread; and a statement that it is the Body of Christ, but so the Body of Christ, as the unction was believed to be the Holy Ghost; i. e. not in a natural change of the substance; but in spirit, and power, and life.

¹ τὸ πνεῦμα πρὸς τὰ κατὰ σάρκα διέστειλεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δόρατον αὐτοῦ πιστεύσαντες μάθωσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἃ λέγει οὐκ ἔστι σαρκικά ἀλλὰ πνευματικά· πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρώσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντός τοῦτο τροφή γένηται; ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εἰς οὐρανούς διαβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοὺς ἀφελέκωσιν καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰρημένην σάρκα βρώσιν ἄνωθεν οὐράνιον, καὶ πνευματικὴν τροφήν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένην μάθωσιν. ἃ γὰρ λελάληκα, φησὶν, ὑμῖν πνευμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή. Ἰσον τῷ εἰπεῖν, τὸ μὲν δεκνύμενον καὶ διδόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου δοθήσεται τροφή, ὡς πνευματικῶς ἐν ἐκάστῳ ταύτην ἀναδίδοσθαι, καὶ γίνεσθαι πᾶσι φυλακτήριον εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου.—Athanas. *In illud Evangelii*, 'Quicumque dixerit,' *Op. Tom. i. p. 979.*

² Cyril. *Cateches. Mystag.* iv. 1, cited above.

³ *Cat. Myst.* iii. 3.

St. Jerome clearly distinguishes between the natural Body and Blood of Christ, which were crucified and shed, and the spiritual Body and Blood of Christ, which are eaten and drunken by the faithful¹. And so we must explain that language of his, which, as we saw above, appeared to savour of the later doctrine of the Latin Church. St. Chrysostom too, who used such glowing terms of the real presence of Christ, elsewhere explains himself that we should look on all Sacraments, not outwardly and carnally, but spiritually and with the eyes of our souls². And in the Epistle to Cæsarius, which is mostly esteemed to be his, and if not his, was certainly by a contemporary of his, we read that, 'before' the bread is consecrated, we call it bread; but when it is consecrated, it is no longer called bread, but is held worthy to be called the Body of the Lord, yet still the substance of the bread remains³.

We must now proceed to St. Augustine, whom all agree to honour. He has so much to the purpose, that how to choose is

¹ 'Dupliciter vero sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur: vel spiritualis illa et divina, de quo Ipse dixit: *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus*: et, *Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et sanguinem meum biberitis, non habebitis vitam æternam*: vel caro et sanguis quæ crucifixa est et qui militis effusus est lancea. Juxta hanc divisionem et in sanctis ejus diversitas sanguinis et carnis accipitur, ut alia sit caro quæ visura est salutare Dei, alia caro et sanguis quæ regnum Dei non queant possidere.'—Hieronym. in *Ephes.* cap. i. v. 7.

² τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ σαρκικῶς νοῆσαι; τὸ ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰ προκείμενα ὁρᾶν, καὶ μὴ πλέον τι φαντάζεσθαι. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι σαρκικῶς. χρὴ δὲ μὴ οὕτω κρίνειν τοῖς ὁρῶμένοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ μυστήρια τοῖς ἔνδον ὀφθαλμοῖς κατοπτεῖν. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι πνευματικῶς.—Chrysost. in *Joann.* c. vi.; Homil. XLVII. Tom. VIII. p. 278.

³ 'Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus: divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis; dignus autem habitus Dominici Corporis appellatione, *etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit*, et non duo corpora, sed unum Corpus Filii prædicamus,' &c.—Chrysost. ad *Cæsarium Monach.* Tom. III. p. 743. On the history and genuineness of this Epistle see Cave, *Histor. Literar.* Tom. I. p. 315; Routh's *Scriptor. Eccles. Opuscula*, p. 479; Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, Vol. II. p. 325, note.

difficult. 'Prepare not thy teeth, but thy heart¹.' 'Why make ready thy teeth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten².' 'Our Lord hesitated not to say, *This is my Body*, when he gave the sign of His Body³.' 'Spiritually understand what I have spoken to you. You are not to eat that Body, which you see, and drink that Blood which they will shed, who will crucify me. I have commended to you a Sacrament. Spiritually understood, it will quicken you. Though it must be visibly celebrated, yet it must invisibly be understood⁴.' 'What you see is bread and the cup. But as your faith requires, the bread is Christ's Body, the cup His Blood. How is the bread His Body? and the wine His Blood? These things, brethren, are therefore called Sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, another understood. What appears has a bodily form: what is understood has a spiritual fruit⁵.' 'The Body and Blood of Christ will then be life to each, if what is visibly received in the Sacrament be in actual verity spiritually eaten, spiritually drunk⁶.'

¹ 'Noli parare fauces, sed cor.'—*De Verbis Domini*, Sermon. 33, Tom. v. p. 566.

² 'Quid paras dentes et ventrem? Crede et manducasti.'—*In Joann.* Tract. 25, Tom. III. pars II. p. 489.

³ 'Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere *Hoc est Corpus Meum*, cum signum daret Corporis sui.'—*Contra Adimantum*, Tom. VIII. p. 124.

⁴ 'Spiritualiter intelligite quod locutus sum: non hoc Corpus quod videtis mandicaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi. Spiritualiter intellectum, vivificabit vos. Etsi necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen invisibiliter intelligi.'—*In Psalm.* xcvi. Tom. IV. p. 1066.

⁵ 'Quod videtis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant: quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est Corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi . . . Quomodo est panis corpus Ejus? et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodo est sanguis Ejus? Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur, speciem habet corporalem, quod intelligitur fructum habet spiritalem.'—Sermon. 272 *ad Infantes*, Tom. v. pars I. p. 1103.

⁶ 'Vita unicuique erit Corpus et Sanguis Christi, si quod in sacra-

Theodoret may be our last witness, a witness against transubstantiation, but not against the truth of Christ's presence; nor the real participation in His Body and Blood. 'Our Saviour,' he tells us, 'changed the names of things; giving to His Body the name of bread, and to the bread the name of His Body. His object was, that those who partake of the mysteries should not have regard to the nature of the visible elements, but by the change of names, might believe that change which is wrought by grace. For He, who called His own Body food and bread, and again called Himself a vine, He honoured the visible symbols with the name of His Body and Blood, *not changing the nature, but adding to the nature grace*¹.' And afterwards he says, 'The mystic symbols depart not after consecration from their own nature, for they remain in the former substance; yet we understand what they have become, and believe and adore, as though they were what they are believed to be².'

Space and time will not allow us a longer list of authorities. Those already adduced have been fairly chosen, and should be fairly weighed. The Christian student must not argue for victory, but search for truth. That search is seldom unattended

mento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritualiter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur.'—Serm. 2, *De Verbis Apostoli*, Tom. v. pars 1, p. 64.

¹ 'Ο δέ γε Σωτήρ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐνῆλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. οὕτως ἄμπελον αὐτὸν ὀνόμασας, αἶμα τὸ συμβόλον προσηγόρευεν.

Δῆλος ὁ σκοπὸς τοῖς τὰ θεῖα μεμνημένοις. ἐβουλήθη γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαγχάνοντας, μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγεννημένῃ μεταβολῇ. ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ σῶμα σίτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὐτὸν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνόμασας, οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθῆκως.—*Dial.* i. ed. Sirmond. Tom. iv. p. 17.

² Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἅπτα, ὅλα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται.—*Dial.* 2, *Ibid.* p. 85.

by difficulties. Yet may it not in this case be safely concluded, that, weighing all considerations, and notwithstanding some remarkable phrases, the doctrine of the early ages was not in favour of a miraculous change in the consecrated elements, not in favour of a carnal presence of the natural Body of the Lord, but in favour of a real, effectual, life-giving presence of Christ's spiritual Body communicated to the faith, and feeding the souls, of His disciples?

There is, perhaps, another possible alternative. The early Church held firmly Christ's presence in His Sacraments. The tendency was, for the most part, not to explain, but to veil such subjects in a reverential mystery. It may therefore have been that, whereas a spiritual presence was originally and generally recognized, yet some may have suffered their reverence to degenerate into superstition, and have spoken, and perhaps thought, as though there were a carnal presence. There was probably a vagueness of apprehension on the subject among some. Their very religion tended to foster this. But one thing is certain, viz. that the doctrine of a carnal presence was never the ruled doctrine of the primitive ages, was not received, or rather was emphatically denied, by many of the greatest of the fathers, and that it does not come down to us with the sanction and authority of that which was always, everywhere, and by all men, anciently acknowledged (*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est*). And another thing is most certain, viz. that, if any of the fathers did contemplate any beside a spiritual presence, it was not in the way of transubstantiation, but rather of consubstantiation. For, let us take the example of St. Hilary, who, if any one, used language most like the language of later ages. Still the very object of his reasoning was to prove, that in Christ's Person there are two natures; one not extinguished, because the other is added. He illustrates this by the bread of the Eucharist, which still retains the nature of the bread unchanged, although the nature of Christ's Body is added to it.

Now, interpret this how we may, it is a plain witness against transubstantiation. It may mean consubstantiation; it may mean a spiritual presence; but transubstantiation it cannot mean: for it was an error of Eutyches, not of the orthodox St. Hilary, that the human nature of the Saviour was absorbed and transubstantiated into the Divine¹.

We must now pass on to the controversies of the middle ages. About A.D. 831, Paschasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot of Corbie, maintained the corporal presence². Whether even he taught the full-grown doctrine of transubstantiation, or only consubstantiation, our divines have questioned. Certainly he speaks some things very unlike the former, and even more resembling the doctrine of spiritual feeding³. Yet he says, that 'after the consecration nothing but the Body and Blood of Christ are to be believed;' an expression nearly approaching, if not fully expressing, the Roman doctrine⁴.

Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, a divine of the highest credit in the Church, wrote against the statements of Paschasius. The work is lost indeed; but the evidence of its former existence is strong and clear⁵.

Johannes Scotus Erigena, who at this period lived at the

¹ See Vol. I. p. 86.

² Cave places him A. D. 841.

³ 'Christus ergo cibus est angelorum, et sacramentum hoc vere caro ipsius et sanguis, quam spiritualiter manducat et bibit homo.'—*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, c. 5.

⁴ 'Quia voluit (Dominus), licet in figura panis et vini, hæc sic esse, omnino nihil aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt.'—*Ibid.* cap. 1.

Bishop Cosin gives several specimens of his language (*Hist. of Transubstantiation*, ch. xxv. s. 29), and argues that there is nothing in his whole book 'that favours the transubstantiation of the bread, or its destruction or removal.' However he quotes Bellarmine and Sirmondus as esteeming him so highly that they were not ashamed to say that he was the first that had written to the purpose concerning the Eucharist: but there are some spurious additions to his book which speak a stronger language than the book itself. See also Cave, *H. L.* Tom. I. p. 535.

⁵ See Cave, *H. L.* p. 542.

court of Charles the Bald, and sometimes with our own king Alfred, and who at his death was esteemed a martyr, and placed in the Roman Calendar, wrote a book by the command of the Emperor Charles, against the substantial change in the Sacrament; a book which, two hundred years afterwards, was condemned at the council of Vercell, upon the ground that it made the bread and wine to be mere empty signs¹.

Bertram too, or Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, wrote, also at the desire of Charles the Bald, concerning this doctrine which now began to agitate the Church. The book is still extant, and is well worthy to be read. Its genuineness has been attacked by the Roman Catholic writers, but with little success. Others have charged him with heresy; whilst others again have allowed him to be Catholic, but yet, like other Catholics, not free from some errors². The book was finally prohibited by the Council of Trent. Bertram's statements are clear for the spiritual, and against the carnal presence in the Eucharist. 'The change,' he says, 'is not wrought corporally but spiritually, and figuratively. Under the veil of the material bread and wine the spiritual Body and Blood of Christ exist.... Both (the bread and wine), as they are corporally handled, are in their nature corporeal creatures; but according to their virtue, and what they become spiritually, they are the mysteries of Christ's Body and Blood³.' 'By all that hath been hitherto said, it

¹ See Cave, *H. L.* Tom. i. p. 549.

² *Index Expurgator.* Belgic. jussu et auctoritate Philip. II., cited by Aubertin. *De Eucharist.* p. 930; Cosin's *Hist. of Transubst.* ch. v. § 35, Bishop Taylor, *On the Real Presence*, § xii. 32.

³ 'At quia continentur et Corpus et Sanguinem Christi esse, nec hoc esse potuisse nisi facta in melius commutatione, neque ista commutatio corporaliter sed spiritualiter facta sit, necesse est ut jam figurata facta esse dicatur: quoniam sub velamento corporei panis, corporeique vini, spirituale corpus Christi, spiritualisque sanguis existit.... Secundum namque quod utrumque corporaliter contingitur, species sunt creaturæ corporeæ; secundum potentiam vero, quod spiritualiter factæ sunt, mysteria sunt Corporis et Sanguinis Christi.'—Ratramnus, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini.* London, 1686, p. 24.

appears, that the Body and Blood of Christ, which are received by the mouths of the faithful in the Church, are figures in respect of their visible nature; but in respect of the invisible substance, that is the power of the Word of God, they are truly Christ's Body and Blood. Wherefore, as they are visible creatures, they feed the body; but as they have the virtue of a more powerful substance, they do both feed and sanctify the souls of the faithful¹.

The middle ages, if favourable to a reverent, were not less favourable to a superstitious spirit. Hence the principles of Paschasius were more likely to gain ground than those of Bertram; yet there are not wanting testimonies for some time later, in favour of the spiritual and against the carnal presence. Especially it has been observed, that the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Church was more than others in accordance with the primitive truth. The famous Ælfric was born probably about A. D. 956, and died about 1051. He was abbot, some say of St. Albans, others of Malmesbury or Peterborough; and afterwards Archbishop of York². Some valuable fragments of his writings remain in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, full of clear statements on the doctrine in question. 'This is not,' he says, 'that Body in which He suffered for us, but spiritually it is made His Body and Blood³.' 'That housel' (i. e. the Eucharist) 'is Christ's Body, not bodily but ghostly: not the Body which He

¹ 'Ex his omnibus, quæ sunt hactenus dicta, monstratum est quod corpus et sanguis Christi, quæ fidelium ore in ecclesia percipiuntur figuræ sunt secundum speciem visibilem: At vero secundum invisibilem substantiam, i. e. divini potentiam Verbi, Corpus et Sanguis vere Christi existunt. Unde secundum visibilem creaturam corpus pascunt, juxta vero potentioris virtutem substantiæ, mentes fidelium et pascunt et sanctificant.'—*Ibid.* p. 64.

² See Cave, *H. L.* Tom. i. p. 588; Soames' *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ch. iv. pp. 218—229.

³ 'Non sit tamen hoc sacrificium Corpus Ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque Sanguis Ejus, quem pro nobis effudit: sed spiritualiter Corpus Ejus efficitur et sanguis.'—*Ælfrici Epistola ad Wulfstanum*; Routh, *Opuscula*, p. 520.

suffered in, but the Body of which He spake, when He blessed bread and wine to housel, a night before His suffering¹, &c.

Not much later than Ælfric was Berengarius, Archdeacon of Angers, who appears to have been a man of great piety. He strenuously maintained the doctrine, which had been taught by Bertram, Scotus and Ælfric, teaching that the bread and wine remained in their natural substance, yet not denying the invisible grace of the Sacrament. It is probable that many of the Gallican Church sided with him. He was condemned, however, and with him the writings of Johannes Erigena, by a Council at Verceil under Leo IX., A. D. 1050; on the ground that they taught the bread and wine in the Eucharist to be only bare signs. Under Victor the Second, another Council was held at Tours, A. D. 1055, at which Hildebrand presided as legate, where Berengarius freely declared, that he did not believe the bread and wine to be mere empty shadows. Under Nicholas II., a new council was called at Rome (A. D. 1059); where Berengarius was forced to recant, and to declare that the 'bread and wine after consecration became the very Body and Blood of Christ, and that they are touched and broken by the hands of the priests, and ground by the teeth of the faithful, not sacramentally only, but in truth and sensibly.' After a time, however, he again maintained the doctrine of the spiritual presence; and Lanfranc, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, entered the lists of controversy against him, in whose work are fragments preserved to us of the writings of Berengarius. At length Hildebrand came to the papal chair, as Gregory VII. He summoned another council at Rome, A. D. 1078; and another A. D. 1079. At the former Berengarius acknowledged

¹ From Ælfric's *Epistle to Wulfine, Bishop of Sherburn*, Routh, p. 528. The passage quoted is from the Old English translation of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The Anglo-Saxon is given by Dr. Routh (*loc. cit.*) with the English and Latin versions.

that the real Body and Blood of Christ were present at the Eucharist, without saying anything of transubstantiation; and it is supposed that the Pope was satisfied with this, and unwilling to proceed further. But at the latter, the enemies of Berengarius prevailed, and he was forced to declare that the bread and wine are substantially converted into the Body and Blood of Christ, which Body after consecration is present, not only sacramentally, but in verity of substance¹.

It is very doubtful when the term *transubstantiation* was first used. It is said to have been invented by Stephen, Bishop of Augustodunum, about the year 1100, in his book, *De Sacramento Altaris*².

Under Innocent III., A. D. 1216, sat the famous Council of Lateran, by which that term, and the full form of the doctrine, were sanctioned and made authoritative. Seventy chapters were drawn up by Innocent himself. When proposed to the Council, they were received without debate, and silence was supposed to imply consent. The first chapter is directed against the Manichæan heresy, and among other things, declares that, in the sacrifice of the Mass, 'Christ's Body and Blood are really contained under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into His Body, and the wine into His Blood³.' It has been acknowledged by the Schoolmen and Romanists, that before this Council the doctrine of transubstantiation was not

¹ 'Corde credo et ore profiteor panem et vinum quæ ponuntur in altari, per mysterium sacræ orationis et verba nostri Redemptoris substantialiter converti in veram ac propriam et vivificatricem carnem et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et post consecrationem esse verum Christi Corpus, quod natum est de Virgine, et quod pro salute mundi oblatum in cruce pendit—non tantum per signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed et in proprietate naturæ et veritate substantiæ.'—*Concil.* Tom. x. p. 378. See Cosin's *Hist. of Transubst.*; also Mosheim, *E. H.* cent. xi. part ii. ch. iii.

² In *B. Patrum*, Tom. x. p. 412. See Jer. Taylor *On the Real Presence*, sect. xii. 32.

³ *Concil.* Tom. xi. p. 117.

an article of the faith¹. From this time, however, it became established as part of the Creed of the Roman Church. The Council of Constance, A. D. 1415, in the eighth session, condemned Wiclif for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the corporal presence. The Council of Florence, A. D. 1439, at which Greek bishops and deputies were present, left the doctrine untouched. But the instruction to the Armenians, which runs only in the name of Pope Eugenius, and was not submitted to the Council, but which Roman Catholic authors often cite as a synodical decree, says, that 'by virtue of the words of Christ, the substance of the bread and wine is turned into the substance of His Body and Blood².' At length the Council of Trent, A. D. 1551, decreed, that by 'consecration there is a conversion of the whole substance of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood³.' An anathema is pronounced against all who deny such change of the substance (the forms yet remaining), a change which the Church Catholic aptly calls transubstantiation⁴. Finally in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., (A. D. 1563), there is a profession of faith, that the Body and Blood of Christ, together 'with His Soul and Divinity, are truly and really and substantially in the Eucharist, and that there is a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into His Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into His Blood; which conversion the Church Catholic calls transubstantiation⁵.'

¹ See Bramhall's *Answer to M. De la Milletière*, pt. i. disc. i.; *Works, Anglo-Cath. Lib.* Vol. i. p. 14; Jer. Taylor, *On the Real Presence*, § i. 2.

² See Cosin, *On Transubstantiation*, Bk. vii. § 30.

³ Sess. xiii. cap. iv.

⁴ Sess. xiii. *De Eucharist.* can. iv.

⁵ 'Profiteor pariter in missa offerri Deo, verum, proprium et propitiatorium sacrificium pro vivis et defunctis, atque in sanctissimo Eucharistiæ sacramento esse vere, realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fierique conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia transubstantiationem appellat.'

The doctrine then of transubstantiation, and (as it is improperly called) *the real presence*, is the established doctrine of the Roman Church. There is still, however, a room for difference of statement and difference of thought upon the subject. It appears to be ruled that the substance only, not the accidents, undergo a change. Now it is almost questionable whether the accidents do not comprise all the properties of matter. If so, the change may still be spiritual rather than material. And here we get a phenomenon by no means without parallel in other Roman Catholic articles of faith. For, as in saint worship, some only ask departed friends to pray for them, whilst others bow down to the stock of a tree; so, in the Eucharist, the learned and enlightened appear to acknowledge a far more spiritual change than is taught to the equally devout but more credulous multitude. For the latter all kinds of miracles have been devised, and visions, wherein the Host has seemed to disappear, and the infant Saviour has been seen in its room; or where blood has flowed in streams from the consecrated wafer, impiously preserved by unbelieving communicants. But on the other hand, by the more learned and liberal, statements have been made perpetually, in acknowledgment of a spiritual rather than a carnal presence; and such as no enlightened Protestant would cavil at or refuse.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the immediate forerunner of the schoolmen (A.D. 1115), acknowledged no feeding but a spiritual feeding¹. Peter Lombard, the famous Master of the Sentences (A.D. 1141), though speaking of the conversion of the bread and wine, declines to determine whether that conversion be formal or substantial, or of some other kind². Aquinas (A.D. 1255)

¹ 'Eadem Caro nobis, sed spiritualiter utique, non carnaliter exhibetur.'—*Sermo. De S. Martino*. See Jer. Taylor, *Real Presence*, § i. 8; Cosin, *On Transubstantiation*, ch. vii. § 13, who gives several quotations from St. Bernard to this effect.

² 'Si autem quæritur qualis sit illa conversio, an formaliter an sub-

spoke of Christ's Body as present, not bodily but substantially¹; a distinction not easy to explain. Durandus (A.D. 1320) said that, though we believe the presence, we know not the manner of the presence². Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, said that, 'Before the Lateran Council it was free to every one to hold as they would concerning the manner; and that it would have been better to leave curious persons to their own conjectures³.' Cardinal Cajetan writes, that 'The real Body of Christ is eaten in the Sacrament, yet not corporally but spiritually. Spiritual manducation, which is made by the soul, reaches to the flesh of Christ, which is in the Sacrament⁴.' And Gardiner, in his controversy with Cranmer, says, 'The Catholic teaching is, that the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament is spiritual and supernatural, not corporal, nor carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual, the how and manner whereof God knoweth⁵.'

Let us now pass to the doctrines of the Reformation, merely observing by the way, that the dogma of transubstantiation, though formally decreed by the Roman Church, has never been adopted by the Greek. Luther, if not the inventor, has been esteemed the great patron of the doctrine of consubstantiation. Whilst rejecting the idea of a change in the substance of the elements, he believed in a presence *with* the elements, of the material substance of Christ's Body and Blood. He

stantialiter, vel alterius generis, diffinire non sufficio.'—*Sent. iv. Dist. 10.* See Cosin, as above, § 15.

¹ See Jer. Taylor, as above, § xi. 20.

² 'Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus.'—Neand. *Synops. Chron.* p. 203, quoted by Jer. Taylor, as above, § i. 2.

³ Tonstal, *De Eucharist.* Lib. i. p. 46; Jer. Taylor, as above.

⁴ 'Manducatur verum Corpus Christi in sacramento, sed non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter. Spiritualis manducatio, quæ per animam fit, ad Christi carnem in sacramento existentem pertingit.'—*Opusc.* Tom. ii. Tract. 2, *De Euch.* c. v.; Jer. Taylor, as above, § vii. 8.

⁵ Cranmer's *Works*, Vol. iii. p. 241, *Answer to Gardiner.*

appears to have had recourse to the same illustration, which had been used to explain the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ; viz. that, as in red hot iron there is the nature both of iron and fire, so in the Eucharist there is both the bread and the Body of the Lord. Strong as are his expressions in the arguments which he used with the Sacramentarians, still from his less controversial statements, we may almost be led to think that Luther did not much go beyond a faith in the spiritual presence. Controversy often produces extreme statements; and it may have been so with him¹. He does indeed say in a comparatively uncontroversial tract, that there are 'the real Body and Blood of Christ *in* and *under* the bread and wine².' But then he speaks of faith as the means whereby we obtain the benefits of the Sacrament, as that to which we are exhibited³.

As to the public documents of the Lutherans, the Confession of Augsburg simply declares that the Body and Blood of Christ are really given with the bread and wine⁴. But the Saxon Confession says, that 'In this communion Christ is truly and substantially present, and His Body and Blood are truly exhibited to those who receive⁵.'

The great leader among the reformers of those who took an opposite view to Luther was Zuingli. He was not satisfied to reject a material presence; but he even denied a presence of any sort. With him the bread and wine were empty signs. Feeding on Christ was a figure for believing in Him. The

¹ See, for instance, *De Sacramento Altaris*, *Opp.* Tom. i. p. 82.

² 'Esse verum corpus et sanguinem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, in et sub pane et vino per verbum Christi.'—*Catechismus Major*, Tom. v. p. 641.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 'De Cœna Domini docent quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi, rescentibus in Cœna Domini.'—*Confess. August.* Art. x.; *Sylloge*, p. 172.

⁵ 'Vere adesse Christum, et vere exhiberi sumentibus corpus et sanguinem Christi.'—*Sylloge*, p. 282.

Communion was but a ceremony to remind us of Him. Spiritual manducation was resting upon the mercy of God¹. He probably may have modified these statements afterwards; yet they thoroughly belonged to his system.

Calvin took a middle course between Luther and Zuingli. With the former he acknowledged a real presence of Christ in His Supper; with the latter he denied a corporal or material presence. Having stated the view of the Sacramentarians, that to eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of Christ is merely to believe on Him, he says, 'But to me Christ appears to have intended something more express and sublime in that famous discourse of His, where He commends to us the eating of His Flesh; namely, that by a real participation of Him we be quickened; which He therefore designated under the words eating and drinking, lest any should think that the life we derive from Him is received by simple cognition. For as, not the sight but the eating of the bread gives nourishment to the body, so it is needful that, for the soul to be wholly partaker of Christ, it should be quickened by His virtue to life eternal².'

The elements, according to him, receive the name of Christ's Body and Blood, 'because they are, as it were, instruments whereby Christ distributes them to us³.' And, 'if we believe the truth of God, we must believe that there is an inward

¹ 'Sacramentaliter edere esse aliud non potest quam signum aut symbolum edere.'—*De Vera et Falsa Religione, Opera Zuinglii*, pars 2, Tom. i. fol. 215. He denies that there can be any spiritual Body of Christ, except His Church, fol. 216. Again: 'Sacramentum est sacræ rei signum. Cum ergo Sacramentum Corporis Christi nomino, non quicquam aliud, quam panem, qui Corporis Christi pro nobis mortui figura et typus est, intelligo.'—*De Cæna Domini, Ibid.* fol. 274. 'Spiritualiter edere Corpus Christi nihil est aliud, quam spiritu ac mente niti misericordia et bonitate Dei, propter Christum.'—*Fidei Christianæ Expositio, Ibid.* fol. 555.

² *Institut.* iv. xvii. 5.

³ 'Corporis vero et sanguinis nomen eis attributum, quod sint velut instrumenta, quibus Dominus Jesus Christus nobis ea distribuit.'—Calvinus, *De Cæna Domini, Opuscula.* Genève, 1552, p. 133.

substance of the Sacrament in the Lord's Supper joined to the outward signs; and so, that as the bread is given by the hands, the Body of Christ is also communicated, that we be partakers of Him¹. 'That Body, which you see not, is to you a spiritual aliment. Does it seem incredible that we are fed by the Flesh of Christ, which is so far from us? We must remember, that the work of the Spirit is secret and wonder-working, which it would be profane to measure by our intelligence².' Thus then to receive Christ in the Eucharist is not merely to believe in Him; yet it is by faith we are enabled to receive Him. By believing we eat Christ's Flesh, because by faith our feeding on Him is effected; and that feeding is the fruit of faith. 'With them,' (i.e. the Zuinglians) he writes, 'the feeding is faith: with me the power of feeding comes as a consequence of faith³.'

¹ 'Ita in communione, quam in Christi corpore et sanguine habemus, dicendum est, mysterium spirituale esse, quod nec oculis conspici, nec ingenio humano comprehendere potest. Figuris igitur et signis, quæ sub oculorum sensum cadunt, ut naturæ nostræ imbecillitas requirit, ostenditur: ita tamen ut non sit figura nuda et simplex, sed veritati suæ et substantiæ conjuncta.

'Necesse est igitur nos in Cœna vere corpus et sanguinem Christi recipere, cum utriusque communionem Dominus representet. Quid enim sibi vellet, nos panem comedere ac vinum bibere, ut significant carnem ipsius cibum esse nostrum, et sanguinem potum, si veritate spirituali prætermissa, vinum et panem solummodo præberet.

'Itaque fatendum est si vera sit representatio quam adhibet Deus, in cœna substantiam interiorem sacramenti visibilibus signis conjunctam esse, et quemadmodum panis in manu distribuitur, ita Corpus Christi, ut Ejus participes simus, nobis communicari. Hoc certe etiam, si nihil aliud esset, nobis abunde satisfacere deberet, cum intelligimus Christum nobis in Cœna veram propriamque corporis et sanguinis sui substantiam nobis donare—ut pleno jure ipsum possideamus, et possidendo in omnem bonorum suorum societatem vocemur.'—*Ibid.* pp. 133, 134.

² 'Corpus, quod nequaquam cernis, spirituale est tibi alimentum. Incredibile hoc tibi videtur, pasci nos Christi carne, quæ tam procul a nobis distat? Meminerimus, arcanum et mirificum esse Spiritus Sancti opus, quod intelligentiæ tuæ modulo metiri sit nefas.'—Calvin. in 1 Cor. xi. 24, cited by Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, c. vii.

³ 'Illis manducatio est fides, mihi ex fide potius consequi videtur.'—*Institut.* iv. xvii. 5.

Melancthon, the disciple, friend, and successor of Luther, is supposed to have hesitated between a material and a spiritual presence. In the Confession of Augsburg, which is due to him, we have already seen strong words, which sound like consubstantiation. He is said to have used in earlier days the word *corporaliter*, to express the mode in which Christ communicates His Flesh and Blood in the Eucharist, but to have avoided such expression, after much intercourse on the question with Œcolampadius¹. After Luther's death, he had the chief voice and influence among the Lutherans; and through his peaceful counsels in Germany, and Calvin's sound views in Switzerland, much greater concord prevailed on this question among the continental Protestants, than had existed during the lifetime of the great reformer of Wittenberg; the Lutherans and Zuinglians both consenting to modify their views and statements². Insomuch that Hooker observed concerning them; 'By opening the several opinions, which have been held, they are grown for aught I can see on all sides, at the length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, the real participation of Christ, and of life in His Body and Blood by means of this Sacrament³.'

From the continental Protestants, we must turn to England. Cranmer and Ridley appear to have retained the doctrines of the corporal presence and of transubstantiation throughout the reign of Henry VIII. The formularies of that reign all seem to teach it. Ridley is said to have been converted to a belief in the spiritual (instead of the natural) presence, by reading the treatise of Bertram or Ratramn, probably about the year 1545.⁴ At this time Cranmer was zealous for transubstantiation. But Ridley communicated to the Arch-

¹ See Jer. Taylor, *On Real Presence*, § i. 9.

² See Mosh. *E. H. Cent.* xvi. sect. iii. pt. ii. ch. i. 27, and ch. ii. 12.

³ Hooker, *E. P.* Bk. v. ch. lvii. 2.

⁴ Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 166.

bishop what he had discovered in the writings of Ratramn; and they then set themselves to examine the matter with more than ordinary care¹. Ridley indeed refused to take the credit of converting Cranmer²: but Cranmer himself always acknowledged his obligations to Ridley³. It has been thought that Cranmer went through two changes; to consubstantiation first, and then to the spiritual feeding; and most probably there may have been some gradual progress in his convictions⁴. Yet it was constantly affirmed by him that, before he put forth the translation of the Catechism of Justus Jonas, commonly called Cranmer's Catechism, he had fully embraced the spiritual doctrine, and that the strong phrases there used concerning the real presence, and the real feeding on Christ, were intended of a spiritual presence and a spiritual feeding, not of consubstantiation⁵.

After this both Cranmer and Ridley, to whom we are chiefly indebted for our formularies, maintained a doctrine nearly identical with that maintained by Calvin, and before him by Bertram. With the latter Ridley expresses his entire accordance⁶. He constantly declares that, whilst he rejects all presence of the natural Body and Blood, in the way of transubstantiation, he yet acknowledges a real presence of Christ, spiritually and by grace, to be received by the faithful in the Communion of the Eucharist⁷. Cranmer has by some been

¹ Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, pt. ii. Bk. i. p. 107.

² *Ridley's Life*, p. 169.

³ *Cranmer's Remains* (Jenkyns), Vol. iv. p. 97.

⁴ The subject is discussed by Dr. Jenkyns, note to *Cranmer's Works*, Vol. iv. p. 95.

⁵ *Cranmer's Works*, Vol. ii. p. 440, III. pp. 13, 297, 344.

⁶ See *Enchiridion Theologicum*, Vol. i. p. 56.

⁷ 'I say that the Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually (according to His grace) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to His benediction, giving life. . . . The true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's Body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace and

thought to incline nearer to Zuinglianism; yet, if fair allowance be made for hasty expressions in the irritation of controversy, it will probably appear that he, like Ridley, followed the doctrine of the ancient Church, and held a real reception of Christ in the Spirit. Certainly we find him writing as follows; 'I say (as all the old holy fathers and martyrs used to say) that we receive Christ spiritually, by faith with our minds eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood: so that we receive Christ's own very natural Body, but not naturally nor corporally¹.' 'It is my constant faith and belief, that we receive Christ in the Sacrament, verily and truly.... But.... you think a man cannot receive the Body of Christ verily, unless he take Him corporally in his corporal mouth..... My doctrine is that.... He is by faith spiritually present with us, and is our spiritual food and nourishment, and sitteth in the midst of all them that be gathered together in His Name; and this feeding is spiritual feeding and an heavenly feeding, far passing all corporal and carnal feeding, in deed and not in figure only, or not at all, as you most untruly report my saying to be².' 'I say that the same visible and palpable Flesh that was for us crucified, &c. &c., is eaten of Christian people at His Holy Supper... The diversity is not in the Body, but in the eating thereof; no man eating

spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporal presence of the Body of His Flesh.'—*Works*, Parker Society, p. 236.

'That heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table: but by a spiritual presence, and not after any corporal presence of the Flesh taken of the Virgin Mary.'—*Ibid.* p. 249.

'Both you and I agree in this, that in the Sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which is born of the Virgin Mary.... We confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I confess Christ's natural Body to be in the Sacrament by spirit and grace.... You make a proper kind of being, inclosing a natural Body under the shape and form of bread and wine.'—Fox, *Martyrs*, Vol. II. p. 1598. Lond. 1597, cited by *Laud against Fisher*, § 35.

¹ *Remains*, Vol. III. p. 5.

² *Ibid.* pp. 288, 289.

it carnally, but the good eating it both sacramentally and spiritually, and the evil only sacramentally, that is figuratively¹.

These sentiments of our reformers are undoubtedly embodied in our Liturgy and Articles. One thing indeed has been thought to savour of a tendency to Zuinglianism. The first Service Book of Edward VI., drawn up undoubtedly after Cranmer had embraced the doctrine of the spiritual presence, contained, as did all the ancient Liturgies, an invocation of the Holy Ghost to bless the bread and wine; 'that they might be unto us the Body and Blood of Christ.' This was omitted in the second Service Book; probably lest the grace of the Sacrament should thus seem to be tied to the consecrated elements. But a still more remarkable departure from the ancient forms was this. Whereas, in the first Service Book, the words of administration were, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto eternal life;' in the second Service Book they were merely, 'Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving².' This seemed to imply, that the reformers believed in no real spiritual reception of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, but only in a remembrance of His death and passion. Accordingly, in the reign of Elizabeth the two forms were combined together, and have ever since continued in use in the Church. But though this change looked like an inclination on the part of the earlier reformers to the doctrine of the mere figurists, yet it is by no means certain, that some of the alterations in the Service Book were agreeable to our leading divines³; and notwithstanding this alteration, there remained numerous statements in our formularies to prove, that a real but spiritual presence of Christ was, and is the doctrine of the reformed Church of England.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 340. See also Vol. II. p. 441, Vol. IV. p. 16.

² *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.* p. 297. Oxf. 1838.

³ See Vol. I. p. 9, note 1.

Thus we are told in the exhortation to communion, that God 'hath given His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament.' It is said that, 'if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament.... we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink His Blood.' In what is called the 'prayer of humble access,' we ask that God would 'give us grace so to eat the Flesh of His dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood.' In the prayer of consecration, we speak of being 'partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood;' and in the post-communion we thank God that He doth 'vouchsafe to feed us with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ.' So likewise in this Article it is professed, that 'to them, who worthily receive,.... the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.' All these are expressions in the second Service Book of Edward VI., and in the Articles drawn up in that reign. The latter part of the Catechism is of later date; but in strict accordance with the earlier documents. Its words are, that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.'

In this XXVIIIth Article, as first drawn up A.D. 1552, there was a clause stating that Christ in bodily presence is in Heaven, and therefore that we ought not to confess 'the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.' This nearly corresponds with the statement of the rubric at the end of our present Communion Service¹. Both the clause in the Article and the rubric

¹ Concerning that service see Vol. I. p. 135, note 3, p. 146, note 1.

Luther much insisted on the ubiquity of the human nature of our blessed Lord, derived to it from the union with the Divine nature. But

were omitted in Elizabeth's reign; lest persons inclined to the Lutheran belief might be too much offended by it; and many such were in the Church, whom it was wished to conciliate. The rubric was again restored in the reign of Charles II. The meaning of it clearly is, not to deny a spiritual, but only a 'corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood,' 'and a consequent adoration of the elements, as though they did not remain still in their very natural substances.'

The Homilies are very express. 'Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no *untrue figure of a thing absent* (Matt. xxvi.); but as the Scripture saith, The table of the Lord, the bread and cup of the Lord, the memory of Christ, the annunciation of His death, yea, the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost (the very bond of our conjunction with Christ) is through faith wrought in the souls of the faithful, whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to win to their bodies a resurrection to immortality'¹ (1 Cor. x.).

Bishop Jewel, who perhaps was the chief writer of this Second Book of Homilies, says in his Apology: 'We plainly pronounce in the Supper the Body and Blood of the Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, to be truly exhibited to those who believe².' And again, after protesting against transubstantiation,

we must not believe the human nature transubstantiated into the Divine, as Eutyches taught.

St. Augustine observes that Christ, according to His human nature, is now on God's right-hand, and thence shall come to judgment; and according to that nature He is not everywhere. '*Cavendum est enim, ne ita divinitatem adstruamus hominis, ut veritatem Corporis auferamus.*'—*Epist.* 187, Tom. II. p. 681, quoted above, Vol. I. p. 146, note. See this subject most admirably handled by Hooker, *E. P.* v. 55.

¹ *Second Book of Homilies*, 'First part of the Sermon Concerning the Sacrament.'

² '*Diserteque pronunciamus in cœna credentibus vere exhiberi Cor-*

he says, 'yet, when we say this, we do not lower the Lord's Supper, nor make it a mere frigid ceremony. We assert that Christ exhibits Himself really present in the Sacraments; in baptism, that we may put Him on, in His Supper, that we may feed on Him by faith and spirit.... and this we say is not done perfunctorily, nor frigidly, but in very deed and truly¹.'

It appears, then, that our reformers symbolized herein with Calvin; though it is not likely that they learned their doctrine from him. Points of difference may be discovered between them; but in the main Calvin, Melancthon in his later views, and the Anglican divines, were at one. There have, no doubt, been different ways of explaining the spiritual presence, among those who have agreed to acknowledge such a presence. But perhaps the safest plan is to say, that because it is spiritual, therefore it needs must be mystical. And so Bishop Taylor concludes, that our doctrine differs not from that of ancient writers, who acknowledged Christ's presence, but would not define the manner of His presence. For, he observes that we say, 'the presence of Christ is real, and it is spiritual; and this account still leaves the Article in its deepest mystery; because spiritual perfections are indiscernible, and the word "spiritual" is a very general term, particular in nothing, but that it excludes the corporal and natural².'

It would be endless, and it is unnecessary, to say much concerning our divines since the Reformation. Some perhaps, who

pus et Sanguinem Domini, carnem Filii Dei.'—Juelli *Apologia. Ench. Theolog.* p. 126.

¹ 'Non tamen cum ista dicimus, extenuamus Cœnam Domini aut eam frigidam tantum cœremoniam esse docemus.... Christum enim asserimus, verè sese præsentem exhibere in sacramentis suis; in baptismo, ut Eum induamus, in cœna, ut Eum fide et spiritu comedamus, et de Ejus cruce et sanguine habeamus vitam æternam; idque dicimus non perfunctorie et frigide, sed re ipsa et vere fieri.'—*Ibid.* p. 129. Compare Noel's *Catechism, Ench. Theol.* p. 320, where the same doctrine is propounded.

² Jer. Taylor, § i. 2.

have followed Calvin in his predestinarian theory, have followed, not him, but Zuingle, upon the Sacraments. And this too may have been the bent of those, who afterwards more especially followed Arminius, both here and on the Continent¹. But from the time of the Reformation to the present, all the great luminaries of our Church have maintained the doctrine, which appears in the face of our formularies; agreeing to deny a corporal, and to acknowledge a spiritual feeding in the Supper of the Lord. It is scarcely necessary to recount the names of Mede, Andrewes, Hooker, Taylor, Hammond, Cosin, Bramhall, Usher, Pearson, Patrick, Bull, Beveridge, Wake, Waterland. All these have left us writings on the subject, and all have coincided, with but very slight diversity, in the substance of their belief. They have agreed, as Hooker says, that 'Christ is *personally* present; albeit a part of Christ be *corporally* absent²;' that 'the fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ'—but that 'the real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament (*i.e.* in the elements); but in the worthy receiving of the Sacrament³.'

¹ There is a very pious work by one of the Arminian writers in the English Church (Horneck's *Crucified Jesus*). It has much to edify and spiritualize, but, if I understand it, its doctrine is purely Zuinglian.

² Book v. lxxvii. 10.

³ Book v. lxxvii. 6.

SECTION II. SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

I. *The words of Institution.*

WE know that almost all the sacrifices, among both Jews and Gentiles, were succeeded by a feast upon the body of the sacrificed victim; the persons, who thus fed upon the sacrifice, declaring their interest in the sacred rite, and through it entering into covenant with the God¹. Now the Passover was the most solemn and significant of all the sacrifices of the Law, the most remarkable of all the types of our redemption. In its first institution, it was ordained that the lamb should be slain, evidently in the way of a propitiatory offering², in order that the destroying angel, which smote the Egyptians, might not destroy those for whom this offering was made. Yet no one had a claim to exemption from the destruction, except those on whose lintels and doorposts the blood of the lamb was sprinkled, and who had partaken of the feast upon the lamb slain—they and all their households³. The feast was, as it were, the consummation of the sacrifice; the efficacy of the latter being assured only to those who partook of the former.

It is not a little observable then, that our blessed Saviour, the night before He suffered, or (if we take the Jewish reckoning from evening to evening) the very day on which He suffered, superseded the typical feast of the Passover by the commemorative feast of the Eucharist. He first, according to the Law, ate the Passover with His disciples. Then, supper being ended⁴, and probably after he had washed the feet of His disciples⁵, He instituted a new rite appropriate to the New Covenant, but

¹ See Cudworth, *True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, ch. i.

² See the true sacrificial nature of the Passover proved, Cudworth, as above, ch. ii.

³ Exod. xii. 2—13.

⁴ μετὰ τὸ δευνῆσαι, Luke xxii. 20.

⁵ John xiii. 2, seq.

with peculiar reference to the rite under the Old Covenant. With the Passover, by Divine ordinance, there had been always eaten unleavened bread; and, by immemorial custom, there had been four cups of wine poured out; over each of which thanks were offered up, 'and of which the third cup was specially called the cup of blessing¹.' Now the bread and the wine, thus eaten and drunk solemnly at the Passover, our Lord adopts, as the signs or elements for the institution of His new Sacrament. The bread at the Passover was blessed and broken, the wine was blessed and poured out². These same ceremonies our Lord now uses. He breaks the bread and blesses it; He pours out the wine and blesses it. In the feast of the Passover the bread and wine had been but subordinate; the latter not even of Divine authority. Our Lord makes them now the chief. Before, the chief place had been occupied by the Paschal Lamb. It was slain and eaten in commemoration of the first Passover, in type and anticipation of the Saviour Himself. But now that the type was succeeded by the antitype, and that the feast must therefore be commemorative, not anticipatory, our Lord puts the bread and wine in place of the flesh of the lamb; that as the latter had been eaten as a type of Him, so the former should be eaten and drunk in remembrance of Him.

It has been observed, that the lamb, when set on the table to be eaten at the Passover, was commonly called by the Jews 'the body of the Paschal Lamb;' and it seems not unnatural to suppose that, our Lord, as adopting otherwise on this occasion their customs and language, should here also have alluded to their common phrase. They had spoken of eating 'the body of the lamb' (גופו של כבש הפסח), and, when He blessed the bread, He said of it, 'This is My Body;' as though He would say, 'Heretofore you ate the body of the Lamb, a type of Me

¹ Buxtorf, *De Cæna Dom.* § 22; Lightfoot, *H. H.* on Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.

² Lightfoot, *Ibid.*

to be delivered to death for you. Now I abrogate this for ever; and instead, I give you My Body to be crucified and broken for you; and so hereafter, when you eat this bread, think not of the Paschal lamb, which, like all types, is now done away in Me; but believe that you feed on My Body broken, to deliver you, not from Egyptian bondage, but from the far worse bondage of death and hell¹.

Again, when our Lord had broken and blessed the bread, and giving it to His disciples, had called it His Body, He then took the cup, poured it out, blessed it, and called it His Blood. And it is observable that, as when Moses sprinkled the people with the blood of the sacrifice, he said of it, 'Behold the blood of the Covenant²;' so our Lord and Saviour, in giving His disciples this cup to drink, said of it, 'This is My Blood of the New Covenant' (Matt. xxvi. 27; Mark xiv. 24).

In almost all respects then, the institution of the Eucharist was likened to the sacrificial feasts of the Jews; most especially to the feast of the Passover³. It had only this point of differ-

¹ Buxtorf, *De Cœna Dom.* § 25; Lightfoot, *H. H.* on Luke xxii. 19.

² Exod. xxiv. 8; Heb. ix. 20.

³ A question has been raised whether our Saviour and His disciples had been eating the Paschal lamb or not, before He instituted the Eucharist; the ground for the question being that other well-known doubt, viz. Was the Thursday or the Friday the day on which the Passover ought to be eaten? However this latter may be solved, there seems no possibility of evading the force of Luke xxii. 15: 'With desire have I desired to eat *this Passover* with you before I suffer.' (Comp. Matt. xxvi. 17—19; Mark xiv. 12—16). The true solution of the difficulty has always appeared to me to be this. The commandment was that the Passover should be slain on the 14th day of the month, 'between the two evenings,' בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם (Exod. xii. 6); that is to say, from the evening of the 14th to the evening of the 15th day of the month, according to the common Jewish mode of counting time. Thus our Lord ate the Passover on the right day, i. e. on the evening of the 14th; yet He was crucified on the same day; for from evening to evening was but a single day. And this will solve all the difficulty on John xviii. 28; for many of the Jews may not have eaten the Passover on the morning of the Friday, though our Lord had eaten it on the evening of the Thursday. See

ence; that, whereas in all the ancient feasts the victim was actually killed, and then its natural body was eaten; here the feast was instituted (though on the day of His death, yet) before our blessed Lord was crucified; and bread and wine were substituted in the room of His natural Flesh and Blood. Yet the bread and wine He called His Body and Blood; even as the flesh of the lamb was called the body of the Paschal lamb. And we can scarcely fail to infer that, as the flesh of the old sacrifice was never called the Body of Christ, but (what it really was) the body of the lamb, and as on the contrary the elements in the newly-founded feast *were* called the Body and Blood of Christ, so the new festival must have had a closer connexion with the great and true sacrifice, than had the slaughtered victim, which represented Him in the old festival. The bread and wine were His Body and Blood, in a sense beyond that in which the Paschal lamb was Christ: that is to say, not merely in a figure, but in more than a figure.

Now this the very nature of the case would lead us to expect. Under the Law were mere lifeless ceremonies; but under the Gospel there is substance, instead of shadow. Under the Law there were sacrifices of slain beasts; and the feast was therefore on the flesh of slain beasts. But under the Gospel there is no sacrifice but of the Lamb of God; and a feast upon the sacrifice must therefore be a feeding upon Him; and we may add, that though the Law were true as coming from God, yet emphatically and peculiarly the Gospel is *the truth*. Hence, if in the legal ceremony there was a true feeding upon the victim, we cannot doubt that in the Gospel Sacrament there is a true feeding on the Saviour. And yet once more, the Law was carnal, but the Gospel is spiritual. And so, whereas the Paschal festival involved a carnal

Duty of Observing the Christian Sabbath, by Samuel Lee, D.D., &c. note 15; where he quotes the Gemara on the Jerusalem Talmud in confirmation of this interpretation of Numb. xii. 6.

eating of the typical sacrifice; we infer that the Eucharistic festival would involve a spiritual eating of the true Sacrifice. And hence, as in all respects the Passover squared well with the place it occupied in its own dispensation, the Eucharist would fall into its place in the higher dispensation. The one a feast on a sacrifice; the other a feast on a Sacrifice. The one on the lamb; the other on the Lamb of God. The one true; the other true. But the one carnally true; the other spiritually, and therefore even *more* true.

There are three things especially to be observed in the form of institution; 1 the blessing, 2 the declaration, 3 the command.

1 The blessing. 'Jesus took bread and blessed it:' so say St. Matthew (xxvi. 26) and St. Mark (xiv. 22). This was the custom with the Jews. The master of the house pronounced over the bread a form of benediction, placing both his hands upon it. And this blessing, we are told, was by them called *שִׁנְתָּה*, i. e. sanctification¹. Whether or not our Lord adopted the common form of words, we cannot tell. At all events, He gave utterance to some words of blessing, whereby He set apart the bread from its common use, to a new, sacramental and sacred purpose.

For *blessed* (*εὐλογήσας*) St. Luke (xxii. 17) and St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 24) have *gave thanks* (*εὐχαριστήσας*). The words seem nearly synonymous. They are so used concerning the blessing of the bread, when our Lord fed the four thousand with the seven loaves (Mark viii. 6, 7): the Vulgate translates *εὐχαριστία* by *benedictio* (1 Cor. xiv. 16): and the Hebrew word *בָּרַךְ* to *bless*, is rendered indifferently by words which signify either *blessing* or *thanksgiving*. And so, no doubt, our Lord and Saviour, when consecrating this bread to a sacred ordinance, gave thanks to God His Father, and with the

¹ Buxtorf, as above, § 46.

thanksgiving joined a blessing; which changed the bread, not in substance, not in quantity, not in quality—but in use, in purpose, in sanctity; so that what before was common, now became sacramental bread; even the sacrament and mystery of the Body of Christ¹.

2 From the blessing we pass to the declaration:

'Take, eat; this is My Body.' So St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Paul. St. Luke adds, 'which is given for you' (xxii. 19). St. Paul, 'which is broken for you' (1 Cor. xi. 24.)

There is a little more difference in their account of the cup. St. Matthew and St. Mark say, 'This cup is My Blood of the new Testament which is shed for many.' St. Luke and St. Paul say, 'This cup is the new Testament in My Blood.'

We have already compared these phrases with the Jewish form of speech, and have seen how the one throws light upon the other. We have seen also reason to infer that the ordinance thus instituted was for the purpose of a spiritual feast upon the one true Sacrifice, a feeding on the Body and the Blood of Christ. But we have now come to a point where those, who believe in the verity of the feeding upon Christ, branch off from each other into two opposed and unhappily hostile divisions. The Protestant admits, that the words of institution assure us of the blessing of feeding upon Christ, and give us ground to call the consecrated elements Christ's Body and Blood. But the Romanist maintains, that they moreover assure us that the bread, when blessed, no longer remains bread, but has become the very natural Flesh of Christ, and in a like manner the wine His natural Blood. The Romanist reasons from the plain meaning of the words, and the duty reverently to believe what Christ has spoken. 'This is My Body;' therefore it is no longer bread. And to make it clearer, they say that, whereas the substantive '*bread*' (*ἄρτος*) is mas-

¹ *Ibid.* § 48. Compare Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, ch. v. 3.

culine, the relative '*this*' (τοῦτο) is neuter; and that therefore the word *this* means not, 'This bread is My Body;' but on the contrary means, 'This, which is no longer bread, is My Body!'. The grammatical argument is too futile to keep us long. Bread, being a thing without life, though in Greek and Latin it is expressed by a masculine substantive, in well nigh all languages might be referred to by a neuter pronoun; and though we could not say *Hoc est frater meus*; yet we may say *Hoc est aqua*, or *Hoc est panis*. Nay! would it not have been a more singular mode of speech, if our Lord, when He took the bread in His hand, instead of saying concerning it, τοῦτο, *hoc*, *this thing*, had said, οὗτος, *hic*, *he*?

But more weight lies in the verb ἐστίν, *is*; and yet, if no better argument than its use could be adduced, we must admit that the mere figurists have almost as strong ground as the transubstantialists. If the simple use of the substantive verb proves an absolute change of substance, how are we to interpret 'The seed is the word; the field is the world; the reapers are the angels; the harvest is the end of the world; I am the door; I am the vine²?' We cannot here understand a substantial change, but must admit a figure of speech. And so, in truth, we must admit in the Eucharist; for though we acknowledge Christ's presence, and not only acknowledge but rejoice in it; yet we hold not that presence to be in the material bread; nor can these words prove that it is there. The passage, which perhaps most nearly corresponds to this, is that wherein St. Paul says, that 'That Rock was Christ' (1 Cor. x. 4). It is indeed generally contended, that the Rock was Christ by a mere figure of speech; and hence the illustration is urged to support the doctrine of the figurists. But this is scarcely true. The Apostle's argument is strictly this: The Israelites, in their

¹ Bellarmine, Lib. i. *de Eucharistia*, ch. x.

² See Taylor, *Real Presence*, sect. vi.

pilgrimage in the wilderness, were, like Christians, subjects of grace. Christ followed, and Christ fed them. They had bread from Heaven, and drink out of the rock: and as the literal manna fed their bodies, so there was a heavenly manna prepared for their souls. And as from the rock of stone Moses called forth the stream of water; so there was with them also a spiritual Rock, by which their souls were watered; and that spiritual 'Rock was Christ.' It was not then, we may observe, that the *spiritual Rock* was a figure of Christ. *The rock of stone* was a *figure* of Christ; but *the Spiritual Rock*—'that Rock was Christ.' So it is in the Eucharist. The bread in the Eucharist is an emblem of the Bread of life: but *that* Bread is Christ. As with the natural rock in the wilderness, there was present the Spiritual Rock, which is Christ: so with the natural bread in the Sacrament, there is present the Spiritual Bread, which is Christ's Body.

And next for the cup. Our Lord calls it, 'My Blood of the new Covenant;' or, according to St. Luke, 'The new Covenant in My Blood'¹ which is shed for you.' The reference here to the language of the old Testament, and to the rites of sacrifice, has been already noticed². If we take the words as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, 'This is My Blood of the new Covenant,' they will mean, 'As in the old dispensation

¹ I unhesitatingly translate *Covenant*, not *Testament*, believing that *διαθήκη* should always in the Bible be rendered *Covenant*. The only apparent exception is in Heb. ix. 15—20. Even here, however, *Covenant* will probably make the more pertinent sense. See Professor Scholefield's *Hints for a New Translation*, ad h. l.

² τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον (Luke xxii. 20). The participle properly agrees with *ποτήριον*, though it may by a solecism refer to *αἷμα*. Lightfoot, *H. H. in loc.* says, 'This seems to have reference to that cup of wine which was every day poured out in the drink-offerings with the daily sacrifice, for that also was poured out for the remission of sins. So that the bread may have reference to the body of the daily sacrifice, and the cup to the wine of the drink-offering.'

God made covenant with Israel with the blood of beasts, so now He makes covenant with Christians through the Blood of Christ; and this wine is the emblem of that Blood, and the means of partaking of its benefits.' If we take St. Luke's version (which is also St. Paul's), then we must understand, 'The blood of old was the sign and pledge of the Covenant, the medium of its ratification. This cup is the sign and pledge of the new Covenant, which is now to be ratified in My Blood.'

In either case we see obviously in the Eucharist a federal rite. As sacrifices, and especially feasts on sacrifices, were the means of ratifying covenants between man and man, or between man and God; so the Eucharistic feast upon the sacrifice is the means of ratifying the covenant between the Lord and His people. The blood of the covenant was shed upon the cross. So peace has been made. But the peace is accepted, and the covenant assured by this sacred banquet; where we are God's guests, and where the spiritual food spread for us is the Lamb slain for our sins, and where our souls may be washed by His most precious Blood¹.

3 The third thing to be observed in the institution of the Eucharist is the command, 'This do in remembrance of me' (Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25).

This do, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε. *Hoc facite*. Do what? Make My Body? Sacrifice Me? If our Lord had commanded them to make His Body, why did He say 'in remembrance of Me?' Remembrance and actual bodily presence are scarcely compatible ideas. Besides, did our Lord then sacrifice Himself? Surely not. It was the next morning that He offered up Himself a sacrifice; not then, when He sat with them at meat. But, just as, when the first Passover was instituted, the Israelites were commanded 'to keep this feast by an ordinance for ever' (Exod. xii. 14; xiii. 10)—to sacrifice the lamb and eat it, as they had been instructed by Moses: so the disciples are com-

¹ See Cudworth, as above, ch. vi.

manded to observe this new feast, even as they were instructed by their Master and Lord. 'Do this,' *i. e.* 'Do what you now see me do.' Break the bread, bless it, and consecrate it; then distribute among yourselves, and eat it; and likewise with the wine. And this all is to be done 'in remembrance of Me.' The Passover was in remembrance of the deliverance from Egypt and from the destruction of the firstborn; and when it was kept, the Israelites were to tell their children what the ordinance meant (Exod. xiii. 8). But this Sacrament is a remembrance of greater deliverance, and of that gracious Master who wrought the deliverance; and 'as often as we eat this bread and drink this cup, we do shew the Lord's death till He come' (1 Cor. xi. 26). In all ways therefore it may be a remembrance of Christ; but specially it is a remembrance of His death. It is a memorial, a shewing forth of that sacrifice, which He offered on the cross, and which we feed upon in our souls. As it is a commemoration of the sacrifice, so may it be called a commemorative sacrifice. But as Christ was Himself present alive when He instituted the ordinance, and as He did not *then* offer up Himself a sacrifice on the cross, nor hold in His own sacred hands His own crucified Body; so we believe not that we are commanded to offer Him up afresh, or that we are to expect to feed upon His natural Flesh and Blood. His Body has been offered up once for all, a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice. We may present the remembrance of that sacrifice to God, may tell it out to the world, may believe that, whilst we eat the symbols with our mouths, we feed upon the Saviour in our spirits: but we have no warrant to believe, and we could find no greater comfort in believing, that Christ was to be newly sacrificed every day, and His very Flesh and Blood to be eaten and drunk by our bodily mouths.

II. *Our Lord's discourse at Capernaum.* John vi.

A great many, both of the Roman Catholic divines and of the mere figurists, have denied that the discourse in the sixth

chapter of St. John has any reference to the grace of the Eucharist. The motive of such denial is obvious; for it is next to impossible to admit that the Eucharist is there referred to, without also admitting that no material presence is tenable, and at the same time that some real spiritual feeding of the soul is promised. It is said indeed, that the discourse was delivered before the Eucharist was instituted, and therefore could not have applied to it: an argument which must surely seem very strange, if we consider how very much our Lord's discourses are anticipatory and prophetic. Indeed almost all His teaching seems suitable to instruct His followers in 'the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God,' the things that were to be in His Church and reign upon earth, rather than suitable to the time of His bodily presence. So His discourse with Nicodemus was as much anticipatory of the institution of baptism, as this discourse at Capernaum was of the institution of the Holy Communion. And to bring but one more example, if our Lord be never supposed to speak and to teach, but concerning things already revealed and manifested; what could have been His meaning in His many declarations that Christians '*must take up their Cross, and follow Him*¹;' when as yet all those who heard Him knew not for certain that He would die at all, and most assuredly understood not 'what death He should die?'

It is quite clear then that the mystery of the discourse in St. John vi. required something to make it intelligible. Many even of our Lord's disciples were so offended at it, that they at once 'went back, and walked no more with Him' (ver. 66). What so sorely puzzled them must doubtless have sunk deep into their memories: and when next our blessed Saviour used the same language as He had used on this memorable occasion, is it not certain that His first words would recur with all their

¹ See Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24; Mark viii. 34, x. 21; Luke ix. 23, xiv. 27.

force, and that the teaching of the first discourse would be coupled with that of the second? Now the only occasions, on which we read that Jesus said anything about eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, were, first in this instance at Capernaum, secondly at the last Passover, when He instituted the Eucharist. How the disciples, who heard both, could fail to couple them together, it is hard to conceive. In the former, inestimable blessings were said to accompany the eating and drinking of Christ's Body and Blood: in the latter, a special mode appeared to be pointed out by which His Body and Blood might be eaten and drunken. Both, no doubt, sounded strange and wonderful. Those, who wondered at them both, would naturally compare the one with the other, to see if the one would not explain the other.

And surely the one does explain the other. In the sixth chapter of St. John we read, that our Lord had just fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. They, who had seen the miracle, on the next day followed Jesus; but, as He well knew, not for spiritual blessing, but that they might again be fed and be filled (v. 26). To this carnal and unbelieving multitude He enjoins, 'that they should labour not for earthly, but for spiritual food, which endureth unto everlasting life' (v. 27); and taking occasion of their own reference to the manna in the wilderness (v. 30), He tells them, that as God gave their fathers manna, so now He would give them 'true bread from Heaven' (v. 32). He then declares Himself to be 'the Bread of life;' and adds, 'he that cometh to Me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on Me shall never thirst' (v. 35), *i.e.* neither hunger nor thirst, because, thus coming and believing, he shall be fed upon the Bread of life. The Jews who were present now begin to murmur. They disbelieve the Saviour's saying, that He had come down from Heaven, supposing that they knew both His father and His mother. He then goes on, not to explain His statements, but

to enforce, and rather put them with more mystery and difficulty. He tells them that, not only had He come down from Heaven, that not only was He the Bread of life, but that whereas the fathers ate manna and died, yet those who should eat that Bread should never die. And then, most startling words of all, He says, that the bread which He should give was His Flesh, which He would give for the life of the world (v. 51). And, when this saying caused fresh striving amongst them, He adds, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you....My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed. ...As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me' (vv. 53—57).

Now those, who tell us that this had no reference to the Eucharist, say that nothing is here meant but that faith in the death of Christ is the great means of union to Christ, and that which raises us to life and immortality. But surely Calvin's belief, that something more express and sublime is intended by such striking language, must commend itself to our reason. It is not the way of Scripture to expound to us simple doctrines by such mysterious language; but rather by simple figures and analogies to bring down deep doctrines in some degree to the level of our capacities. Yet, if all this discourse be merely to teach us that we must believe in the death of Christ, we have an example of most difficult language, and, we may add, language most likely to give offence, in order to express what requires no figures to make it intelligible, when simply and plainly stated. But if it be true that to those who believe in Christ, to those who come to Him believing, He, in some manner far above our comprehension, so communicates His blessed Self, so joins them to Him by an ineffable union, that they may be said to be one with Him and He with them, that He dwelleth in them and they in Him, that as He liveth by the Father so they live by Him;—if this and the like of this

be true, then can we understand, that some deep language, some strong metaphors may be needful to express the doctrine, and that the greater and more mysterious the blessing, the stranger and more hard to understand may be the language.

Now, certainly it is true, that the faithful Christian lives by union to the glorified, divine humanity of His Lord. Christ, who is one with the Father by His Godhead, becomes one with His disciples by His manhood : and by an union with us, which is ineffable, and to be comprehended only by a devout and reverent believing, He supports, sustains and feeds that spiritual life which He creates in us. That this is one chief fruit of His incarnation, all Scripture bears witness. That this, and perhaps much more than this, is taught in the chapter we are considering, there can be no reasonable question. And, although faith is an essential instrument for enabling us to receive such blessing (see v. 35) ; yet something much deeper and sublimer than the mere act of believing is plainly intended by it—even that in spirit we are truly joined to the Man Christ Jesus, our great Head and Lord ; that our whole spiritual man is sustained and nourished by Him ; that by His life we live ; by His might and power our weakness is upheld and strengthened. We do not presume to say, that this is all the mystery conveyed to us by the language of our Lord. But this we may boldly affirm is the character, though it be not the sum of the mystery. And, when we come to find the like language used by Him concerning the holy ordinance, which He established at His passion ; can we fail to infer that with that ordinance, rightly and faithfully partaken of, are communicated those very blessings which in the discourse at Capernaum are so marvelously expressed ?

Such thoughts must free us from the frigid notions of the disciples of Zuinglius ; but will they lead us to the carnal notions of the transubstantialists ? Most surely, No ! There are two statements, in the chapter we are considering, quite fatal to the

doctrine of the material presence. One is, where our Lord tells us, that whosoever eats of the bread of life shall 'not die' (ver. 51), 'shall live for ever' (ver. 58): that 'he who eateth His Flesh and drinketh His Blood, hath eternal life' (ver. 54). Now, if the bread and wine in the communion are changed into the substance of the Body and Blood; then every unworthy partaker, notwithstanding his unworthiness, partakes of Christ's Body and Blood; and hence, according to this chapter, eating the bread of life shall 'not die'—'shall live for ever'—'hath eternal life.' He cannot, as St. Paul says, eat to condemnation, but must eat to salvation. The other statement is stronger still. When those, who heard, murmured at our Lord's promise to feed them with His Flesh and Blood, Jesus said unto them, 'Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see (*εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσκει*) the Son of Man ascend where He was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life' (vv. 61—63). Do My words offend you? If ye see Me ascend where I was before, how then will ye judge? Will ye then be still more offended, thinking My words still more impossible? Or will ye then begin to understand the truth, and to know that they must be spiritually interpreted? The mistake, ye have made, is that ye have interpreted them carnally. But it is the spirit which profiteth; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life. Such was the obvious meaning of our Lord's reply; and it penetrates to the very depths of the difficulty. The meaning of the discourse was all spiritual. The feeding on Christ's Body and Blood is a spiritual feeding. No other feeding profits. It would do no good. To eat the material substance of His Flesh, and drink the material substance of His Blood, would be useless. It is the spirit only which gives life; and the words, which He had spoken, were spirit and life. And be it noted, whether the discourse did, by anticipation, concern the Eucharist, or whether it did

not, yet this much is clear : we have it revealed in the unfailing and unerring words of our Redeemer, that carnally to eat His Flesh and drink His Blood would profit us nothing; and therefore we may be assured infallibly, that such a carnal feeding, being profitless, would never have been ordained by Him in a Sacrament for His Church.

III. *The statements of St. Paul.*

These occur in 1 Cor. x. and 1 Cor. xi.

The argument from the former chapter (1 Cor. x.) is of this nature. The Christians of Corinth, living among idolaters, were tempted to join in idol-feasts, at which meats, that had been offered in sacrifice, were solemnly and religiously eaten. However innocent it may be to eat meat of any kind, St. Paul points out that it is no longer innocent, when the eating it implies a participating in an idolatrous ceremony, especially an idolatrous sacrifice. He, that partakes of a sacrificial feast, declares thereby his respect for the sacrifice, and his interest in it. He claims to be a partaker of the sacrifice. The Apostle illustrates this in three ways; first by our participation of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist (vv. 16, 17); secondly, by the Jews' participation in the sacrifices of which they eat; thirdly, by the heathens' participation of the sacrifices of demon-gods. To take the two last illustrations first. He observes with regard to 'Israel after the flesh,' that 'they which eat of the sacrifices are partakers (*κοινωνοι*) of the altar.' That is to say, by eating of the meat of the sacrifice, they have a share, a participation in the benefit of that which is offered on the altar (ver. 18). As for the Gentiles, he says, that they offer sacrifice, not to God, but to demon-gods (*δαίμονιους*); and it is unbecoming in Christians to be partakers or communicants (*κοινωνοι*) of demon-gods. Nay! it is altogether inconsistent to drink of the cup of the Lord, and of the cup of demon-gods; to partake of the Lord's table, and the table of demon-gods (vv. 20, 21); the

'table of demon-gods' here meaning the feast upon the heathen sacrifices; 'the table of the Lord,' meaning the banquet of the Holy Communion, and probably alluding to Malachi i. 7, 12; where the expression 'table of the Lord' is used in immediate connexion with the word 'altar,' and refers to the sacrificial feasting connected with the Jewish sacrifices. In juxtaposition then, and immediate comparison with these feasts on Jewish and heathen offerings, St. Paul places the Christian festival of the Eucharist; and as he tells the Corinthians, that the Israelites in their feasts were partakers of the altar, and the heathen partook of the table of devils; so he says, Christians partake of the Lord's table. But more than this, he asks, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a joint-partaking (*κοινωνία*) of the Blood of Christ? The bread, which we break, is it not a joint-partaking of the Body of Christ? For we being many are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread' (vv. 16, 17). The natural signification of the word *κοινωνία*, and the sense deducible from the context, require that it should be rendered, as above, *joint-partaking* or *joint-participation*¹. The parallel is between partaking of idol sacrifices, partaking of Jewish sacrifices, and partaking of the Christian sacrifice, *i. e.* Christ. And the 17th verse is added to shew, that by such participation, there is a joint fellowship not only with Christ, the Head, but with His whole Body the Church.

Now, what must we infer from this teaching? Does it not plainly tell us, that the feeding at the Lord's table corresponds with the feeding at the Jewish altar and the heathen idol-feasts. That, as the latter gave them participation in their sacrifices and their demon-gods, so the former gives us participation of Christ's Body and Blood? This much we cannot and we would

¹ *κοινός* common, *κοινός* to make common, impart, *κοινωνός* a partaker, *κοινωνία* participation. This is the natural meaning. *κοινωνία* means also close communion or joint partnership. St. Paul ordinarily uses *κοινωνία* for *partaking*. See 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 3. Comp. *κοινωνός*, ix. 18.

not deny. The bread and wine are to us means or instruments whereby, through God's grace, we become partakers of the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. But, on the other hand, must we therefore infer that we partake of Christ's Body naturally and materially? The very words appear to teach us otherwise. If there were a real change of the elements into Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, it seems altogether unaccountable that the force of the argument should have been weakened by the introduction of the word *κοινωνία*, *participation*. If the bread be literally and substantially the Body, it would have been more natural to say, 'Is not the bread, which we break, Christ's Body?' And the inference would be immediate; Can we eat Christ's Body and demon-sacrifices together? The word *κοινωνία*, on which the peculiar strength of the passage depends, whilst it clearly points to the Eucharistic elements as ordained means to enable us to partake of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet shews too that they are *means of partaking*, not themselves changed into the substance of that which they represent. They are ordained, that we may partake of Christ; but they are not Christ themselves.

The other passage of St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 19—30) has the same object as that which we have just considered; namely, to increase our reverence for 'the dignity of this holy mystery.' The early Christians appear to have joined with the reception of the communion an *agape* or love-feast. In such a feast it was seemly that the rich should provide for the poor, and that all things should be in common. But in Corinth, a city long famous for luxury, the richer Christians appear to have overlooked the Christian principle, and to have made their feasts of charity minister to their own indulgence, rather than to their poor neighbours' wants. This was in itself wrong; it was not, as the Apostle says, to eat the Lord's supper¹; and it was

¹ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν, v. 20. This probably does not refer to the Eucharist, but to the *Agape*, the feast of charity, which was joined with it.

despising the church of God—shaming those who had no houses to feast in. And what made it worst of all was this, that with these feasts of charity was joined a reception of the Holy Communion; and to receive that at a time when some were feasting gluttonously, and others suffering from hunger, was to treat contemptuously the most sacred and blessed ordinance of the Lord. It was receiving that Sacrament unworthily. It was not only treating the agape as a private feast, and one in which self-indulgence was permissible; but it was making the Eucharist itself a common thing.

To enforce his lesson on this subject, the Apostle reminds the Corinthians of the mode and the words in which our Lord had instituted the Eucharist. This part of his teaching we have already considered. But he goes on to reason that, as our Lord had instituted bread and wine as Sacraments of His Body and Blood, 'therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord,' ver. 27. He then exhorts to self-examination, ver. 28, and adds, ver. 29: 'For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh to himself condemnation, not setting apart as holy the Body of the Lord' (*κρίμα ἐαυτῷ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει, μὴ διακρίνων τὸ Σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου*¹). The Lord's own words of institution pointed to this

See Hammond and Whitby, *in loc.*; Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, ch. i. 3; Suicer, s. v. 'Αγαναί; Cave, *Primitive Christianity*, pt. i. ch. ii.; Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. xv. ch. vii. § 6, 7, 9.

¹ *διακρίνων, discernens, separating, setting apart as holy.* So the Syriac, ܕܝܚܪܝܢ. To discern, as we in modern English use that word, is only a secondary and improper sense of *διακρίνειν*, as it is also of *discernere*. The natural meaning is to separate, to make a distinction of one thing from another. It is used in classical as well as in Hellenistic Greek, with the sense of to set apart for holy purposes. So Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 54—56: Περὶ δὲ πάσης ἄλτιν μὲν ὅγ' ἐν καθαρῷ διακρίνει. The plain meaning therefore of St. Paul is, that people who mixed up the Eucharist with a profane feast, treated the Lord's Body, which is given us there, as no better than a common thing, not as sacred and holy.

Sacrament, as the means of participating in His Body and Blood; he therefore who received that Sacrament, not as a thing most sacred and venerable, but as part or adjunct of a common feast, was guilty of great and heinous impiety, because he did not set apart as a holy thing the Body of the Lord. This is the plain meaning of the passage, according to the obvious rendering of the original; and it certainly teaches a lesson of deep reverence, and speaks home plainly to our faith. It seems an unanswerable argument against those, who esteem the Eucharist as 'a bare sign of a thing absent.' We, of the Church of England, who believe Christ really present in His Sacraments, and spiritually there feeding our souls, as much as those who look for a natural reception of Him, can feel the truth and awfulness of such apostolic warnings. We do not differ with the believers in transubstantiation, so far as their statement goes, that in the Eucharist there is a real presence of the Lord. And therefore we feel, as they do, that to receive unworthily is to do dishonour to the Body of Christ. Our difference with them is not concerning the truth of Christ's presence, which the Apostle's words seem forcibly to teach us; but we differ with them only concerning the mode. That they define carnally, whilst we believe it mystically. And herein we can scarcely use words more apposite than the words used long ago by Calvin: 'If any ask me concerning the mode, I am not ashamed to confess the mystery to be more sublime than my intellect can grasp, or than words can tell; and, that I may speak more openly, I essay rather than understand. Therefore here I embrace without controversy the truth of God, in which I may safely acquiesce. He pronounces His Flesh the food of my soul, His Blood the drink. I offer my soul to be fed with such aliments. In His sacred Feast He bids me, under symbols of bread and wine, to take His Body and Blood, to eat and to drink. I doubt not but that He really offers, and that I receive. All I reject is what is in itself absurd,

unworthy of the heavenly majesty of Christ, or alien from the verity of His nature as man¹. So Calvin; and so our own Hooker: 'What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not. It is enough that *unto me that take them* they are the Body and Blood of Christ. His promise in witness hereof sufficeth. His word He knoweth which way to accomplish. Why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant; but, O my God, Thou art true: O my soul, thou art happy²?' It is in this way that the Scriptures have left it: so the devout soul has ever embraced it: and so we may safely and thankfully receive it—not speculate curiously, nor expound carnally; but believe and live.

¹ *Institut.* iv. xvii. 32.

² *E. P.* Bk. v. ch. lxvi. 12.

NOTE.

I HAVE confined myself in this Article almost wholly to the presence in the Eucharist, and the mode of receiving Christ's Body and Blood. The latter part of the Article has thereby been deprived of its due attention. It is, however, but a simple corollary. Elevating the Host resulted from a belief in transubstantiation. If that doctrine be rejected, we shall not believe the wafer to have been really transformed into Christ's Body, and so shall not worship it, nor elevate it for worship. There is evidently no Scriptural authority for the elevation of the Host, the command being, 'Take, eat.' The Roman ritualists themselves admit that there is no trace of its existence before the 11th or 12th centuries: and no certain documents refer to it till about A.D. 1200. See Palmer, *On the Church*, Vol. I. part I. ch. xi. p. 311.

ARTICLE XXIX.

*Of the Wicked which eat not the Body
of Christ in the use of the Lord's
Supper.*

THE Wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

*De manducatione Corporis Christi, et
impios illud non manducare.*

IMPII, et fide viva destituti, licet carnaliter et visibiliter (ut Augustinus loquitur) corporis et sanguinis Christi Sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur.

Sed potius tantæ rei Sacramentum, seu symbolum, ad iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

IF the last Article be true, this most probably follows on it. There are but two possible views of the question. Either the wicked and unbelieving do not eat Christ's Body and Blood, but only their sacred symbols; or they eat the Body and Blood, but to condemnation, not to salvation. The former alternative has generally been held, in latter times, by the advocates of a spiritual feeding; the latter, by the believers in transubstantiation, and, I suppose, by most believers in consubstantiation. The fathers' teaching is naturally obscure on this point. They so constantly called the symbols by the name of that they symbolized, that they would commonly speak of eating the Body of Christ, when they meant only the consecrated bread, the Sacrament of His Body. Yet plain passages occur, which are strongly in favour of the view taken by our reformers in this Article.

Origen speaks concerning 'the Word who was made flesh, the true food, which no wicked man can eat. For, if it were possible, that one continuing in wickedness should eat Him who was made flesh, the Word, the living bread; in vain would it have been written, *whoso eateth this bread shall live for ever*¹.' Cyprian tells a story of the Eucharistic bread becoming a cinder in the hands of one who had lapsed, as a proof that Christ could not be received by the unworthy communicant². So St. Hilary, 'The bread that came down from Heaven, is not taken but by him who hath the Lord, and is a member of Christ³.' St. Augustine is quoted in the very words of the Article. Some part of the passage is thought by the Benedictine editors to have been interpolated; which I will put between brackets. What remains, however, is fully sufficient to serve the purpose for which it is adduced. 'By this, he who abides not in Christ, nor Christ in him, without doubt eats not [spiritually] His Flesh, nor drinks His Blood; [though he carnally and visibly press with his teeth the Sacrament of His Body and Blood]; but rather he eats and drinks, to his condemnation, the Sacrament of so great a thing⁴.' So elsewhere, he clearly distin-

¹ Πολλὰ δ' ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο τοῦ Λόγου, ὅς γέγονε σὰρξ καὶ ἀληθινὴ βρώσις, ἣν τινα ὁ φάγων πάντως ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐδενὸς δυναμένου φαῦλου ἐσθίειν αὐτήν· εἰ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν ἔτι φαῦλον μένοντα ἐσθίειν τὸν γεγόμενον σάρκα Λόγον ὄντα, καὶ ἄρτον ζῶντα, οὐκ ἂν ἐγγράπτο, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ φάγων τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.—Origen. in *Matt. xv. Comment.*

² 'Et quidem alius, quia et ipse maculatus sacrificio a sacerdote celebrato partem cum cæteris ausus est latenter accipere, sanctum Domini corpus edere et contrectare non potuit; cinerem ferre se, apertis manibus invenit. Documento unius ostenditur, Dominum recedere cum negatur, nec immerentibus ad salutem prodesse quod sumitur, quando gratia salutaris in cinerem, sanctitate fugiente, mutatur.'—Cyprian. *De Lapsis*, p. 133, Fell.

³ 'Panis qui descendit de cælo, non nisi ab eo accipitur qui Dominum habet, et Christi membrum est.'—Hilar. *De Trinit. Lib. viii.*

⁴ 'Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat [spiritualiter] carnem Ejus, nec bibit Ejus sanguinem [licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum

guishes between sacramental eating and real eating: '*Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in him.* Here our Lord shews what it is, not only sacramentally, but really, to eat Christ's Body and drink His Blood; even to dwell in Christ and Christ in him. And He said this, as much as to say, Whosoever does not abide in Me and I in him, let him not say, nor think, that he eats My Body or drinks My Blood¹.' So Jerome also says, that 'lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God eat not the Flesh, nor drink the Blood of Jesus².'

It has been argued indeed, that the prayer in the ancient Liturgies, for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, implied of necessity a belief, that after that descent the elements of themselves become so truly the Body and Blood of Christ, that the communicants, whether worthily or unworthily receiving, must necessarily partake of the Body and Blood. This, if it means anything of the kind, means the full doctrine of transubstantiation. But no such conclusion can be deduced from the fact of the invocation. For first, the like invocation of the Spirit was made in baptism; and of this we hear much earlier than of the invocation in the Eucharist³. Now, though the fathers believed, as the English reformers did, that the Holy

corporis et sanguinis Christi:] sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.'—*In Joan. Tract. 26, Tom. III. pars II. p. 500.*

¹ 'Denique Ipse dicens *Qui manducat Carnem meam, et bibit Sanguinem meum, in Me manet, et Ego in eo*; ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed re vera Corpus Christi manducare, et Ejus sanguinem bibere: hoc est enim in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tanquam diceret, Qui non in me manet, et in quo Ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare Corpus meum aut bibere sanguinem meum.'—*De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXI. c. 25, Tom. VII. p. 646.*

² 'Omnes voluptatis magis amatores, quam amatores Dei . . . nec comedunt carnem Jesu, neque bibunt sanguinem Ejus; de quo Ipse loquitur: *Qui comedit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, habet vitam æternam.*'—Hieronym. in *Isai. c. 66, ver. 17.*

³ Tertull. *De Baptismo, c. 4.*

Ghost 'would sanctify the water to the mystical washing away of sins'; yet they neither believed in a change of the substance of the water, nor in an admixture of the Holy Spirit with the water²; nor that an unworthy recipient obtained the blessing of the Spirit's sanctification. We must suppose the same principle to apply to the sanctification of the symbols in the Eucharist. As the minister was to consecrate, so the fathers looked for the Spirit to bless the elements to a sacred use. 'We beseech the merciful God,' says St. Cyril, 'to send the Holy Ghost upon the elements; that he may make the bread Christ's Body and the wine His Blood. For, undoubtedly, whatever the Holy Ghost touches, that is sanctified and changed³.'

But, though the Holy Spirit sanctifies and changes, it follows not that the change is a change of substance. The sanctification of the elements is to a sacred use and office—to a new relation, not to a new nature. Accordingly, St. Cyril speaks afterwards of the illapse of the Holy Spirit as making the elements holy, and at the same time making the communicant holy. 'Holy also are ye, being now endowed with the Spirit⁴.' So, some of the ancient Liturgies have a prayer for the descent on the communicants first, and then on the elements⁵. And so, in several Liturgies, and especially in the Gregorian Sacramen-

¹ *Office of Public Baptism.*

² *μυρίσων τὰ ἕμικρα*, says Basil, of those who spoke of the mixture of the Spirit and water. Basil, *De Sp. S.* Tom. III. p. 30. See Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, ch. x.

³ Cyril Hierosol. *Catech. Mystag.* v. c. 7. This is the oldest certain mention of the custom; i. e. in the middle of the fourth century. The next oldest form is in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Lib. VIII. c. 12: 'We beseech Thee, O God, to send Thy Holy Spirit on this Sacrifice . . . that He may make this bread to become the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup to become the Blood of Thy Christ.'—See Waterland, as above.

⁴ *Ibid.* c. 19.

⁵ 'Super nos et super hæc dona.' (See the Liturgies in Fabricius and Renaudotius, cited by Waterland, as above).

tary¹, from thence derived to the canon of the mass, the words ‘to us,’ are inserted; thereby restricting the blessing upon the elements to their effects on the recipient. Nay! that transubstantiation could not have been intended, has been admitted by many Romanist divines; inasmuch as, in the Greek Liturgies, the invocation of the Spirit followed the words of institution. Now, the Latin divines fix the consecration to the words of institution. Hence, if there be any truth in transubstantiation, the change must, according to them, have taken place before the invocation, and could not therefore be the effect of the invocation². In short, ‘all circumstances shew, that the true and ancient intent of that part of the service was not to implore any physical change in the elements, no, nor so much as a physical connexion of the Spirit with the elements, but a moral change only in the elements, as to relation and uses, and a gracious presence of the Holy Spirit upon the communicants³.’

But when a belief arose in the *opus operatum*, and in the absolute change of substance in the elements, then, naturally it was held, that not only the faithful, but even the unbelieving, must receive the very Body and Blood of Christ, though of course the latter, only to condemn them. And then too, the fathers (who spoke freely of the elements under the name of that they signified, and, no doubt, believed in a sanctification of them to holy purposes) were cited as holding the same language, and as witnesses to the same doctrine.

It seems by no means necessary, that the like result should follow from the doctrine of *consubstantiation*. Indeed Luther greatly abhorred the *opus operatum*. Still, I suppose, the Lutherans rather inclined to the belief, that the wicked eat the

¹ ‘Quam oblationem Tu, Deus, in omnibus quæsumus benedictam facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat,’ &c.—Cited by Waterland.

² Waterland, as above, p. 407. (Cambridge, 1737). The subject is very fully discussed in this place by Dr. Waterland.

³ *Ibid.*

Body of Christ, yet impiously, and to their ruin. And so this Article was, for a time, expunged by Queen Elizabeth and her Council¹; probably as not agreeable to those members of the Church who were of Lutheran sentiments. All other branches of the Reformation seem to have agreed that, as the presence of Christ was not in the elements, but only vouchsafed with the elements 'to the faithful,' so His presence would be withheld from those who were unfaithful and impenitent.

¹ See Vol. I. Introduction, p. 14.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

IN one sense of the words, then, we may admit that every communicant eats Christ's Body and drinks His Blood ; because he eats the symbol which is called His Body (*corpus, h. e. figura corporis*), and drinks the symbol, which is called His Blood. But all that has been said in former Articles to disprove the doctrine of the *opus operatum*, applies here. The actual reception of Christ's Body and Blood is the reception, not of the outward sign, but of the inward grace. Now, the inward grace of the Sacraments belongs only to the faithful, not to the impenitent and unbelieving. Of course, if we admit a physical change in the elements, we must believe Christ's Body to be eaten, not only by the wicked, but, as has been often argued, by mice or dogs, or any other animal, that may accidentally devour a portion of the consecrated bread. Hence, the contrary position to the statement of this Article follows of necessity, on the doctrine of transubstantiation. But then, the opposite doctrine of an efficacious, spiritual presence, and that rather in the recipient than in the element, seems inevitably to issue in the doctrine here propounded.

As for the direct statements of the new Testament, we must lay aside the words of institution ; which will not aid us, until we have determined whether they imply a spiritual or a carnal presence ; and confine our attention to the eleventh chapter of 1 Cor., and to the sixth chapter of St. John. In the former we are told, that ' whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord ' (ver. 27) ; and that ' he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh condemnation to himself, not setting apart as holy the Lord's Body ' (ver. 29). Perhaps the first view of this passage rather appears to favour the doctrine of the *opus*

operatum. The unworthy communicant is 'guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord,' which he pollutes; and he eats and drinks condemnation, because he does not set apart and treat with reverence the Lord's Body. At least, candour may oblige us to admit, that there is nothing in St. Paul's words thus cited, which will not square with the hypothesis, that every recipient equally eats the Flesh and drinks the Blood of Christ. But, on the other hand, we are justified in contending, that there is nothing inconsistent with our own belief, that the wicked do not eat Christ. In the former case, we can see how great the profanation would be; but in the latter, it is still very fearful. The feast provided for the faithful is doubtless a spiritual feast on the Lord's Body and Blood; hence, the profane receiver is unquestionably 'guilty concerning Christ's Body and Blood' (ἐνοχος τοῦ σώματος, κ.τ.λ.). And again, as the bread and wine are the means of communicating to us the Body and Blood of Christ; so he, who treats the Eucharist as part of a mere common feast, (which the Corinthians did), does clearly refuse to treat with reverence, and to set apart as holy, the Body of the Lord.

But if there be any ambiguity in the words of St. Paul, there can be none in the words of our Lord. He plainly tells us, 'He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in him' (John vi. 56). 'He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me' (ver. 57). 'He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever' (ver. 58). 'Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day' (ver. 54). Now all this is plain, that the real feeding on Christ is to salvation, not to condemnation. All are agreed that the wicked do not profit, but rather suffer loss, by eating in the Eucharist. But then, if they do not profit, we inevitably infer from the words of our Lord, that they have not eaten His Flesh nor drunk His Blood; for those, who do so, 'live by Him'—'live for ever'—'have eternal life'—have

Him dwelling in them—'have eternal life, and are raised up at the last day.'

The only escape from the inference seems to be in an assertion, that John vi. does not refer to Eucharistic feeding, but to spiritual feeding apart from the Eucharist. But, whatever conclusion we may come to on that head, the statement seems clear and general, 'He that eateth Me shall live by Me' (ver. 57). Now, granting that this eating of Christ may be apart from the Eucharist, yet is it not quite clear that, *howsoever it be*, it is life-giving? The proposition is perfectly universal. Though, therefore, we may admit that it may be applicable to a mere spiritual feeding by faith; yet we must contend that, if in the Eucharist it be *real*, then it must bring life with it. 'He that eateth shall live.' The only question is therefore—who eateth? Whosoever eateth, if the eating be real eating, eateth life. If, therefore, in the Eucharist, a man really feeds on Christ, he lives by Him. Hence, those who eat and drink unworthily, cannot really feed on the Lord's Body; though, 'to their condemnation, they do eat and drink the Sacrament of so great a thing.' And this seems, at the same time, to prove the proposition of our Article, and to disprove the whole theory of transubstantiation, and of the natural presence.

ARTICLE XXX.

Of both Kinds.

THE Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

De utraque Specie.

CALIX Domini laicis non est denegandus, utraque enim pars Domini Sacramenti, ex Christi institutione et præcepto, omnibus Christianis ex æquo administrari debet.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

IT is not so much as pretended by the more candid Roman Catholics, that there is patristic authority for withdrawing the cup from the laity.

In the earliest account we have of the ministration of the Eucharist, that of Justin Martyr, we read that 'the deacons gave to *every one* that was present to partake of the bread, over which thanks had been offered, and of *wine* mixed with water, and that they carried them also to those not present¹.' This is fully confirmed by St. Cyprian, who speaks of the deacons as 'offering the cup to those who were present².' St. Chrysostom especially notices, that there was no distinction between priests and laymen in this respect: 'Whereas under the old Covenant the priests ate some things, and the laymen others; and it was not lawful for the people to partake of those things

¹ Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόνασιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.—Justin. *Apol.* i. p. 97.

² 'Ubi solennibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit.'—Cyp. *De Lapsis*, p. 94, Fell.

of which the priest partook; it is not so now, but one Body is placed before all, *and one cup*¹.

These and similar expressions of the fathers are fully borne out by the language of the ancient liturgies; from which we infer, not only that both elements were administered alike to clergy and laity, but that they were ministered separately. The fear of spilling the consecrated wine, (of right to be regarded reverently, but in the course of time regarded superstitiously,) led to the administering the two elements together, by dipping the consecrated bread into the cup; which custom still continues in the Eastern Churches. But the doctrine of transubstantiation naturally led to the belief that, inasmuch as the elements were wholly changed into the substance of Christ, therefore whole Christ, Body and Blood, was contained in either element; and hence that, if only one element was received, yet Christ was fully received under that one element.

It was not at first without opposition, both from councils and from eminent divines, that the custom, which this belief gave rise to, gradually gained ground. Thus the xxviiith canon of the Council of Clermont (A. D. 1095) decrees that, all who shall communicate at the altar, shall receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ under both kinds, if there be no provision to the contrary². And in the next century, Geoffrey, Abbot of Vendome, censures the custom of a certain monastery, where both species were not administered separately, but the bread was steeped in the wine³.

In the time of the schoolmen, however, the question was pretty much discussed, whether it was lawful to receive in one kind only. They were by no means agreed that either element

¹ Οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τὰ μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἤσθιε, τὰ δὲ ὁ ἀρχόμενος· καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὧν μετείχεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐν σῶμα προκεῖται καὶ ἐν ποτήριον.—Chrysost. *Homil.* xiv. in 1 *Cor.*

² See Dupin, Cent. xi. Vol. ix, p. 74.

³ Dupin, Cent. xii. Vol. x. p. 138.

could be dispensed with. But the temptation to withhold the cup was great. Thereby the danger was avoided of spilling to the ground the sacred Blood of Christ. Thereby too, it was left in the power of the priesthood to dispense only so much as they chose, even of the ordinance of Christ¹.

There was scarcely any corruption of Popery so much complained of by Wickliffe, Huss, and other early reformers, as this withholding from the faithful what they cherished, as a portion of their birthright. It was one of the abuses which it was fondly hoped the Council of Constance (A.D. 1415) would reform and eradicate. But so far from reforming it, that famous Council decreed, that as the reception of one element was sufficient for the receiving wholly both the Body and Blood of Christ, so the Eucharist should be received by the laity in one kind only².

This decree led to serious results in Germany. The sects of the Calixtines and Taborites sprang up in opposition to it; the former protesting against the depriving them of an inalienable right and privilege, the latter not satisfied with protesting, but having recourse even to arms and violence³.

¹ It is a remarkable acknowledgment of Cardinal Bona, that 'always, everywhere, from the very first foundation of the Church to the 12th century, the faithful always communicated under the species both of bread and wine.'

'Certum est omnes passim clericos et laicos, viros et mulieres sub utraque specie sacra mysteria antiquitus sumpsisse, cum solemni eorum celebrationi aderant, et offerebant et de oblatis participabant. Extra sacrificium vero, et extra ecclesiam semper et ubique sub una specie in usu fuit. Primæ parti assertionis consentiunt omnes, tam Catholici quam sectarii; nec eam negare potest, qui vel levissima rerum Ecclesiasticarum imbutus sit. Semper enim et ubique, ab ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad sæculum duodecimum, sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles: coepitque paulatim Ejus sæculi initio usus calicis obsolescere, plerisque episcopis eum populo interdicens ob periculum irreverentiæ et effusionis.'—Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* Lib. II. c. 18, n. 1, quoted by Bingham, *E. A.* xv. v. 1.

² Concil. Constant. Sess. XIII. See also Mosheim, *Cent. xv. ch. ii. § 8.*

³ Mosheim, *Cent. xv. pt. II. ch. iii. § 5, 6.*

It is only further necessary to add, that, whilst every reformed Church in Christendom restored to the laity the cup in the Eucharist, the Council of Trent, following the Council of Constance, decreed anathemas against all who held that both kinds were necessary to all the faithful—against all who denied that the Catholic Church had been led by just causes to order the laity and the non-ministering clergy to communicate under the species of bread alone—and against all who denied that whole Christ was received according to His own institution, under one kind¹.

¹ Sess. xxi. Can. i. ii. iii.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

THE only passages in Scripture, which can be appealed to, are those which relate to the institution of the Eucharist. In all of these there appears no difference between the bread and the cup, save only this; that in St. Matthew (xxvi. 27) our Lord is specially related to have used, concerning the latter, the words 'Drink ye *all* of it,' and in St. Mark (xiv. 23) it is specially recorded, that 'they *all* drank of it;' whereas, concerning the bread it is only said, 'Take, eat.' If therefore we can at all infer, that one should be of more universal extent and applicability than the other, it should surely be rather in favour of the cup, than in favour of the other element.

But, I believe, it is never argued that Scripture gives authority for the withdrawing of the cup. The mode of argument is this. It is true, all the Apostles received both elements. But then all were priests. This therefore is not sufficient ground for assuming that the laity are of necessity to receive both elements. It is granted, that it is not a matter *de fide*, and of absolute obligation, to withdraw the cup from laymen, but merely a Church-ordinance, for greater decency and edification. It is indeed necessary to consecrate both bread and wine, in order to follow our Lord's example; and for the same reason, necessary that some one should receive them both. Hence the officiating priest always communicates in both kinds. But it is no injury to the rest that they receive but in one kind, for whole Christ (Body and Blood and Spirit and Godhead) is received perfectly under either species; and therefore he, who receives but one, has no need to receive more. It is a similar case to that, when our Lord said to St. Peter, 'He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit' (John xiii. 10).

Now this is surely very unsafe reasoning. It is true, the Apostles were all ministers of Christ. But if this be ground for withdrawing the cup, it might be as well pleaded for withdrawing the Sacrament altogether from the laity. There were at that memorable Passover none present but our Lord and His Apostles. But surely the example was intended for all the Church. Besides which, the Church of Rome withholds the cup, not only from the laity, but even from all the clergy, except the consecrating priest; which clearly is inconsistent with the original institution, wherein our Lord did not drink of it Himself alone, but said, 'Drink ye *all* of it,' and 'they *all* drank.'

If we take St. Paul's statements and reasonings in 1 Cor. x. xi., we shall find much ground to conclude that not only presbyters, but the people too, partook of the two elements. His addresses, warnings, exhortations in those two chapters are evidently general. We should almost infer that they were rather to the laity than to the clergy. It is more likely that laymen, than that clergymen, should have been guilty of partaking of idol-feasts, and of neglecting to hallow the feast of the Eucharist. Now one argument, by which he tries to persuade the Corinthian Christians not to eat what had been offered to idols, is, 'Ye cannot drink *the cup of the Lord* and the cup of devils' (1 Cor. x. 21). This would be no great argument to laymen, unless they were permitted to drink 'the cup of the Lord.' And in the following chapter he presses on them the duty of self-examination before communion, and of reverently partaking of that holy Sacrament, in terms which shew clearly, that all those whom he addresses, *i. e.* both clergy and laity, were wont to receive both the bread and the cup: 'As often as ye eat this bread *and drink this cup*, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come; wherefore *whosoever* shall eat this bread and *drink this cup of the Lord* unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord. But let a man

(i.e. any man, whosoever receives the Sacrament) examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread *and drink of that cup*' (1 Cor. xi. 27—29).

With such strong evidence, that the cup was not only instituted by our blessed Lord, but also received by all His people, it is surely very hazardous to conclude from certain inductions of reason, that one half of His ordinance may be withheld from the great body of His Church. On what do we rest as an assurance that we shall receive blessing in the use of Sacraments, but on our knowledge that we are acting in obedience to our Lord's commands, doing as He has ordained that we should do, and therefore having a right to expect that He will give that grace, which He has promised to give in the due administering of His ordinances? But if we, resting on our own fallible judgments, curtail His ordinances, and administer but half of what He has enjoined; what right have we to expect a blessing to rest upon us? A Sacrament is no Sacrament without these three requisites; the minister, the ordained elements, and the words of consecration. We should not think baptism valid if we substituted sand for water; nor the Eucharist valid if we substituted water for wine, or meat for bread; although the rite, which of old answered to the Eucharist, was celebrated with the flesh of lamb. It leaves therefore a very serious question, whether the Sacrament is a valid Sacrament, when there is only ministered one half of what Christ ordained, of what the Apostolic Christians received, and of what the Catholic Church administered for very many centuries after the Apostles.

It is quite clear that only one thing can give even a colour of pretence for this mutilation of the ordinance; viz. the hypothesis, that the elements are transubstantiated, each element into the entire substance of the Saviour. If this hypothesis fail, the alternative remains that the Sacrament is not as Christ ordained it, and that (unless He, of His mercy, supplies the

deficiency) it is not such as to warrant us in the assurance, that it is more than a piece of will-worship and human invention. We do not indeed wish to deny that those who, in faith and ignorance receive a mutilated Sacrament, may receive the full blessing. We trust that such is the case, because we believe our gracious Lord will give the food of everlasting life, His own blessed Body and Blood, even through imperfect means (or, it may be, without means at all) to those who come to Him in faith and penitence, not with perverse neglect, but in unwilling ignorance. But this does not prevent us from saying, that the Eucharist without the cup is not the Eucharist ordained of Christ.

ARTICLE XXXI.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

THE Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

De unica Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta.

OBLATIO Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus; neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio: unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ, aut culpæ, pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

IT cannot be doubted that, from the very first, the fathers spoke of the Eucharist under the name of an offering or sacrifice. Clement of Rome writes of the bishops of the Church, as ‘unblamably and holily offering the gifts¹’; where he is evidently alluding to the Eucharist. The gifts were the bread and wine, and the other offerings presented on the table of the Lord. The verb made use of is *προσφέρειν*, so that Clement calls the Eucharist by the name *προσφορά*, *offering*. Justin Martyr not only calls it *προσφορά*, *offering*, but moreover *θυσία*, *sacrifice*. He quotes Malachi (i. 10, 11), as prophesying, ‘Of the *sacrifices* to be offered by us Gentiles in every place, i. e. the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of the Eucharist².’

¹ ἀμύπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσεγγίζοντας τὰ δῶρα.—Clem. 1 *ad Corinth.* c. 44.

² Περὶ τῶν ἐν παντί τόπῳ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῶν

Irenæus cites the same prophecy, and applies it to the same Sacrament; saying, that the prophet foretold 'the new oblation of the new Testament, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offers throughout the world to God¹.' Tertullian constantly speaks of oblations and sacrifices, using the word *offer* (*offerre*)², and so probably *oblation*³, of the Eucharist; though the word *sacrifice* is applied by him rather to the sacrifice of prayer or praise⁴.

These are all authorities of the first two centuries; all witnesses within little more than a century from the Apostles. The question, which occurs concerning them, is, in what sense do they speak of offering and sacrifice?

Justin Martyr says: 'The offering of fine flour for those who were cleansed of leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which the Lord Jesus Christ commanded us to offer, in remembrance of His suffering⁵.' Clemens Romanus speaks

θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς Εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς Εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε εἰπὼν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν ἡμᾶς.—*Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 260: cf. pp. 344, 345.

¹ 'Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo.'—*Lib. iv. c. 32, p. 323, Grabe.*

So quoting Matt. v. 23, 24: 'Cum igitur offers munus tuum ad altare,' &c., he says, 'Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creaturæ.'—*Lib. iv. c. 34, p. 325.*

² 'Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tinguere, nec offerre.'—*De Veland. Virginibus, c. 9.*

³ 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus.'—*De Corona Militis, c. 2.*

⁴ *Sacrificamus* pro salute imperatoris sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quo modo præcepit Deus, *pura prece*. Non enim eget Deus, Conditor universitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicujus.'—*Ad Scapulam, c. 2.* Cf. *Cont. Marc.* *Lib. iv. c. 1*, where he calls *Sacrificium mundum* . . . simplex oratio de conscientia pura. So *De Orat.* 28. 'Hæc (i. e. oratio) est hostia spiritualis, quæ pristina sacrificia delebit.'

⁵ 'Ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως προσφορά ἡ ἐπὲρ τῶν καθαριζομένων ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας προσφέρεσθαι παραδοθείσα, τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν.—*Dial. pp. 259, 260.*

of offering the gifts. Justin and Irenæus both refer to the 'pure offering' of Malachi; which, though Justin after the LXX. translates it by *θυσία*, *sacrifice*, is in the Hebrew מִנְחָה, *mincha*, i. e. an oblation. Now the *mincha* was an offering of meal or flour baked, or of parched corn. It is a 'meat-offering,' according to the English version; but, as Joseph Mede observes, we might more correctly call it a *bread-offering*¹. Again, Tertullian speaks of the Christian sacrifice as a sacrifice of 'pure prayer;' as Justin Martyr also had done before him².

We have very similar witness from Clement of Alexandria and Origen. The former calls the sacrifice of the Church, 'Speech exhaled from holy souls, whilst the whole understanding is laid open before God together with the sacrifice³.' And the holy altar, he says, is the righteous soul⁴. Origen, in like manner, frequently spiritualizes; but specially concerning the Eucharist he says, that 'Celsus would give firstfruits to demons, so we offer firstfruits to God⁵.'

In all these fathers, then, we find no certain reference to any offering in the Eucharist, except the offering of the bread and wine, in the way of gifts or oblations to the service of God; as the fine flour and the meat- or bread-offerings were presented by the Jews, and with them a sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving. The use of the word *θυσία*, *sacrifice*, gives no contradiction to this statement: for besides that it is the rendering of the Hebrew *mincha* by the LXX. translators, it has been clearly proved that the word by no means of necessity implies an offering of a slain victim, though such was its primary

¹ Mede, *On the Christian Sacrifice*, ch. III.

² 'Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι καὶ αὐτὸς φημι.—*Dial.* p. 345.

³ 'Ἡ θυσία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμώμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης ἅμα τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπάσης τῷ Θεῷ.—*Clem. Strom.* VII. p. 848.

⁴ βωμὸν δὲ ἀληθῶς ἁγίον, τὴν δικαίαν ψυχὴν.—*Ibid.*

⁵ *Contra Celsum*, Lib. VIII. c. 33.

signification; but that it is also applicable to all other kinds of offerings and oblations, whether it be in classical or biblical Greek¹.

Very early indeed we have express mention of a Christian altar². But we can infer no more from the use of the word *altar*, than from the use of the word *sacrifice*. A sacrifice (*θυσία*) implies an altar (*θυσιαστήριον*). If the offering of the bread and wine, as first-fruits to God, be esteemed a sacrifice, then that whereon it is offered would be esteemed an altar. If the offering of prayer and praise be a sacrifice, the soul, from which they rise up to God, would be the altar. We need not question indeed that these early fathers, as undoubtedly those after them, believed that the bread and wine offered to the Lord were offered in remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ, and so that the Eucharist was a commemorative sacrifice. But it is remarkable, that even this view of the Eucharistic sacrifice does not expressly appear before the time of Cyprian. If the earliest fathers really believed, that Christ in the Eucharist was offered afresh for the sins of the quick and dead; it is certainly a most extraordinary example of silence and reserve, that, for two centuries after Christ, they should never once have explained the sacrifice of the Eucharist in any manner, but either as an offering of first-fruits to God, like the *mincha* or fine flour of the Israelites, or else as an offering of praise and thanksgiving and spiritual worship.

¹ See Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, ch. i. sect. 1. He shews, from classical authorities, that 'to sacrifice is to give to the gods' (*θεῖν δαπεῖσθαι ἔστι τοῖς θεοῖς*); and especially, that *θυσία* in the Greek, and *sacrificium* in the Latin, are the common rendering of *זָבַח* in the Hebrew. The Apostle calls Cain's offering of fruits a *sacrifice*, *θυσία*, as well as Abel's offering of cattle. Heb. xi. 4. Hence, the Christian and theological application of the term, not only to animal, but also to inanimate offerings.

² *θυσιαστήριον*. See Ignat. *ad Ephes.* i. 5; *Magnes.* 7; *Trall.* 7; *Philadelph.* 4, &c.

In Athenagoras indeed (A.D. 150) occurs, I believe, the first example of that remarkable expression, so universally adopted by later fathers, *the unbloody sacrifice*. 'Of what service to me are whole burnt-offerings, of which God has no need? Although it be right to offer an *unbloody sacrifice*, and to bring the reasonable service¹.' Mr. Johnson sees 'no occasion to doubt that he means the oblation of material bread and wine².' It may be so, though we cannot with certainty say that he had the Eucharist in view at all. If he had; the very term 'unbloody sacrifice' takes us back to the distinction among the Israelites between offerings of slain beasts, *bloody sacrifices*, and offerings of bread, flour, and fruits, *unbloody sacrifices*. And so the very name, by which the Eucharist was so constantly called afterwards, and which possibly Athenagoras first applied to it, seems to place it, as a material offering, rather with the *mincha*, or bread-offering, than with the *ὁλοκαύτωμα*, the burnt-offering, or bloody sacrifice of the Jews.

From the time of Cyprian, however, it is a fact too plain and notorious to need demonstration, that the fathers speak of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, with special reference to the Body and Blood of Christ, commemorated and spiritually present in that holy Sacrament. St. Cyprian, referring to the priesthood of Melchizedek as a type of Christ's priesthood, says, that 'in the priest Melchizedek we see prefigured the Sacrament of the Lord's sacrifice³.' 'Who was more a priest of the most High God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father? and He offered the same which Melchizedek had offered, *i. e.* bread and wine, even His own Body and

¹ τί δέ μοι ὁλοκαυτωμάτων, ἂν μὴ δείται ὁ Θεός; καὶ τοι προσφέρειν δέον ἀναιμακτον θυσίαν, καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν.—*Legatio pro Christianis*, 12.

² *Unbloody Sacrifice*, ch. ii. sect. 1.

³ 'Item in sacerdote Melchisedec sacrificii Dominici sacramentum præfiguratum videmus.'—*Epist.* 63, p. 149. Oxf. 1682.

Blood'. He then goes on to argue for the use of wine in the Eucharist, and not of water merely, which he considers essential for the perfect following of Christ, in His first institution of the sacrament. He says, that 'therefore *Christ's Blood is not offered*, if there be no wine in the cup'. 'If Jesus Christ our Lord is Himself the High Priest of God the Father, and first offered Himself a sacrifice to His Father, and then commanded this to be done in remembrance of Him; then that priest truly performs the part of Christ who imitates what Christ did, and then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, if he so begin to offer, as He sees Christ to have offered before³.'

This is the first use of such language; but it was common from this time. The Roman Catholics claim it, as clearly proving that a true sacrifice and offering up anew of Christ in the Eucharist was believed in the earliest time. Protestants have, on the contrary, asserted that no material sacrifice is intended at all; that there is allusion only to a spiritual sacrifice, wherein the whole Church considered as Christ's Body is offered to God⁴. We may be so said symbolically to offer up

¹ 'Num quis magis sacerdos Dei Summi quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus? qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit; et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedec obtulerat, id est panem et vinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem.'—*Ibid*.

² 'Unde apparet sanguinem Christi non offerri, si desit vinum calici.'—*Ibid*. p. 151.

³ 'Nam si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris; et sacrificium Patri se ipsum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit; utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur; et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in Ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.'—*Ibid*. p. 155.

⁴ This undoubtedly was one of the views which the fathers took of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. 'Hoc est sacrificium Christianum; *multi unum Corpus in Christo*. Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat Ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re quam offert, ipsa offeratur.'—Augustin. *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. x. c. 6, Tom. vii. p. 243.

in sacrifice *ourselves*; and that is all¹. Time and space will not permit a full investigation of the many passages which would elucidate this question, nor a full examination of the arguments. Against the Romanist theory the following facts appear to me fatal. First, there is the already noticed silence of all the fathers, till the middle of the third century, on so essential a part, if it be a part, of the Eucharistic doctrine. That Justin, Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, and Origen, should never have known of it, or, knowing, should never have mentioned it, seems utterly incredible, if the doctrine were from the beginning. Secondly, if there were always offered in the Church a real sacrifice of Christ Himself, then no other sacrifice could be compared with it. It must far exceed in glory and in value everything besides. Yet we find the fathers preferring spiritual sacrifices even to the oblation in the Eucharist. 'Will they drive me from the altars?' says Gregory Nazianzen. 'But I know there is another altar, whereof these visible altars are but the figures....To that will I present myself, there will I offer acceptable things, sacrifice and offering, and holocausts better than the one now offered, as much as truth is better than a shadow. From this altar no one can debar me².' Is it possible that any one should prefer an altar and a sacrifice, 'all,' as he says, 'the work of the mind' (ὅλον τοῦ νοῦ τὸ ἔργον), before the very offering up of the Saviour of the world? We may add, that the fathers too frequently speak of the sacrifice of Christians as spiritual sacrifices³, for us to imagine that they

¹ This seems to be Waterland's opinion. See *On the Eucharist*, ch. xii.

² Θυσιαστηρίων εἴρξουσιν; ἀλλ' οἶδα καὶ ἄλλο θυσιαστήριον, οὗ τύποι τὰ νῦν δρώμενα. . . . τοῦτ' παραστήσομαι, τοῦτ' ὅσω δεκτὰ, θυσίαν καὶ προσφοράν καὶ ὁλοκαυτώματα, κρείττονα τῶν νῦν προσαγομένων, ὅσ' κρείττον σκιᾶς ἀλήθεια. . . . τοῦτου μὲν οὐκ ἀπάξει με τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος.—Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xxviii. Tom. i. p. 484, cited by Waterland, *On the Eucharist*, ch. xii.

³ See for instance Euseb. *Dem. Evangel.* Lib. i. c. x., cited by Water-

held a literal offering up of a literal sacrifice (that sacrifice being Christ's Body and Blood) on the altar in the Eucharist.

But, on the other hand, it seems to me, that we cannot at once dismiss the whole question, without farther inquiring in what sense the fathers did see in the Eucharist the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, for the propitiation of our sins. Their language, from the time of Cyprian, is both too uniform and too strong, for us to doubt that it had a pregnant significance.

The Eucharist undoubtedly succeeded to, and corresponded with the Passover. The latter was the type; the former is the memorial of the death of Christ. One typical of the great sacrifice; the other commemorative of the same. The one was the great federal rite of the Jews: the other is the great federal rite of the Christians. In this view the fathers much considered it. And so, as they viewed the Passover as a typical sacrifice, they viewed the Eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice. We have already heard Chrysostom imagining and depicting, in his own fervid language, 'the Lord sacrificed and lying, the priest standing by the sacrifice and praying¹, &c.' And it is admitted by most persons, that the Lord's Supper, if not a sacrifice, is yet (spiritually of course) a feast upon a sacrifice. Now the sacrifice feasted on is undoubtedly the Lord Jesus, the Lamb of God. Our ordinary idea of offering a sacrifice, when that sacrifice is a living victim, is that it must be slain when it is offered. But the early Christians appear to have understood that, although Christ was once for all slain, and so did once for

land, as above. Cyril of Jerusalem calls the Eucharist 'a spiritual sacrifice, an unbloody service,' τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναιμακτον λατρείαν.—*Cat. Mystagog.* v. c. 6. St. Augustine describes the Christian sacrifice as the Sacrament or sacred sign of the invisible sacrifice. 'Sacrificium ergo visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, hoc est, sacrum signum est.'—*De Civitate Dei*, Lib. x. c. 5, Tom. vii. p. 241.

All such language is quite inconsistent with the notion of an actual offering up of Christ afresh for the sins of the world.

¹ Chrysost. *De Sacerdotio*, iii. quoted under Art. XXVIII.

all offer up Himself to God; yet that every time His sacrifice is commemorated, and that sacrifice spiritually fed upon, we do, as it were, present before God, plead before the Father, the efficacy of that great offering, the all-prevailing merits of His precious Blood. The same is true, more or less, in every act of devotion. No well-instructed Christian ever prays to God without pleading the atonement and the death of Christ. So, in effect, at every prayer we present to the Father the sacrifice of His Son. But more especially, and with most peculiar significance, we may be said to plead His merits, to present His efficacious passion, and so, in a certain sense, to offer His all-prevailing sacrifice before the mercy-seat of God, when, with the consecrated symbols of His Body and Blood before us, we approach the Table of the Lord, to be fed by Him with the food of everlasting life.

In this sense then, most especially, the fathers seem to have esteemed the Eucharist, not only a sacrificial feast, but also a sacrifice. It was indeed by a *metonymy*. The Eucharist was a remembrance (*ἀνάμνησις*) of the great sacrifice on the cross. And so it was called by the name of that which it recorded. But it was not only a remembrance to ourselves, it was also esteemed a special mode of pleading it before God; and therefore it was named a sacrifice. And as the sacrifice of the cross was the propitiatory sacrifice, so this too was called a sacrifice for propitiation, both because of its recalling that great propitiatory sacrifice, and because by enabling us spiritually to feed on, and to take the blessed fruit of that sacrifice to ourselves, it was the means of bringing home to our souls the pardoning efficacy of Christ's death, the propitiation for sins which He has wrought¹.

No doubt, the other notions concerning the oblations in the

¹ Thus Cyril of Jerusalem, in the passage just cited, *Cat. Mystagog.* v. c. 6, speaks of the 'spiritual Sacrifice, and the bloodless service over that sacrifice of propitiation,' ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ λαοῦ.

Eucharist were kept in constant view. First, the fathers esteemed it an offering or presenting of the gifts of bread and wine, and of the alms of the faithful to the service of God; secondly, as an offering of the sacrifice of prayer and praise; thirdly, as a presenting of ourselves, our souls and bodies, and so of the whole mystical body of the faithful, to the Lord; but, fourthly, they esteemed it a memorial of Christ's sacrifice, a recalling of the efficacy of that sacrifice, and a pleading of its efficacy for the salvation of their souls.

This last notion it is, which makes them use such solemn and awful language concerning it, which could not be applicable to the other views of it. Thus the Liturgy of St. James calls it the 'tremendous and unbloody sacrifice.' St. Chrysostom calls it 'the fearful and tremendous sacrifice¹.' So also 'most tremendous sacrifice².' Yet the same father, when he enters into an explanation, tells us, that it is not a new sacrifice, or an offering up of Christ afresh; for he says, 'There is but one sacrifice; we do not offer another sacrifice, but continually the same. Or rather we make a memorial of the sacrifice³.' And so St. Augustine, 'Christians celebrate the memorial of the same fully finished sacrifice, by sacred oblation and participation of Christ's Body and Blood⁴.'

It is easy to see that, when the doctrine of transubstantiation had once been invented and defined, the doctrine of the fathers concerning the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice in

¹ φοβερά καὶ φρικώδης θυσία.—Homil. xxiv. in 1 ad Corinth.

² φρικωδεστάτη θυσία.

³ Οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰεὶ ποιούμεν· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας.—Homil. xvii. in Epist. ad Hebræos. See Suicer, s. v. θυσία, II. 2, Tom. I. p. 1421.

⁴ 'Hebræi in victimis pecudum quas offerebant Deo . . . prophetiam celebrabant futuræ victimæ, quam Christus obtulit. Unde jam Christiani peracti ejusdem sacrificii memoriam celebrant, sacrosancta oblatione, et participatione Corporis et Sanguinis Christi.'—*Contra Faustum*, Lib. xx. c. 18, Tom. viii. p. 345.

the Eucharist, would be perverted into the Roman Catholic doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass. That doctrine is plainly enough expressed in the canons of the Council of Trent. Therein it is forbidden to deny that a true and proper sacrifice is offered to God—that Christ made His Apostles priests on purpose that they might offer His Body and Blood—that there is a propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead, for sins, punishments, satisfactions—that it profits others as well as the partakers¹, &c.

From the belief, that in the mass there was a true offering up of Christ, not only for the benefit of the receiver, but anew for the sins of all the world, came naturally the custom, that the priest should offer the sacrifice, but the people should not communicate. Among the early Christians all, who did not communicate, left the Church. But, when the doctrine of the mass was once established, the people stayed to witness the offering up of the sacrifice, which they believed to be profitable both to them and to *all* the world, though the priest alone offered it, and the priest alone received. The Eucharist had, in fact, ceased to be a Sacrament. It had become, in the belief of the majority, a propitiatory offering, not a covenanting rite.

There was perhaps nothing, against which the reformers

¹ Sess. xxii. Can. i. 'Si quis dixerit in missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium . . . anathema sit.'

Can. ii. 'Si quis dixerit . . . in illis verbis *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, Christum non instituisse Apostolos sacerdotes, aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi aliqui sacerdotes offerrent Corpus et Sanguinem suum; anathema sit.'

Can. iii. 'Si quis dixerit missæ sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non propitiatorium, vel soli prodesse sumenti, neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis, poenis, satisfactionibus, et aliis necessitatibus offerri debere; anathema sit.'

The Creed of the Council has: 'Profiteor in missa offerri Deo verum, proprium et propitiatorium sacrificium.'

generally were so strong in their denunciations, as against this. They deemed it derogatory to the one, full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, once offered on the Cross. 'Christ,' says Luther, 'once offered Himself; nor did He will to be offered up anew by any; but He willed that a memorial of His sacrifice should be observed¹.' Calvin, after explaining the meaning of the word *sacrifice* as applied to the Eucharist by the fathers, does not blame them for the use of that term, but still regrets that they should have approached too near to Jewish notions. 'Now that the sacrifice has been offered and completed,' he says, 'God gives us a table where we may feast, not an altar on which the victim is to be offered. He has not consecrated priests to immolate, but ministers to distribute².' He calls the sacrifice of the mass the greatest abomination of all those erected against the Eucharist³.

The language of the English reformers is of still more interest to us. Let us hear Ridley, the most esteemed among them. 'The whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lord's Supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and shewing forth of that sacrifice upon the altar of the Cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which, once only and no more, was offered as the price of our redemption⁴.' Elsewhere he acknowledges, that 'the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice, if it be rightly understood;' which he explains by saying, that 'It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner and in a mystery, and as a repre-

¹ 'Christus semel seipsum obtulit, non voluit denuo ab ullis offerri, sed memoriam sui sacrificii voluit fieri.'—*De Abroganda Missa Privata*, Tom. II. p. 249.

² 'Mensam ergo nobis dedit in qua epulemur, non altare super quod offeratur victima; non sacerdotes consecravit, qui immolent, sed ministros qui sacrum epulum distribuant.'—*Instit.* IV. xviii. 12.

³ *Instit.* IV. xviii. 1.

⁴ Disputations at Oxford, *Works*, Parker Society, p. 211.

sentation of that bloody sacrifice¹. But the mass he calls 'a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice, to satisfy and pay the price of sins, both of the dead and of the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, His death and passion; which was, and is the only sufficient and everlasting, available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born to the end of the world².'

The dread of the mass, which has prevailed generally among the reformed Churches, has made the majority of their members fear to speak at all concerning an Eucharistic sacrifice. Yet there have not been wanting, in the English Church especially, men of profound learning, deep piety, and some of them by no means attached to peculiar schools of doctrine, who have advocated the propriety of speaking of *the Christian sacrifice*, and of adopting, in some measure, the language of the primitive Church concerning it.

The first, who spoke strongly and clearly to this effect, was the learned Joseph Mede (A.D. 1635). His discourse was originally a Sermon on Malach. i. 11, which he maintained to be prophetic of the Eucharistic offering. And the offering in the Eucharist he defines to be an oblation of prayer and praise, of bread and wine, analogous to the *mincha* of the old Testament, and a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the cross³. Dr. Cudworth shortly after wrote his treatise on *The true notion of the Lord's Supper*, wherein he denied to the Eucharist the name of a sacrifice; but specially insisted, that it was 'a feast upon a Sacrifice.' Grabe, in the notes on his edition of Irenæus (A. D. 1702), maintained the sentiments of Joseph Mede; for

¹ *Ibid.* p. 250.

² *A Piteous Lamentation, Works*, p. 52. Compare Cranmer, *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine*, Bk. v., *Works*, Vol. II. pp. 447—463.

³ See Mede's *Works*, p. 355. London, 1677. The discourse is most valuable, and deserving of all attention.

which he was attacked by Buddeus, a learned Lutheran¹, who accused him of advocating the sacrifice of the mass, and afterwards by others, though he was defended by Pfaffius, also a Lutheran². Sentiments in accordance with Mede's, and not much diverse from Grabe's, were undoubtedly adopted by a large number of our divines; *e.g.* by Hammond³, by Archbishop Bramhall⁴, by Bishop Patrick⁵, by Bishop Bull⁶, by Hickea⁷, by John Johnson⁸, and many others.

Bishop Bull's words may express the view which most of these divines have taken: 'It is true the Eucharist is frequently called by the ancient fathers *an oblation, a sacrifice*; but it is to be remembered that they say also, it is *θυσία λογική καὶ ἀναιμάκτος, a reasonable sacrifice, a sacrifice without blood*: which how can it be said to be, if therein the very Blood of Christ were offered up to God?.....In the holy Eucharist we set before God bread and wine, "as figures or images of the precious Blood of Christ, shed for us, and of His precious Body" (they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy)⁹; and plead to God the merit of His Son's Sacrifice once offered on

¹ Buddeus, *De Origine Missæ Pontificiæ*.

² Pfaffius, *Irenæi Fragm. Anecd.*

³ *Practical Catechism*, p. 413. London, 1700.

⁴ *Epistle to M. De la Milletière, Works*, Vol. i. p. 54, Edit. *Anglo-Cath. Library*. 'We do readily acknowledge an Eucharistical Sacrifice of prayers and praises; we profess a commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Cross; and, in the language of Holy Church, things commemorated are related as if they were then acted. . . . We acknowledge a representation of that action to God the Father: we acknowledge an impetration of the benefit of it: we maintain an application of its virtue. So here is a commemorative, impetrative, applicative sacrifice. . . . To make it a suppletory sacrifice, to supply the defects of the only true Sacrifice of the Cross, I hope both you and I abhor.'

⁵ *On the Christian Sacrifice*.

⁶ *Answer to the Bishop of Meaux*, Lect. III. *Works*, Vol. II. p. 251. Oxf. 1827.

⁷ *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood*, ch. ii.

⁸ *On the Unbloody Sacrifice*.

⁹ *Constitut. Apostol.* VII. 25.

the cross for us sinners, and in this Sacrament represented, beseeching Him for the sake thereof to bestow His heavenly blessing on us.....The Eucharistical sacrifice thus explained is indeed λογικὴ θυσία, a reasonable sacrifice, widely different from that monstrous sacrifice of the mass taught in the Church of Rome¹.

¹ Bishop Bull, as above.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

I. **WE** have seen that in the mass the priest is said to offer up Christ afresh, as a true propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of quick and dead. That is to say, the mass is a repetition or iteration of the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross.

This is in direct contravention of a large portion of the Epistle to the Hebrews. There (from ch. v. 1 to the end of ch. x.) St. Paul is shewing the superiority of Christ's priesthood to that of the Levitical priests; the superiority of the sacrifice of Christ over the sacrifices offered under the Law. Now the very line of argument, which he takes, all rests upon the permanency of Christ, His priesthood, and His sacrifice. 'They truly were *many* priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death. But this Man, because He continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood....who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for His own sins, and then for the people's: for this He did once for all (ἐφ'άπαξ) when He offered up Himself' (Heb. vii. 23, 24, 27). So, again, having observed that the Jewish high-priest entered into 'the Holiest of all *once every year*, not without blood' (Heb. ix. 7): he adds, that Christ, 'not by the blood of goats and calves, but by His own Blood entered in *once for all* (ἐφ'άπαξ) into the holy place, having obtained *eternal* redemption for us' (ver. 12). And again, 'Christ is not entered into the holy places....that He should offer Himself *often*....but now *once for all* (ἅπαξ) in the end of the world hath He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was *once* offered to bear the sins of many,' &c. (Heb. ix. 24, 26, 27, 28).

The first twenty-two verses of the 10th Chapter are devoted to farther insisting on this truth. The repetition of the Jewish

sacrifices, St. Paul tells us, resulted from their imperfection. If they could have made 'the comers thereunto perfect....would they not have ceased to be offered?' (vv. 1, 2). But 'it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin' (v. 4). Hence, 'every priest' under the Law 'standeth *daily* ministering and offering *oftentimes* the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But He, after He had offered *one* sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down at the right hand of God..... For by *one* offering He hath perfected FOR EVER them that are sanctified' (vv. 11, 12, 14). And the conclusion which is drawn is, that as Christ has obtained remission for our sins, and 'where remission of these is there is no more offering for sins' (v. 18); therefore we may 'draw near with a true heart with a full assurance of faith' (v. 22); plainly, as being assured, that the one sacrifice, once offered, has been fully sufficient for all our sins.

Now, nothing can be plainer than this argument; and if it proves anything, surely it must prove that to believe in the repetition of Christ's sacrifice is to believe in its imperfection. And if it be imperfect, in what a state are we!—we, who are lost sinners, and who have no hope but in the efficacy of the atoning Blood of Christ. If that atoning Blood be not of infinite value, we are of all creatures most miserable. But if it be of infinite value, and if the Sacrifice be perfect, and 'able to make the comers thereunto perfect;' then the Apostle assures us, that it cannot need, that it will not admit, of repetition. 'The worshippers once purged shall have no more conscience of sins' (ch. x. 2). 'We are sanctified through the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all' (ver. 10). There is 'a new and living way consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, His Flesh' (ver. 20). And not only may we know, to our eternal comfort, that the one sacrifice has been full, perfect, and all-sufficient; but to our warning too we are told, that 'if we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the

truth, *there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins*' (ver. 26). All combines to assure us, that the one Sacrifice has been once offered, that it admits no addition, that it can never be renewed. It is once for all, as man's death is but once. It is one and for ever, as God's judgment is one and to eternity (Heb. ix. 28).

We may therefore confidently adopt the strong language of our Article, that 'the sacrifice of masses were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.'

II. Yet the Christian Church is said to be 'an holy priesthood;' and is 'to offer up *spiritual sacrifices* acceptable to God through Jesus Christ' (1 Pet. ii. 5). Those spiritual sacrifices are, 1 The sacrifice of prayer and praise: 'By Him let us offer the *sacrifice* of praise to God continually, that is the fruit of the lips, giving thanks to His name' (Heb. xiii. 15). 2 The sacrifice of alms and of the first-fruits of our substance: 'To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such *sacrifices* God is well pleased' (Heb. xiii. 16). 3 The sacrifice of ourselves to the Lord: 'I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service' (τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν), Rom. xii. 1.

Hence, though the propitiatory sacrifice of our blessed Saviour has been offered once for all, never to be repeated; it is still our privilege and duty to offer Eucharistic sacrifices, or thank-offerings—'a reasonable ministration'—'acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.' Such Eucharistic offerings correspond, as we have already seen, with the thank-offerings, the wave-offerings, the meat-offerings, the unbloody sacrifices of the Jews; not with the bloody sacrifices, or offerings of atonement.

It was the belief of the whole ancient Church, that the Lord's Supper consisted of two parts; one from God to us, God feeding us with the spiritual Body and Blood of His dear Son; the other from us to God, we sending up to Him the

sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, consecrating to Him of the fruits of our increase, and 'presenting ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Him.' Hence the whole ordinance was esteemed not only as a feast, but also as an Eucharistic sacrifice, or thank-offering.

And moreover, the Apostle has declared it to be a 'shewing forth (καταγγελία) of the Lord's death till He come' (1 Cor. xi. 26). It was therefore, as we have seen, esteemed by the fathers a commemoration, or 'continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ.' And, not only did they think of it as reminding *themselves* of God's infinite mercy to their souls, but also they believed it a proper occasion for pleading the greatness of that mercy before Him, from whom it comes down. It was a telling forth of Christ's sacrifice to man, a supplicatory representing of it to God¹.

¹ There has been much questioning as to the propriety or impropriety of calling the Lord's Table an *Altar*. The word appears to have been used by the fathers, even from the time of Ignatius. See Ign. *ad Ephes.* v.; Tertullian, *De Orat.* xix., &c. The only name by which we are certain that it is called in the new Testament is *τράπεζα Κυρίου*, 'the table of the Lord' 1 Cor. xi. 21. This, however, is put in opposition to the 'table of demigods,' which was probably an altar. Also in Mal. i. 7, 12, 'altar' and 'table of the Lord' seem to be synonymous. In Matt. v. 23, whether our Lord speaks of things as they were under the Jewish economy, or prophetically of what should be in the Christian Church, cannot certainly be resolved; and therefore it cannot be concluded, whether He calls the Eucharistical table an *altar* or not. In Heb. xiii. 10, St. Paul says, 'We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.' This is by many thought conclusive in favour of the use of the term *altar* for the Lord's table; for, though we may speak of the cross on which the great Sacrifice was offered up as the Christian altar, yet the Apostle could not have spoken of *eating* of the cross. The Christian feast is at the Eucharist, though the great Sacrifice was offered at the crucifixion. Hence it is contended that the *altar*, at which Christians have a right to eat, must be the table of the Lord. The English reformers seemed, latterly at least, determined to give up the word *altar*, for fear of appearing to give sanction to the sacrifice of the mass. But the general language of Christians, both early and late, has been favourable to the use of it.

Lastly, they believed the prophecy in Malachi (that ‘among the Gentiles, in every place, incense should be offered to God’s name, and a pure offering,’ *mincha purum*, Mal. i. 11) to have especial reference to the spiritual sacrifices thus offered in the Holy Communion. And we, in accordance with the saints of old, and with the chief lights of our own communion, adopt such language in such a sense; though the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, as suppletory to the sacrifice of the cross, we may reject as monstrous, and fear as profane.

ARTICLE XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

BISHOPS, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

EPISCOPIS, presbyteris et diaconis nullo mandato divino præceptum est, ut aut cœlibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abstineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut cæteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere judicaverint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.

SECTION I. HISTORY.

IT admits of evident proof that in the earliest ages of the Church bishops, priests, and deacons, were allowed to marry. St. Polycarp speaks of Valens, a presbyter, and his wife¹. Chæremón, Bishop of Nilus, a man of very great age, is mentioned by Eusebius² as flying from the Decian persecution together with his wife. The same Eusebius, speaking of Phileas, Bishop of Tmuís, and Philoromus, says that they were urged, in the persecution under Diocletian, to have pity on their *wives* and children, and for their sakes to save their own lives³. St. Clement of Alexandria, in which he is followed by Eusebius, says, that the Apostles Peter and Philip begat children, and that St. Paul also was married, but did not take his wife about with him, that he might not be hindered in his missionary journeys⁴.

¹ *Epist. Polyc.* c. 11. ² *H. E.* Lib. vi. c. 42. ³ *Ib.* viii. c. 9.

⁴ Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαυδοποιήσαντο . . . καὶ ὅγε Παῦλος οὐκ ἔκνε ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύειν σύζυγον, ἣν οὐ περιεκόμισε, διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλές.—*Strom.* Lib. iii. p. 535; Potter, cf. Lib. iv. p. 607; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 30.

The same statement, viz. that St. Peter, St. Paul, and the other Apostles, were married, occurs in the interpolated epistles of St. Ignatius¹; a spurious work indeed, and no doubt of much later date than the real Ignatius, but not altogether valueless on that account; as forgers always aim at verisimilitude, and would hardly express an opinion which was universally exploded and condemned at the time they wrote. Origen also appears to have believed that St. Paul was married². Tertullian, on the contrary, thought St. Peter was the only married Apostle³. Eusebius, after Hegesippus, clearly records that St. Jude was married, for he speaks of his grandchildren⁴. Epiphanius considered Peter, Andrew, Matthew, and Bartholomew, all to have been married men⁵.

There is no doubt but that in very early times *second marriages* were considered as disqualifying for ordination. Thus Origen says, that 'no digamist could be a bishop, presbyter, deacon, or widow in the Church⁶.' And Tertullian adduced this custom as an argument against second marriages generally⁷. This, of course, was derived from the rule laid down by St. Paul, that a bishop should be 'the husband of *one* wife' (1 Tim. iii. 2). Yet many eminent fathers did not so interpret the words of the Apostle. For instance, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact understand that the custom, so common among the Jews, of divorcing one wife and marrying another,

¹ Cotelier. Tom. II. p. 81.

² 'Paulus ergo (sicut quidam tradunt) cum uxore vocatus est, de qua dicit ad Philippenses scribens, *Rogo te etiam, germana compar,*' &c.—Origen. *Com. in Rom.* i.

³ 'Petrum solum maritum invenio per socrum.'—*De Monogamia*, 8.

⁴ *H. E.* Lib. III. c. 20.

⁵ *Hæres.* LXXVIII. 10, Tom. I. p. 1042. Colon. See more such authorities in Cotelierus' note 44, Tom. I. p. 80.

⁶ 'Ab ecclesiasticis dignitatibus non solum fornicatio, sed et nuptiæ repellunt: neque enim episcopus, nec presbyter, nec diaconus, nec vidua possunt esse digami.'—Orig. Hom. XVII. in *Luc.*

⁷ Tertull. *de Monogam.* c. 11.

is that which the Apostle is forbidding, when he would have no one ordained, save those who were monogamists¹. And it appears, that in the earliest times it was by no means universal to refuse ordination to those who had been married twice².

It is not to be concealed, however, that very soon an exaggerated esteem for celibacy crept in. The ascetic views of the Essenes, of the Montanists, of the Gnostics, and of other sects external to the Church, affected more or less the Church itself. The dread of heathen vices, felt especially by those who had themselves once been heathens, made many attach some notion of impurity even to marriage. Hence, the language of our Lord (in Matt. xix.) and of St. Paul (in 1 Cor. vii.) was pressed to its utmost consequences. They had spoken of a single life as more favourable to piety, inasmuch as it separated more from worldly distractions, and gave more leisure for attending to the things of the Lord. But the primitive Christians by degrees fell into the notion, that though marriage was a state permitted, it was still, if possible, to be shunned. It was not actually unholy, but it was inconsistent with a high degree of holiness³. Hence, by degrees also, the belief began

¹ Chrysost. Hom. x. in 1 Tim.; Hom. ii. in Tit.; Theodoret. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 2; Theophyl. in 1 Tim. iii. 2.

² So Tertullian, addressing the Catholics, says, 'Quot enim et digami president apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo.'—*De Monogam.* c. 12. See also other authorities; Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. iv. ch. v. sect. 4.

³ Two extreme views are taken of this fact. The Romanist argues that, from the very first, the Church was in favour of clerical celibacy; therefore it must be right. The author of *Ancient Christianity* contends that the exaggerated esteem for a single life prevailed from the beginning; therefore the Church was corrupt from the very days of the Apostles. A little candour will lead us to a conclusion different from both of these. We may admit that an undue esteem for virginity was a natural prejudice for the first Christians to fall into; and accordingly, before very long, they gradually slid into it. But it was gradually. We find nothing of the sort in Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus. Any one who will read Clem. Alexand. (*Stromat.* Lib. iii.) will see how highly that learned father

to prevail, that the special ministers of God ought to choose the higher condition, and devote themselves to celibacy. Hence, some of the clergy began to separate from their wives. Hence, too, some laymen were disposed to withdraw themselves from the ministrations of the married clergy.

But these errors, when first they sprang up, were opposed by councils and canons. The Canons of the Apostles order, that 'A bishop presbyter, or deacon, shall not put away his wife under pretext of religion. If he does, he shall be separated from communion; and, if he persevere, he shall be deposed¹.' The Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) decrees, that those who, at the time of ordination as deacons, declared their intention to marry, should be allowed to marry and to remain in the ministry; but it forbids the marriage of those who professed continence at the time of ordination². The very important Council of Gangra, the canons of which were received throughout the East and West (A.D. 324), anathematizes 'those who separate themselves from a married priest, as though it were not right to communicate in the oblation when such an one ministers³.' But especially observable is the decision of the first and greatest of the general councils, the Council of Nice (A.D. 325). There it was proposed, that the clergy should be obliged to abstain from the society of their wives, whom they had married before ordination. But Paphnutius, an eminent Egyptian prelate, himself unmarried, earnestly protested against putting so heavy a burden on the clergy; for he said, that marriage was honourable in all men, and that it ought to suffice that the clergy should not marry after ordination, but that they should never be required to separate from their wives. There-

esteemed matrimony, and how little he made of celibacy. The first trace of the exaggerated notion in question is to be found in the writings of the ascetic Montanist Tertullian.

¹ *Can. Apostol.* Can. v.: cf. *Can. LI.*

² *Conc. Ancyra.* Can. x.

³ *Concil. Gangr.* Can. iv.

upon, the whole council assented to the words of Paphnutius ; and the motion was repressed¹.

It is true, the Council of Illiberis (Elvira in Spain, A.D. 300) had prohibited the clergy from the use of marriage². But this does not appear to have been a council of much weight ; nor can its decrees, or those of such as agreed with it, be compared with the decrees of the Canons of the Apostles, the Council of Gangra, and the first great Council of Nice. It is certain, that for a long time, not only priests and deacons, but bishops also, were allowed to marry. Socrates says that, even in his day, many eminent bishops lived with their wives, and were the fathers of families³. In the East, the Council in Trullo (A.D. 692) laid down the rule, that though bishops must observe celibacy, yet presbyters and deacons might live with their wives⁴; and this rule has governed the custom in the Eastern Church from that day to this.

Yet this very canon of the Trullan council speaks of it as then a received rule in the Roman Church, that deacons and presbyters should profess before ordination, that they would no more live with their wives. That council itself declares that, in decreeing otherwise, it followed the ancient rule of Apostolical order⁵.

It is not easy, nor necessary, to trace exactly the progress

¹ Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* Lib. i. c. 11 ; Sozomen, Lib. i. c. 23, &c.

² *Concil. Illiber.* Can. xxxiii. So the Council of Carthage (A.D. 390). Can. ii. enjoins continence on all the clergy.

³ Socrates, Lib. v. c. 22.

⁴ *Concil. Trull.* Can. xiii. The Council in Trullo was held at Constantinople. It is also called *Concilium Quinisæctum*, from being supplementary to the fifth and sixth councils.

⁵ Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τάξει κανόνος παραδεδοσθαι διέγνωμεν, τοὺς μέλλοντας διακόνου ἢ πρεβυτέρου χειροτονίας ἀξιούσθαι καθομολογεῖν ὡς οὐκέτι ταῖς αὐτῶν συνάπτονται γαμεταῖς· ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐξακολουθοῦντες κανόνι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τάξεως τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν κατὰ νόμους συνοικεσία καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐρρῶσθαι βουλόμεθα, κ.τ.λ.—*Concil. Trull.* Can. xiii.

of the principle of clerical celibacy in the West. There appears long to have been a struggle between the natural feelings of the clergy and the rigid discipline of the Church: the clergy, from time to time, in different parts of Europe, relapsing into the custom of living with their lawful wives, and the sterner disciplinarians among the bishops striving to repress it. Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073) is considered as having most effectually restrained the marriage of the clergy. He held several councils in Italy, and especially one at Rome A.D. 1074; where the marriage of priests was condemned under the name of concubinage.

Two years afterwards (A.D. 1076), a synod of English bishops was held at Winchester, under Archbishop Lanfranc. That Synod decreed that canons should have no wives, and forbade in future any priests to marry, or bishops to ordain such as would not declare that they were unmarried; but it permitted such priests as lived in the country, and were already married, to retain their wives¹. Under Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc (A.D. 1102), it was finally decreed in England, that neither priest nor deacon, nor even subdeacon, should be ordained, who did not profess chastity, *i.e.* celibacy; a decree which was further confirmed by the council of London, A.D. 1108².

In general, it may be considered, that the laity in the middle ages were favourable to the celibacy of the clergy; but many of the wiser prelates of the Church considered it a doubtful, if not a dangerous restraint. It perhaps tended, in a considerable degree, to dispose many of the clergy themselves to the doctrines of the Reformation. Yet nothing could be a more effectual instrument for uniting the priestly orders together, and giving them common interests. At the same time, no doubt, it often made them more efficient, and left them more disengaged from secular employments and pursuits.

¹ *Concil. Winton.* Can. 1.; *Wilkins' Concil.* Vol. 1. p. 367.

² *Wilkins' Concil.* Vol. 1. p. 387.

The reformers were all opposed to the vows of continence. Luther, though a monk, and therefore doubly bound to celibacy, married. It was matter of much debate, whether those who had once bound themselves to a single life, did well to abandon it, even though they had discovered that such vows were undesirable and wrong. Luther's views were very peculiar. He held monastic vows to be impious and demoniacal¹; and marriage he sometimes speaks of as a duty incumbent on all men. Indeed, though we may probably make much allowance for the vehemence of his language and the impetuosity of his character, he says many things on this subject which no well instructed Christian can approve.

Our own Cranmer not only married, but married twice. He, however, had not been, like Luther, a monk. Monastic vows were much more stringent than the mere profession of celibacy made by the priesthood. Some there were, like Bishop Ridley, who, though disapproving of restrictions on marriage, thought it not decorous to contract matrimony, after they had promised celibacy, even though it were in the days of their former ignorance. Of course, those who did marry laid themselves open to the charge of embracing the reformed doctrines for the sake of worldly indulgences².

The Council of Trent has one canon condemnatory of those who would permit the clergy to marry³. The Confession of Augsburg has not imitated the conciseness of the Romish council, having two very long articles, one on the marriage of the clergy, the other on monastic vows⁴.

At this day then, the Eastern Church allows presbyters, but not bishops, to marry : the Roman Church enjoins celibacy on all : the reformed Churches leave all to marry, at their own discretion.

¹ *De Votis Monasticis*, Tom. II. p. 277.

² See Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 293.

³ Sess. XXIV. *De Sacra. Matrimon.* Can. IX.

⁴ *Sylloge*, pp. 211, 219.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

I. **T**HERE are, no doubt, some strong arguments in favour of the celibacy of the clergy, which it may be well to consider, before proceeding to the arguments on the other side.

Both our blessed Lord and St. Paul unquestionably give the preference to an unmarried life, as being a more favourable state for religious self-devotion than the state of matrimony. Our Lord's words are, 'He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.' To some it is a gift of God, and those who have the gift are advised to abstain from marriage, 'for the kingdom of Heaven's sake' (Matt. xix. 12). I assume this to be the sense of the passage; first, because the whole stream of Christian antiquity so explained it¹; secondly, because I know no commentator of any credit in modern times, of whatever Church or sect, who has explained it differently. St. Paul's language illustrates our Lord's. He begins by saying that it is a good thing for a man not to marry (1 Cor. vii. 1). Still, as a general rule he recommends marriage (vv. 2—5). He recommends it, however, as a matter of permission, not as giving a command, (κατὰ συγγνώμην, οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, ver. 6); for he would prefer to see all men as he was himself; 'but every man has his proper gift, one after this manner, and another after that' (ver. 7). To the unmarried, he says, it is good for them if they abide as he abode (ver. 8). Celibacy is indeed particularly to be advised 'for the present distress' (ver. 26)². And, as a general rule, he lays it down that there

¹ See for instance, Tertull. *De Virginibus Velandis*, c. 10; *De Cultu Fœminarum*, II. 9; Origen in *Matt.* Tom. xv. 4, 5; Chrysostom, Homil. LXXII. in *Matt.*; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* LVIII. 4, Tom. I. p. 491; Theophylact in *Matt.* xix., &c.

² It may be a question whether 'the present distress' means the state of persecution to which the early Christians were exposed, or the distress and anxiety of the present life.—See above, Vol. I. p. 463, note 1.

is benefit in an unmarried condition, because it is less subject to the cares of this life, and causes less solicitude and anxiety, giving more time for religion and devotion to God. These are his words: 'I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife. There is difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. And this I speak for your profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely, and that ye may attend on the Lord without distraction' (vv. 32—35).

Here then, though the Apostle is far from finding fault with marriage, he evidently prefers celibacy; not because there is evil in marriage, but because there is less distraction in an unmarried life¹. Such a life, undertaken and adhered to from religious motives, involves a stricter renunciation of the world, a greater abstinence from earthly comforts and enjoyments, a more entire devotion of the soul to the one end of serving God.

We may fairly conclude from such language of the Apostle, coupled with the words of our Lord, that the tone of popular opinion, concerning marriage and celibacy, is low and unscriptural. With us marriage is ever esteemed the more honourable state; celibacy is looked on as at least inferior, if not contemptible. 'But the base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen' (1 Cor. i. 28). And a true tone of Christian sentiment would make us honour those who live apart from earthly joys, that they may live more to God².

¹ 'For the evil is not in the cohabitation, but in the impediment to the strictness of life.'—Chrysost. Hom. xx. in *Matt*.

² *Matt*. xix. and 1 Cor. vii. have been considered in another point of view under Art. xiv. Vol. i. pp. 459—463; which see.

Now these considerations, at first sight, seem to make for the celibacy of the clergy. God's ministers should ever seek the most excellent way. Marriage may be good and honourable; but if celibacy be a more favourable state for religious advancement, giving us leisure, like Mary, 'to sit at Jesus' feet,' not 'careful and troubled about many things;' then must it be well for Christ's special servants to choose that good part, that they may 'attend upon the Lord without distraction.'

We may add to this prime argument some motives of Church policy. An unmarried clergyman is *expeditior*, more readily moved from place to place, abler to go where his duty may call him, to do what his calling may require of him. He has no children to think about, no wife to carry about with him, no interests but those of the Church and of the Church's Head. His strength, his wealth, his intellect, he may devote all to one end; for he has no need to have anxieties to provide for his own, or to preserve himself for their sakes. He has no temptation to heap up riches for others; none to form worldly schemes and seek worldly interest, for the advancement of his family. 'He careth only for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord.'

II. Now I do think we ought not to underrate such arguments as these. They have, doubtless, much weight; and accordingly long prevailed to keep the clergy in a state of single life. But no inferences from Scripture, or apparent policy and expediency, can weigh against plain declarations to the contrary; and that more especially when the question concerns a penal enactment—a restraint upon a law of nature, and upon instincts implanted in us by the Creator, and sanctified to us by His blessing. And we assert, that Scripture does contain plain and direct evidence, that God Almighty, not only sanctions and blesses marriage in general, but sanctions and blesses it in the clergy, as well as in the laity. 'What God hath cleansed, that call not we common.'

1 If we look at the old Testament, the priests were not only allowed, but encouraged to marry. This is not, of course, a proof that the clergy under the new Covenant may marry; but the Roman Church is especially fond of comparing all things concerning the Levitical priesthood with the priesthood of the Gospel.

2 That some of the Apostles were married is admitted by all. But it is asserted by the Roman Catholics, that they did not live with their wives after they were ordained to the Apostleship. St. Paul, however, says, 'Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?' (1 Cor. ix. 5). It is true, that some of the fathers understood this, not of a wife, but of those Christian women who ministered to the Apostles, as some had ministered to our Lord when on earth (Luke viii. 2, 3)¹. But the more ancient fathers understood it of carrying their own wives about with them. We have already seen that Clement of Alexandria so interpreted this passage; and his testimony is quoted with approval by Eusebius². Tertullian also distinctly asserts from the same passage of Scripture, 'that it was permitted to the Apostles to marry, and to lead about their wives with them³.' The earlier interpretation, therefore, according with the more obvious sense of the words, we cannot but suspect that the later fathers interpreted them otherwise, from the then unduly increasing esteem for celibacy⁴.

¹ See Theodoret and Theophylact *ad h. l.* Isidor. Pelus. *Epist.* CLXXVI. Lib. III. The same is the opinion of Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine.

² Clem. *Strom.* Lib. III. p. 535; Euseb. *H. E.* III. 30, cited in the first section.

³ 'Licebat et Apostolis nubere et uxores circumducere.'—*De Exhortat. Castitat.* c. 8.

⁴ From this interpretation arose that objectionable custom in the Church that presbyters should have female attendants instead of wives, called *mulieres subintroductæ*, *συνείσκροι*, &c. This was forbidden by the Council of Ancyra, Can. XIX. It is condemned by Epiphanius, *Hæres.* LXXVIII. See Suicer, Tom. I. pp. 28, 83, 810.

3 But further, St. Paul especially directs, that bishops and deacons should be the husbands of one wife (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6); and lays down special rules concerning their management of their children (1 Tim. iii. 4), and the conduct of their wives (ver. 11)¹. A strange interpretation has been given to this passage by some of the Roman Catholics; viz. that the Apostle speaks figuratively, meaning that a bishop should have but one diocese. Yet I imagine that this would not be often pressed. St. Chrysostom, and after him Theodoret and Theophylact², as we have seen already, understand the Apostle to forbid that any should be ordained who had divorced one wife and married another; a custom which seems not only to have been common with Jews and heathen, but to have crept in even among Christians³. Some indeed among the fathers held, that second marriages after baptism were thus forbidden by St. Paul⁴; but the ancient Church always interpreted the passage as permitting and sanctioning at least a single marriage to the clergy, though, in some sense, forbidding a second. St. Chrysostom has even been thought to express himself as though it might be a question, whether St. Paul did not *enjoin* marriage, though himself declaring that he understood it of permission, not of injunction⁵. And in another place he says, St. Paul speaks of the marriage of the clergy, on purpose 'to stop the mouths of heretics who condemned marriage; shewing that

¹ γυναῖκας in this verse does not *certainly* mean the wives of the bishops and deacons. It is interpreted by some of the widows or deaconesses.

² Chrysost. Hom. x. in 1 Tim.; Hom. ii. in Tit.; Theodoret in 1 Tim. iii. 2; Theophylact in 1 Tim. iii.

³ See Hammond on 1 Tim. iii. 2.

⁴ Origen, Hom. xvii. in Luc.; Tertull. *De Monogam.* c. 11, quoted in last Section. See also Ambros. *De Offic.* Lib. i. c. 50; Hieronym. *Ep.* ii. ad Nepotian.

⁵ Δεῖ οὖν φησι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι, μιᾶς γυναῖκος ἄνδρα· οὐ νομοθετῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ὥς μὴ εἶναι ἄνευ τούτου γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν κωλύων.—Hom. x. in 1 Tim. See also Erasmus on 1 Tim. iii. 2.

it is not an unholy thing in itself, but so honourable, that a married man might ascend the holy throne¹.

Thus then the words of the Apostle, as interpreted by all the ancient Church, whatever they may say about a second marriage, unquestionably sanction a single marriage to the ministers of Christ. These words alone are fully sufficient to prove the truth of the Article, we have in hand—to prove that ‘bishops, priests and deacons are not commanded by God’s law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage.’ And we may ask, if God has not bound us, what power in Heaven or earth has authority to bind? What can be more presumptuous than to add to the moral laws of the Creator, to forbid as sinful what He has ordained as holy?

Again, our Lord especially says, that ‘all men cannot receive the saying,’ that single life may be more profitable for the kingdom of Heaven (Matt. xix. 11). St. Paul says, that ‘every man has his proper gift’ (1 Cor. vii. 7); and that he does not speak of the benefits of celibacy, ‘to cast a snare upon’ us (1 Cor. vii. 35). It is therefore strangely presumptuous to impose that on whole bodies, which our Lord says some cannot receive, which St. Paul calls a peculiar gift, and which he will not *enjoin* on any, lest it be a snare to them.

4 There are some general considerations which much strengthen the above more particular arguments. ‘Marriage is honourable in all men’ (Heb. xiii. 4). What is honourable in all, cannot surely be prohibited to any. The ‘forbidding to marry’ is expressly spoken of by the Spirit as a sign of the apostasy of the latter days, and as arising from ‘the hypocrisy of liars, whose own consciences are seared with a hot

¹ τίνας ἔνεκεν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς μέσον παράγει; ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἰρετικούς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναγής, ἀλλ’ οὕτω τίμιον ὥς μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐπιβαίνειν θρόνον.—Hom. II. in Tit.

iron¹. Above all, marriage is a type of the union of Christ and His Church (Eph. v. 23—32). It is 'consecrated to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual unity of Christ and His Church.' Can we believe that to be unfit for the ministers of Christ, which Christ Himself has honoured with such high approbation and blessing?

5 Lastly, it is said that many benefits are derived to the Church from an unmarried priesthood. Such expediency, however, cannot be set up against the word of God. Romanists themselves have often admitted, that if there were good reasons for the clergy not to marry, there were still better reasons why they should marry. And, but that such addition to our Scriptural proof seems unnecessary, we might easily bring many arguments from experience, to shew that the snares of celibacy have been as great as those of matrimony; and that the charities of wedded life have been as profitable to the married, as the asceticism of single life can have been to the unmarried priesthood.

¹ ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, κεκαυτηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, κωλύοντων γαμεῖν, κ. τ. λ.—1 Tim. iv. 2, 3.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Of Excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided.

THAT person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.

De Excommunicatis Vitandis.

QUI per publicam Ecclesie denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesie præcisus est, et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, (donec per poenitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio judicis competentis,) habendus est tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.

SECTION I. HISTORY.

CUTTING off from the people is a punishment often denounced and commanded in the old Testament. It appears in general to have meant death by the judgment of God (1 Kings xiv. 10), or by the hand of man (Exod. xxxi. 14, 15; xxxv. 2; Levit. xvii. 4, &c.) But the later Jews understood it of excommunication, of which they had three different kinds. The first and lightest sort was called נִדְּוִי (*Niddui*), separation or excommunication for a month; to be extended to two or three months in case of impenitence. The second and more severe kind was called חֶרֶם (*Cherem*), excommunication accompanied with imprecations from Deut. xxviii. and other places of Scripture. A person so separated was not allowed to have intercourse with any of the Jews, except for the purchase of necessary food: they might not consort with him, 'no, not to eat;' a custom to which St. Paul is thought to allude in 1 Cor. v. 11. The third and heaviest form of excommunication was

called שַׁמַּמָּתָא (*Shammata*), a word the derivation of which is obscure, and which some have supposed to be of the same signification with the *Maranatha* of St. Paul, viz. 'the Lord cometh'. Whether originally the second and third form may not have been the same, is still doubtful.

From the very earliest times the Christian Church exercised a power of the same kind. Clemens Romanus probably alludes to it in his First Epistle to the Corinthians². Hermas speaks of some that have sinned and are 'rejected from the tower,' (which in his vision means the Church), and who have afterwards to do penance for their fault³. Irenæus tells us of several persons of heretical tendency, who were obliged to perform penitential acts⁴; and of Cerdon, as having been several times put to penance, and finally excommunicated⁵. Origen says, that 'offenders, especially such as offend by incontinence, are expelled from communion⁶.' Tertullian speaks of the gravity of Church censures; and of excommunication as a kind of anticipation of the judgment of God⁷. From him indeed we obtain a considerable insight into the customs of public confession, of the penance and humiliations to which offenders were put, of their absolutions and restoration to communion, and of the utter and final excommunication from Church pri-

¹ See Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. Thalm. Rabbin.* s. vv. שַׁמַּמָּתָא, שַׁמַּמָּתָא, pp. 1303, 827, 2463; also Jahn's *Archæologia Biblica*, § 252.

² § 57; Coteler. *Tom. I.* p. 178, vid. note 93.

³ *Herm. Pastor. Lib. I.* Vis. iii. § 5.

⁴ *Lib. I.* c. 13.

⁵ 'Modo homologesin faciens, modo ab aliquibus traductus in his quæ docebat male, et abstentus est a religiosorum hominum conventu.'—*Lib. III.* c. 4.

⁶ Οἱ δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀγωγή καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτανόντων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀκο-
λαστονόντων, οὓς ἀπολαύνουσι τοῦ κοινοῦ, κ. τ. λ.—Origen, *Cont. Cels. Lib. III.*

⁷ 'Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur.'—*Tertull. Apolog. c. 39.*

vileges of obstinate and incorrigible sinners¹. The Canons of the Apostles, being especially directed to the ordering of discipline in the Church, are full of sentences of separation and excommunication². It is difficult to assign the exact date of these venerable canons; but Bishop Beveridge places them at the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century.

It being thus apparent, that, from the very first, excommunication was a regular part of the discipline of the Church; it is unnecessary to continue our history through the following centuries, when no one questions that such a punishment was in frequent use. We may be content to notice, that among the Christians, as among the Jews, there prevailed a distinction of greater and lesser excommunication. The lesser excommunication, called ἀφορισμός or *separation*, consisted in exclusion of offenders from the participation of the Eucharist and from the prayers of the faithful, but did not expel them wholly from the Church; for they might be present at the psalmody, the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and the prayers of the catechumens and penitents, but might not remain to the service of the Communion. But the greater excommunication, called *Anathema* or *total separation* (πανεληθὲς ἀφορισμός), excluded from all Church communion whatever, from approaching to any assembly of the faithful for prayer, or sermon, or reading of the Scriptures³. The former kind, it is needless to add, was used for lighter offences; the latter for grievous and deadly sins.

Something has already been said (under Art. XXV.) concerning the custom of public confession, which was a penitential discipline, enjoined on those who were sentenced either to the greater or lesser excommunication, previously to their restoration to Church fellowship; and also concerning the private

¹ See Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, pp. 251—254, 262.

² See for instance Canons 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 28, 29, 31, 36, 48. On this subject see Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*, ch. ii. pt. 1.

³ See Bingham, *E. A.* Bk. xvi. ch. ii. §§ 7, 8.

confession, which gradually superseded public confession, and so loosened discipline and weakened the hands of the Church. Yet excommunications, in cases of heresy, or of royal and national opposition to the authority of the Church, assumed a new and more formidable aspect in the middle ages: so that, although private offenders against morality or piety might escape more easily under the shield of private confession, the obstinate heretic and the nation, whose ruler was not submissive to the see of Rome, were handled with a severity unheard of before. The excommunications of Huss and Wickliffe and Luther are evidence of the mode of proceedings against individual dissenters from the established faith. The excommunication of the Emperor Henry IV. by Pope Gregory VII., and the interdict on England under John by Innocent III., exemplify the use which the successors of St. Peter made of the keys of the kingdom, when kings and nations bowed down before them¹.

The latter part of the Article speaks of reconciliation to the Church by penance, and of reception into the Church by a competent judge.

Besides *exhomologesis* or public confession, the early Church used to impose a term of public penance on those who expressed contrition for their sins, and desired to be restored to communion. The performance of penance was anciently a matter of considerable time, in order that the sincerity of the repentance might be tested, and that full evidence of sorrow might be given to the Church. Accordingly, penitents were divided into four distinct classes, called respectively *flentes*, *audientes*, *substrati* and *consistentes*. The *flentes*, or *mourners*, were candidates for penance, rather than persons actually admitted to penitence. They used to lie prostrate at the church-door, begging the prayers of the

¹ The primitive Church did by no means exempt princes from its discipline, as is well known in the case of Theodosius, whom St. Ambrose excommunicated and put to penance for the slaughter of seven thousand men in Thessalonica.—Theodoret, Lib. v. c. 18; Bingham, xvi. iii. 5.

faithful, and asking to be admitted to do penance. When they had been admitted to penance, they became *audientes*, or *hearers*; because then, though not restored to communion, or the prayers of the Church, they might hear the Scriptures and the sermon. From this condition they passed into the state of *substrati* or *kneelers*. These were allowed to stay in the nave of the Church, and to join in certain prayers, specially put up for them, whilst they were on their knees. Lastly, they became *consistentes* or *co-standers*, persons allowed to stand with the faithful at the altar, and join in the common prayers, and to witness, but not partake of the Holy Communion¹. During the term of their penance, penitents were obliged to appear in sackcloth, with ashes on their head, to cut off their hair, to abstain from all feasting and innocent amusements, to shew liberality to the poor, and to make public confession of their sins². How early this distinction of four orders of penitents was made, and the special rules concerning their penance were laid down, is not indisputably certain. The time of the Novatian schism, *i. e.* the middle of the third century, is the earliest period at which it is thought that mention is certainly made of these distinctions and rules of discipline³.

It was only for heavy offences that excommunication, and therefore penance, were ever inflicted. In general it may be said, that the crimes were reducible to three classes; *viz.* uncleanness, idolatry, bloodshed⁴. The duration of the term of penitence was different, according to the magnitude of the offence, the aggravation of its guilt by circumstances, and the penitence or impenitence of the offender. For the heavier crimes, ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty years, and even the whole of a life, were not thought too long. Some were not reconciled to the Church but on imminent danger of death, and some were

¹ Bingham, *E. A.* xviii. ch. ii.

² *Ibid.* ch. iii.

³ *Ibid.* xviii. ii. 2.

⁴ Marshall, *Penitential Discipline*, ch. ii. pt. ii. sect. 1.

thought to have rebelled against God too grievously ever to have communion in this world; though God's mercy might be hoped for them in the next. Moreover, we may add, that, generally speaking, public penance was allowed but once to sinners of any sort¹.

As for the judge or officer who had power to restore to communion and give absolution, it was ordinarily the bishop. He, for just reasons, might moderate and abridge the term of penance²; and, as all discipline was considered to be lodged in his hands, he was esteemed both as the excommunicator, and also as the absolver of the penitent³. Yet, in many cases, the power of absolution was committed to presbyters; who, by authority of the bishop, or in his absence, and on great necessity, such as danger of death, might reconcile the sinner to communion, and give him the absolution of the Church⁴. Nay! as in cases of extreme necessity even deacons were allowed to give men the absolution of baptism, so, under the like circumstances, they were authorized to grant penitents the conciliatory absolution⁵.

Having thus considered the primitive customs, and spoken of some abuses in the middle ages of the Church, we may proceed to the time of the Reformation. The Council of Trent says, the power of excommunication is to be used 'soberly and with great circumspection;' still, if an excommunicated person will not repent, it enjoins that not only shall he be prohibited 'from Sacraments, and the Communion, and intercession of the faithful; but it may even be needful to proceed against him as one suspected of heresy;' (*etiam contra eum tanquam de hæresi suspectum procedi possit*⁶).

The Reformers generally insisted on the power of excommu-

¹ See Bingham, *E. A.* xviii. iv.

² *Ibid.* § 8.

³ Bingham, *xix.* iii. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* § 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* § 3. On the whole subject of primitive discipline read Bingham, *E. A.* Bks. xvi.—xix., and Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*.

⁶ Sess. xxv. cap. iii.

nication. The Augsburg Confession gives bishops authority 'to exclude from the communion of the Church impious persons, whose impiety is notorious, by the word, not by human violence'.¹ The Saxon Confession says, that 'those guilty of manifest crimes ought to be excommunicated; nor is just excommunication an empty sound' (*inane fulmen*).² Calvin, who was himself the great legislator for all the Calvinistic communions, divides the discipline of the Church into (1) private monition; (2) reprehension before witnesses; (3) excommunication³ (Matt. xviii. 15—17). For light offences reprehension is enough; but for heavier, exclusion from the communion of the Supper, humiliation before God, and testification of penitence before the Church, are needful⁴. No one, not even the sovereign, must be exempted from such censures; which he illustrates by the case of Theodosius⁵. The Calvinistic communions in general have been very strict observers of the discipline thus maintained by their great reformer.

The Church of England is clear enough in its principles, though restrained in its practice. This Article speaks plainly her doctrine. The rubric before the Communion gives to the curate the power of repelling evil livers from the Eucharist, provided that he shall at once acquaint the bishop. The introduction to the Communion Service speaks with great regret of the relaxation of godly discipline, and with earnest desire that it may be restored. The canons of 1663 are sufficiently free in denouncing excommunication against heretics, schismatics, and dissenters of all kinds. The peculiar nature of the connexion between the Church and state in England, and the prevalence of what are called Erastian opinions, have been the great causes why ecclesiastical censures have lost their power, and become a dead letter amongst us.

¹ 'Impios, quorum nota est impietas, excludere ex communione Ecclesie, sine vi humana, sed verbo.'—*Sylloge*, p. 220.

² *Ibid.* p. 293. ³ *Instit.* iv. xii. 2. ⁴ *Ibid.* § 6. ⁵ *Ibid.* § 7.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

THERE appear two points here to be demonstrated. I. That the Church is divinely authorized to excommunicate offenders, and to restore them to communion on their repentance. II. That certain persons in the Church are judges, having authority thereto.

I. Our Lord Himself gave power to His Church to excommunicate and absolve. In Matt. xviii. 15—18, He enjoins that, if one brother or fellow Christian sin against another, and refuse to listen to private rebuke, or to the admonition of others to whom the offence may be told, then the grievance is to be communicated to the Church¹. But if, when it is told to the Church, the erring brother still neglects to hear and to shew penitence, then he is to be looked on no longer as a Christian and a brother, but it is said, 'Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican' (ver. 17). The meaning of this would be intelligible enough to the first disciples of Christ. They had been bred Jews, and knew that Jews had no communion with heathen men and publicans, not merely not in religious ordinances, but not even to eat. This direction then

¹ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that our Lord meant here His Church. It was not indeed then fully set up, but He was continually foretelling its establishment; why then might He not speak of it by name? The word itself is probably a translation of the Hebrew *קָהָל*; but it is by no means likely that our Lord should intend His Christian followers to tell their troubles to the Jewish congregation, or the elders thereof, who would already have excommunicated and rejected them. Whilst He was with them, He Himself would be the natural referee. Afterwards He constitutes His Church the judge; the Church, that is, acting through its elders, as the Jewish *קָהָל* acted through its elders. Hence Chrysostom and Theophylact explain τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ by τοῖς προεδρεύουσι.—See Suicer, Tom. I. p. 1052.

Christ gives to His Church, that those, who having sinned openly against their brethren would not listen to her godly admonitions, should be separated from the fellowship of the faithful, and treated as heathens or publicans. Then, to confirm the Church in her authority, to assure her that her censures and her remission of censure both had a warrant from God, He adds: 'Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (ver. 18). In this context there can be no reasonable question, that the binding means to place in a state of bondage or excommunication from Church privilege, that the loosing signifies to restore again to the freedom of Christian communion.

At the risk of anticipating the subject of our second division, we ought to compare with this the promise to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 19), and to the Apostles at large (John xx. 23). To St. Peter, as to the Church, it is promised that, by means of the keys of the kingdom he shall bind, and it shall be bound in Heaven; he shall loose, and it shall be loosed in Heaven. And to all the Apostles it is promised: 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained' (ver. 20). Now to no human being, save to Christ alone, has the power of forgiving sins primarily and absolutely been committed by God. (See Matt. ix. 6; Rev. iii. 7). But to admit to the Church (*i. e.* to the kingdom of Heaven, Christ's kingdom on earth) by baptism, to exclude from it by excommunication, to restore again by absolution and remission of censure—these are powers which Christ commits to His people, and especially to the rulers and elders of His people.

To illustrate this, we must look at the practice of the Apostolic Church. In 1 Cor. v. 5, we find St. Paul enjoining the Corinthians to 'deliver' the incestuous man 'to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.' It is true, many of the ancients were

of opinion, that St. Paul meant here to inflict by a miracle some bodily disease upon the man. But the Apostle does not say that he himself will deliver him to Satan, but bids the Corinthian Church to do so. If it were a miraculous punishment, it is far more likely that he should have inflicted it himself. But he bids them (ver. 4) assemble together, 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ;' promises that, as their bishop, he will be with them in spirit; and then tells them, with the power of the Lord Jesus, to deliver the offender to Satan. Now the world is Satan's kingdom, the Church is Christ's. To expel from Christ's kingdom is to turn over into Satan's kingdom. What more fit, than such language, to express excommunication? And to prove that this is what is meant, we find (in 2 Cor. ii.) that, when the incestuous man had repented, the Apostle enjoins the Corinthians to restore and forgive him; and promises that he will forgive whomsoever they forgive. (See vv. 5—11). All this exactly corresponds with a case of excommunication, succeeded by restoration and absolution¹.

We may compare with these many passages, in which the Apostles enjoin upon Christians to withdraw from the company of brethren who do not live according to their Christian profession, but who are either impure in their lives, or heretical in their belief. (See Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. v. 9; xv. 33; xvi. 22; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14; 2 John 10, 11). These, though not all directly bearing on the subject, shew that Christians ought to keep themselves from all communion with ungodly men; and therefore make it probable that they should be enjoined to exclude them from Church-fellowship.

¹ See Theodoret and Theophylact in 1 Cor. v. 5; Balsamon and Zonaras in *Basil. Can.* vii.; Beza in 1 Cor. v. 5; Estius in 1 Cor. v. 5; Beveridge, *Not. in Can. Apostol.* x.; *Pandectæ*, Tom. ii. *Adnotat.* p. 20; Suicer, Tom. ii. p. 940. These all advocate the view taken in the text. On the opposite side see Grotius and Lightfoot on 1 Cor. v. 5; also Hammond, who combines both views in one, thinking both excommunication and bodily disease to have been inflicted. So, I rather think, does St. Chrysostom. See *Homil. xv. in 1 Cor. v.*

II. We have next to shew, that our Lord gave certain officers in His Church special authority, both to excommunicate, and to restore to communion.

The Church in the early ages must be viewed as a distinct society, separated from the world at large, held together by great and independent interests, governed by laws peculiar to itself, and ordered by its own officers. It was in the midst of the wilderness, with wolves and wild beasts all around it; a sheepfold, and with shepherds of the sheep. The shepherds or governors were the bishops and elders. 'Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine' (1 Tim. v. 17). 'We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake' (1 Thess. v. 12, 13). 'Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God' (Heb. xiii. 7). 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves unto them; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account,' &c. (Heb. xiii. 17). Such passages shew that the primitive pastors had a pastoral *authority*, as well as a pastoral care.

Now we have seen that our Lord committed to His Church the keys of discipline, the power to bind and to loose. But, as all bodies act through their officers, so, what at one time He gave to the Church as a body, at another he specially assigned to the rulers of that body, the Apostles and elders. To St. Peter, the first and most honoured of the college of the Apostles, He promised, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 19). And the power, which He thus bestowed on St. Peter, He afterwards yet more solemnly conveyed to all the Apostles, and apparently with

them to other elders of the Church, (see ver. 19), in the words, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 22, 23). The hypothesis that this commission to the first disciples of Christ was miraculous, and therefore temporary, is utterly untenable. If a miraculous power were bestowed, it was no less than a power of searching the heart, and pronouncing authoritatively a judgment of perdition on the guilty, and pardon of sins to the penitent. But such power is the attribute of God alone ; and He will never so give His glory to another. The Apostles, though endued with the gift of tongues, of prophecy, of miracles, were not endued with the power to bestow an actual remission of offences, such as would free the soul from all danger, when appearing before the judgment-seat of Christ ; and as little might they hurl the thunderbolt of vengeance, and sentence transgressors to the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. It is plain, therefore, that the keys committed to St. Peter were the badge of his stewardship, as 'minister of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God.' The power to bind and to loose was the same as the Church's power to bind and to loose. And the power to retain and to remit sins, was but the same authority conveyed in different terms¹.

Now this power, considered as the power of admitting to, and excluding from the Church and her fellowship, as the Church exercised it, so the Apostles especially claimed it, as immediately resulting from their own commission from Christ. In the case of the incestuous man at Corinth, St. Paul enjoins the Church to excommunicate and afterwards to restore him ; but, in both instances, he himself is to be considered as judging with them and ratifying their sentence, by virtue of his own special autho-

¹ See Dr. Hammond's note on John xx. 23. He shews that the *ἀφαιρῶν* and *κρατεῖν* in St. John are all one with the *λύειν* and *δέειν* in St. Matthew.

rity, as an Apostle of Christ ; in which office he claims to be exercising Christ's own authority. Thus (in 1 Cor. v. 3, 4, 5), he says, 'I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already. . . . In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one to Satan.' Here is a solemn excommunication, performed by the Church, ratified by the Apostle, and so confirmed by Christ Himself. And, in 2 Cor. ii. 10, when enjoining that the penitent sinner should be restored to communion, he writes, 'To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also : for if I forgave anything, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it, in the person of Christ.' What can be plainer than that, in both these cases, St. Paul considered that he had himself, as a chief governor in the Church, an especial power, coupled with the general assent of the Church, to judge, to expel, and to restore? So (in 1 Tim. i. 20) he says, that he had himself excommunicated Hymeneus and Alexander. Whether we must infer that he did so of his own authority alone, or calling in other members of the Church, as assessors to him, we cannot say. Again, in 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, 10, we find him threatening to hold a regular judicial enquiry, summoning witnesses, not sparing those who should be proved to have sinned, but using sharpness, 'according to the power which the Lord had given him, to edification, not to destruction.'

To pass to other chief pastors, besides the Apostles themselves, we find that to Timothy and Titus, appointed bishops in the Church, St. Paul lays down rules, how they should judge, rebuke, and reject (1 Tim. v. 19—21, Tit. iii. 10, 11). Moreover, we have at least one case of the abuse of this power recorded in the new Testament. Diotrephes, who aimed at a primacy (*φιλοπρωτεύει*), cast the brethren out of the Church (3 John 10). And herein we may recognize that Divine wisdom, which ordained that, though the chief officers of the Church

should be the principal executors of its authority, yet the authority should not be vested in them alone, but with them in the whole body of the faithful. (See again Matt. xviii. 17, 18). And, it may appear that, as our Lord, in immediate context with the promise of ratifying Church censures and Church absolutions, promised that 'where two or three were gathered together in His name, He would be in the midst of them' (ver. 20); so it was with a kind of synodical authority that the Apostles ordinarily armed themselves, when they administered discipline (compare again 1 Cor. v. and 2 Cor. ii.), that so they might not seem to lord it over the heritage of God, and that their power might be obviously for edification, not for destruction¹.

¹ If we pass from the early to the present times we may observe that our Ecclesiastical Courts are, in theory, formed upon the primitive principle. They are, indeed, lay tribunals. Yet their judges represent, first, the authority of the primate, whose delegates they are; and, secondly, as being themselves laymen, and as holding power from our civil, as well as our ecclesiastical rulers, they represent not only the hierarchy, but also the laity of the Church.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ.

TRADITIONES atque cæremonias easdem, non omnino necessarium est esse ubique aut prorsus consimiles. Nam et variæ semper fuerunt et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum, et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituat.

Traditiones, et cæremonias Ecclesiasticas, quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt autoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens, et data opera, publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, quique lædit autoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quælibet Ecclesia particularis, sive nationalis, autoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi cæremonias, aut ritus Ecclesiasticos humana tantum autoritate institutos, modo omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

THE Reformation was in great measure a national movement. The power and authority of the see of Rome had annihilated the distinctions of national Churches, and produced an uniformity, not only of doctrine, but also of ceremonial and discipline, throughout the West. This Article, like the XVth of the Confession of Augsburgh, is an assertion of the right of particular Churches to retain or adopt, in things indifferent,

local and peculiar usages. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, headed 'Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained,' is a farther and fuller exposition of the sentiments of our Reformers on this head. It should be read in connexion with the Article.

The two points insisted on, and which we have to consider, are

I. That traditions and ceremonies were not to be everywhere alike, but that particular or national Churches may ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies of mere human authority, so all be done to edifying.

II. That private persons, of their private judgment, are not justified in openly breaking the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to God's word.

I. There is little direct proof, either for or against our first position, to be drawn from holy Scripture itself. The Apostolic rule was, that all things should 'be done to edifying' (1 Cor. xiv. 26); 'all decently and in order' (ver. 40). This certainly leaves a great liberty, and a great latitude, to order the ceremonies and offices of the Church.

But, if we come to Christian history, we shall find that the different Churches, in early times, though having wonderful concord in doctrine, and in Apostolical government, had yet great variety in discipline and ritual. The well-known controversy concerning Easter very early divided the East and West. The Church of Rome kept Easter as we keep it now, so that it always falls on a Sunday; whilst the Churches of Asia Minor observed it on the fourteenth day of the month Abib, after the manner of the Jewish Passover, let it fall on whatever day of the week it might. The Apostolical Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, paid Rome a visit, to endeavour to arrange with Anicetus an uniformity of custom on this head; but, though they could come to no agreement here, they agreed that the unity and harmony of

the Churches should not be broken on such a point of tradition and ceremony¹. Later indeed, Victor, Bishop of Rome, was disposed to excommunicate the Asiatic Churches, because they did not follow the Roman custom; for which uncharitableness Irenæus sent him a letter of reproof².

The still more important controversy concerning the rebaptizing of heretics arose in the next century; Cyprian and the African bishops maintaining the propriety of baptizing anew those who had received baptism from heretics; whilst Stephen and the Roman Church maintained that such baptism was valid, and therefore that it could not be repeated. The controversy indeed ran high; but for a length of time both branches of the Church followed their own views³.

Another instance of diversity of custom was the mode in which the Jewish Sabbath was treated. Some Churches, those of the Patriarchate of Antioch especially, not only observed the Christian Lord's day, but also the Jewish Sabbath. On the other hand, some Churches used to fast on the Saturday, or Sabbath, as well as on the Friday; because on the former our Lord lay in the grave, as on the latter He was crucified. St. Augustine mentions, that St. Ambrose wisely determined to fast on the Saturday, when he was in those places where it was customary; but not to fast on that day where the custom was against it⁴.

Another observable thing in the early ages is, that the different bishops were so far independent of each other, that they were allowed to frame their own Liturgies, and even to express the Creed in different forms⁵. Accordingly, we hear of the

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14, v. 24.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constantinum*, sec. III. § xviii. Also Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* Cent. III. pt. II. ch. iii. § 13.

⁴ 'Cum Romam venio, jejuno Sabbato; cum hic, non jejuno; Sic etiam tu ad quam forte Ecclesiam veneris, ejus morem serva, si cuiquam non vis esse scandalo, nec quemquam tibi.'—*Epist.* LIV. *ad Januarium*, Tom. II. p. 154, quoted by Beveridge on this Article.

⁵ See Bingham, *E. A. Bk.* II. ch. vi.

Liturgies of Antioch, and Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Rome, of Gaul, of Spain¹, &c. &c.

Now, all these facts prove the right of particular Churches to some degree of independence one of another, as regards bare ceremonies and traditional rites and customs.

II. That private persons should not wantonly break or neglect the traditions of the Church to which they belong, may be said to result from the very nature of a Christian society, and indeed of society altogether.

The Scriptural authority is strong in favour of obedience to both civil and ecclesiastical authorities; even when both are corrupt. Of the former, see Rom. xiii. 1; Tit. iii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17. Of the latter, we have our Lord's injunction to His disciples to obey the Pharisees, because they sat in Moses' seat, Matt. xxiii. 2, 3; and the example of the Apostles, who, in all things not unlawful, adhered to Jewish observances and the customs of their own nation, even after the Church of Christ had been set up in the world. See Acts ii. 46, xxi. 20, 26, xxviii. 17. The Apostles indeed denounce severely those who cause divisions and schisms in the Church (Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. iii. 3, &c.); and enjoin all Christians to obey their spiritual rulers, and to submit themselves to them (1 Cor. xvi. 16; 1 Thess. v. 12; Heb. xiii. 17).

It seems unnecessary to add authority from the primitive ages. The whole system of discipline and order, then so strictly observed, of necessity involves the principle that laws and regulations made by the body of the Church were binding on, and to be observed by, every individual Christian who belonged to the Church. The decrees of Councils and Synods, often relating to discipline and ceremony, of course, proceeded on the same understanding and principle.

¹ See Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, 'Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies.'

ARTICLE XXXV.

Of the Homilies.

THE second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of *Edward the Sixth*; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

- 1 *Of the right Use of the Church.*
- 2 *Against peril of Idolatry.*
- 3 *Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.*
- 4 *Of good Works: first of Fasting.*
- 5 *Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.*
- 6 *Against Excess of Apparel.*
- 7 *Of Prayer.*
- 8 *Of the Place and Time of Prayer.*
- 9 *That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.*
- 10 *Of the reverend estimation of God's Word.*
- 11 *Of Alms-doing.*
- 12 *Of the Nativity of Christ.*
- 13 *Of the Passion of Christ.*
- 14 *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*
- 15 *Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.*
- 16 *Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

De Homiliis.

TOMUS secundus homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic articulo subjunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam, et his temporibus necessariam, non minus quam prior tomus homiliarum, quæ editæ sunt tempore Edwardi Sexti. Itaque eas in Ecclesiis per ministros diligenter et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse judicavimus.

De Nominibus Homiliarum.

- Of the right use of the Church.*
Against peril of Idolatry.
Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
Of good Works: first of Fasting.
Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.
Against Excess of Apparel.
Of Prayer.
Of the Place and Time of Prayer.
That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.
Of the reverend estimation of God's Word.
Of Alms-doing.
Of the Nativity of Christ.
Of the Passion of Christ.
Of the Resurrection of Christ.
Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.
Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.

- 17 *For the Rogation-days.*
- 18 *Of the state of Matrimony.*
- 19 *Of Repentance.*
- 20 *Against Idleness.*
- 21 *Against Rebellion.*

- For the Rogation-days.*
 - Of the state of Matrimony.*
 - Of Repentance.*
 - Against Idleness.*
 - Against Rebellion.*
-

THERE is not much to be said concerning this Article. At the time of the Reformation there was great need of simple and sound instruction for the people, and but few were competent to give it. Many of the clergy were but partially affected to the so-called new learning. Many were very illiterate. In many parishes, therefore, the clergy were not licensed to preach, and hence the reformers put forth these popular discourses, to meet the exigencies of the times.

The First Book of Homilies, which was published in the reign of Edward VI., is attributed to the pens of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and others. The second, published in Elizabeth's reign, is supposed to be due in great part to Jewel. The former seems to be written with much greater care and accuracy than the latter, and is indeed most full of sound and valuable teaching.

It is not possible to prove the assertion, that they 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine,' without going through the whole book of Homilies, and commenting on them all. All writers on the subject have agreed that the kind of assent, which we are here called on to give to them, is general, not specific. We are not expected to express full concurrence with every statement, or every exposition of Holy Scripture contained in them, but merely, in the general, to approve of them as a body of sound and orthodox discourses, and well adapted for the times for which they were composed. For instance, we cannot be required to call the Apocrypha by the name of Holy Scripture, or to quote it as of Divine authority, because we find it so in the Homilies. We cannot be expected to think it

a very cogent argument for the duty of fasting, that thereby we may encourage the fisheries and strengthen the seaport towns against foreign invasion¹. And perhaps we may agree with Dr. Hey, rather than with Bishop Burnet², and hold, that a person may fairly consider the Homilies to be a sound collection of religious instruction, who might yet shrink from calling the Roman Catholics idolaters. The Homilies are, in fact, semi-authoritative documents. The First Book is especially valuable, as having been composed by those who reformed our services and drew up our Articles. The second also shows popularly the general tone of instruction, which the divines of the reign of Elizabeth thought wholesome for the people. They are therefore of much value in throwing light on documents more authoritative than themselves; and may be useful for the instruction of our clergy and people in the doctrines of the Reformation. The higher education of our parish priests, and the now somewhat antiquated style of the discourses in question, render it not very likely that they will ever again be much read in Churches.

Something has been said before of the 'Homily of Salvation³,' which is of greater authority than the rest, being referred to in Article XI. as a fuller exposition of the doctrine there delivered. It was written by Cranmer, and is indeed of great value, sound, simple and eloquent.

It has been apparently thought doubtful by some, whether anything uninspired ought to be read in Churches. The Bible should be read there, prayers offered up, and sermons preached; but to read ancient writings which are not inspired, is to put them on the same level with the inspired Scriptures. This objection has been considered, with reference to the reading of the Apocrypha, under Article VI.⁴ What was said of that

¹ See Homily *On Good Works; and first, Of Fasting*.

² See Burnet on Art. XXXV.; Hey, Vol. iv. p. 466.

³ Vol. i. p. 394.

⁴ Art. VI. sect. ii. No. ii. Vol. i. p. 246.

will fully apply to the reading of homilies. There can be no danger that the Homilies, or any such things, should ever be esteemed by the people as of like authority with the Scriptures. The same objection would apply, at least as strongly, to sermons and hymns as to homilies. It is not possible, in any ordinary state of the Church, that all sermons should be, not only extempore effusions, but uttered by direct inspiration of the Spirit. We must therefore esteem them as merely human compositions. And, though special blessing may be expected on the teaching of faithful ministers of Christ, yet it is difficult to see what there is to raise their written or precomposed discourses to an eminence above the writings of martyred bishops, such as Cranmer and his fellows. The lawfulness therefore of the putting forth of the Homilies seems unquestionable.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

THE Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King *Edward* unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

De Episcoporum et Ministrorum Consecratione.

LIBELLUS de consecratione Archiepiscoporum, et Episcoporum, et de ordinatione Præbyterorum et Diaconorum, editus nuper temporibus Edwardi VI. et autoritate Parliamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad ejusmodi consecrationem, et ordinationem necessaria continet, et nihil habet, quod ex se sit, aut superstitiosum, aut impium: itaque quicumque juxta ritus illius libri consecrati, aut ordinati sunt, ab anno secundo prædicti regis Edwardi, usque ad hoc tempus, aut ordinabuntur, rite, atque ordine, atque legitime statuimus esse, et fore consecratos et ordinatos.

WHEN the Liturgy of the Church was undergoing a revision in the reign of Edward VI., it was obviously desirable that the Ordinal should be revised too. Accordingly, A.D. 1549, an act of Parliament was passed to appoint six prelates and six other learned men, to devise a form of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons and other ministers¹. The Ordinal, drawn up by these divines, was in use till 1552; and six bishops were consecrated by means of it.

¹ Heylyn, *History of Reformation*, p. 82.

According to the forms in the ancient Roman Pontificals, those who were ordained priests had their hands anointed, the vessels of the Eucharist were delivered to them, and authority was given them to offer sacrifice. The new Ordinal omitted the Chrism and all mention of offering sacrifices, but retained the custom of delivering 'the chalice or cup with the bread'.¹

In the year 1552, the Second Service Book of Edward VI. came forth; and with it a still further revision of the Ordinal. In the latter, the porrection of the chalice and paten was omitted. The form of ordination was nearly as in our present services; except that in the prayer of ordination of priests it was only said, 'Receive thou the Holy Ghost;' without adding, 'for the office of a priest,' &c.; and in the prayer of consecration of bishops, it was said, 'Take the Holy Ghost,' without the words, 'for the office and work of a bishop,' &c.

On the accession of Queen Mary, the new Ordinal was immediately suppressed. The orders conferred in the late reign, and with the use of the reformed Ordinal, were not declared invalid; but those, who had been so ordained, were to be reconciled, and the deficiencies supplied, such as unction, porrection of the chalice², &c.

In the reign of Elizabeth the reformed Ordinal was again restored, and in its use were consecrated Parker, the primate, and other bishops of the reformed Church. In confirmation of its authority, the Convocation of 1562 inserted this present Article among the XXXIX. in place of the XXXVth Article of 1552, which was more general, and concerned the whole Prayer Book, this being restricted to the Ordination Services. It was farther enforced by Act of Parliament, A.D. 1566; and the Article of 1562 was confirmed in 1571. On the accession

¹ *Liturgies of Edward VI.* Parker Society, p. 179.

² Heylyn, *Hist. Ref.* History of Queen Mary, p. 36.

of Charles II. and the restoration of Episcopacy, which had been abolished during the Commonwealth, the ordination services being restored, were, however, subjected to a review, and reduced to their present form. The most important additions were the insertion, in the prayer of ordination of priests, after the words, 'Receive thou the Holy Ghost,' of the words 'for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands;' and a like change in the prayer of consecration of bishops; so that the office of a bishop is distinctly expressed, whereas at first the words were general, and as applicable to a priest as to a bishop.

The Preface, which is assigned to Cranmer, was the same in the first reformed Ordinal, as it is in the present Ordination Service in our Prayer Books¹.

The object of this Article is to meet objections to the validity and propriety of ordinations conferred in the use of this Ordinal. The objections are of two kinds: I. That the Ordinal lacks some essential ceremonies. II. That it has some superstitious forms and expressions.

I. The first objection comes from the Romanists.

1 It is urged that our bishops do not confer the chrism, nor offer the sacred vessels, nor more especially give the power of sacrificing, therefore none can be truly ordained by them to the Christian priesthood.

To this we answer, first, that Scripture gives no authority for all these forms. All that we read of there is laying on of

¹ The question concerning the unbroken succession of our Bishops might naturally occur to us here. But it does not properly come under consideration in this or any other of the XXXIX. Articles. The student may consult Courayer, *Defence of English Ordinations*; Bramhall, *Protestants' Ordinations Defended*; Mason's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. See also Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, Vol. II. ch. xii.; *On the Church*, part VI. ch. x.; Harington's *Succession of Bishops in the English Church*.

hands with prayer. Secondly, we say, that we find no authority for such forms in the customs of the primitive Church. Gregory Nazianzen¹ indeed speaks of unction, but he means the unction of the Holy Ghost. The earliest specimen we have of a form of ordination is in the VIIIth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, c. 16, which is as follows.

‘When thou ordainest a presbyter, O bishop, place thy hand on his head, the presbytery standing with thee, and also the deacons; and pray thus: O Lord, Almighty, our God, who hast created all things by Jesus Christ, and by Him providest for all, in whom is the power of providing in various ways. Now therefore, O God, Thou providest for immortals by preservation, for mortals by succession, for the soul by care of laws, for the body by supply of necessity. Do thou, therefore, now look upon Thy holy Church, increase it, and multiply those who preside over it; and give power that they may labour in word and work to the edification of Thy people. Do Thou also look now upon this Thy servant, who, by suffrage and judgment of all the clergy, is chosen into the presbytery; and fill him with the Spirit of grace and counsel, that he may aid and govern Thy people with a pure mind; in like manner as Thou hadst respect to Thine elect people, and as Thou commandedst Moses to choose elders whom Thou filledst with Thy Spirit. And now, O Lord, make good this, preserving in us an unfailing Spirit of Thy grace, that he, being filled with healing powers, and instructive discourse, may with meekness teach Thy people, and serve Thee sincerely with a pure mind and willing soul, and *may perform the blameless sacred rites for Thy people*². Through Thy Christ, with whom to Thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and reverence for ever. Amen.’

This is the whole form of ordaining priests given in the

¹ *Orat. v. Tom. i. p. 136.*

² *τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ λειτουργίας ἀμώμους ἐκτελεῖ.*

Apostolical Constitutions. The words in Italics are the only words which can refer to sacrifice or Sacraments; and they are certainly as general as those in our own Ordinal, 'Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments.' The words in the Roman Pontifical, 'Receive thou power to offer sacrifices to God, and to celebrate the mass for the quick and the dead,' were not in any ancient form of consecration. Morinus, as cited by Bishop Burnet, acknowledges, that he could not find it for the first 900 years¹. The Greek Church merely prays God to grant to the newly ordained presbyter, 'that he may stand blameless at Thy altar, may preach the Gospel of Thy Salvation, offer to Thee gifts and spiritual sacrifices, and renew Thy people by the Laver of regeneration².' This again is perfectly general: and the earlier we go, the simpler we find all the forms of ordination, in all parts of the world. 'Not a father, not a council, not one ancient author at any time mentions the delivery of the paten or chalice, or the formal words used by the Church of Rome, even when they describe the ordination of their days, and where this could not have been omitted if it had been essential³.' This is surely proof enough, that the omissions complained of are not sufficient to invalidate all the orders of the Church.

2 It has also been objected, that the bishops consecrated according to the Ordinal of Edward VI. and Elizabeth could not have been rightly consecrated, because the words of consecration were only, 'Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but

¹ Burnet, *Vindication of English Orders*, p. 24; Bingham, II. xix. 17.

² Morinus, *De Sacr. Ordin.* pt. II. p. 55; Walcott's *English Ordinal*, p. 260.

³ Bramhall, *Protestants' Ordinations Defended*, Works, Anglo-Cath. Library, Vol. V. p. 216. Several ancient forms, and much useful information, may be found in Walcott, *On the English Ordinal*, ch. vi.

of power, and love and soberness.' Here is nothing, which might not apply to a priest or deacon, as well as to a bishop.

But we may reply, that the whole service concerns bishops, not priests and deacons; and that, if the words 'for the office of a bishop,' &c. afterwards inserted, were not at first added, it is quite evident that they were sufficiently implied. Every body must have felt, that it was episcopal consecration which was conferred. The form of ordination does not consist merely in the prayer of consecration. The whole service forms part of it. And, moreover, even in the Roman Pontifical, the words which accompany the imposition of hands are simply, 'Receive the Holy Ghost;' and the prayer which follows does not directly mention the office of a bishop¹.

II. Another objection proceeds from a very different quarter. The Puritans, and many well-meaning Christians since them, have much stumbled at our using those memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.... Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.' The objection is of this nature.

1 The power of remitting and retaining sins was miraculous, and confined to the Apostles, and so not to be expected by other ministers.

2 Man cannot bestow God's Spirit, and it is profane to claim the power to do so.

It is remarkable that the reformers who rejected as superstitious some mere ceremonies, such as delivering the paten and chalice, and the anointing of the hands, should yet have retained this form of words, which to many seems nothing short of blasphemy. Was it that the reformers had a deeper insight into Scripture, than those who now object to their proceedings?

¹ Palmer, *On the Church*, pt. vi. ch. x. Vol. II. p. 460.

1 Under Art. XXXIII. I have already considered at length the question concerning the remitting and retaining sins. There it has been shewn that such power was not miraculous, nor peculiar to the Apostles. A power of that higher kind never was given to mere man. The only authority, which our blessed Lord thus conveyed to His first ministers, was, more solemnly than before, authority to bind and to loose—that which is elsewhere called the power of the keys—so that ministerially they had the keys of the Church or kingdom, to admit men to it by preaching and baptism, to exclude men from it by excommunication, to restore them to it again by absolution. The assurance given them is, that their acts, as Christ's ministers in all these respects, shall be ratified in Heaven. It has been shewn moreover, that this power of the keys is a portion of the Church's birthright. It is committed to the Church as a body, and more particularly to her bishops and presbyters. Hence, every bishop having authority to ordain, has also authority to declare, that the power of the keys is committed to the person ordained by him. And no more is meant by these solemn words in our ordination service, than that, as Christ has left to the presbytery the right of ministering His Sacraments, and of excluding from His Sacraments; so the newly-ordered presbyter now receives by Christ's own ordinance that right—a divine commission to minister, and at the same time a divine commission duly to exercise the authority of excluding the unworthy, and admitting again the penitent sinner¹.

¹ I have not fully entered into the question of the efficacy of absolution when pronounced on a repenting sinner. That it may restore to Church communion none can doubt. But many, in our day, question, or rather deny, that it can be accompanied with any spiritual grace. The whole subject of ministerial blessing and absolution seems to be explained by the words of our Lord (Luke x. 5, 6): 'Into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house. And if the Son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; if not, it shall turn to you again.'

2 On the words, 'Receive thou the Holy Ghost,' we may observe, that, as the power to remit and retain sins was not a personal and miraculous power conferred on the Apostles, so neither was the gift of the Spirit then breathed upon them the personally sanctifying influence, nor yet the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost. We cannot doubt that they had long ago received the sanctifying grace of God in their hearts, and so the ordinary operations of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. And the miraculous baptism of the Spirit, which gave them powers peculiar to the Apostolic age, they did not receive until the day of Pentecost. Hence, this bestowal of the Spirit in the twentieth chapter of St. John was neither the one nor the other of these. What then must it have been? Evidently the ordaining grace of God. All ministerial authority has ever been believed to proceed from the Holy Ghost. Ministry, the right to minister, is one of the *charismata* of the Spirit. That *charisma* our Lord then for the first time fully bestowed upon His Church. But the same *charisma* was afterwards given 'by the laying on of the Apostles' hands' (2 Tim. i. 6), and, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery' (1 Tim. iv. 14). Not that the Apostles or their successors could from themselves send forth the Spirit of God, or the gifts of the Spirit: but that, as our Lord had appointed ordination to be the means of receiving the grace of ordination; so the Church in undoubting faith believes, that, whensoever ordination is rightly ministered, the proper gift of orders flows down direct from the ordaining Spirit; not to sanctify the individual personally, but to constitute him truly a minister of Christ, and to make his ministry acceptable to God. Hence, when the bishop's hand is laid on

Here the blessing of the minister was to be accompanied by blessing from above, if the recipient was rightly disposed for blessing. But if the recipient was unbelieving and impenitent, the blessing could not reach his heart; but yet the minister would himself have comfort from having acted on his commission, and having sought to convey comfort to others.

the head of him whom he ordains, we doubt not that the *charisma* of God's Spirit is given, 'for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God.' The difference between such an ordination and our Lord's ordaining of His first ministers recorded in St. John chap. xx. is this. In the latter case, Christ Himself, to whom the Spirit is given without measure, gave of that Spirit authoritatively to His disciples; and so, in giving, He breathed on them, as shewing that the Spirit proceeded from Him. But, in the other case, our bishops presume not to breathe, nor did the Apostles before them; for they know that ordaining grace comes not from them, but from Christ, whose ministers they are; and so they simply, according to all Scriptural authority, use the outward rite of laying on of hands, in use of which they believe a blessing will assuredly come down from above¹. That blessing is the gift of the Spirit of God, for the office and work of a priest.

And thus we conclude, that as the Ordinal lacks nothing essential to the due administering of orders in the Church, so does it not contain anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly.

¹ See Hooker, Bk. v. 77, 78.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

THE Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

De Civilibus Magistratibus.

REGIA Majestas in hoc Angliæ regno, ac cæteris ejus dominiis, summam habet potestatem, ad quam, omnium statuum hujus regni, sive illi ecclesiastici sint, sive civiles, in omnibus causis, suprema gubernatio pertinet, et nulli externæ jurisdictioni est subjecta, nec esse debet.

Cum Regiæ Majestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus, animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi, non damus regibus nostris, aut verbi Dei, aut Sacramentorum administrationem, quod etiam injunctiones ab Elizabeth Regina nostra, nuper editæ, apertissime testantur. Sed eam tantum prærogativam, quam in sacris Scripturis a Deo ipso, omnibus piis Principibus, videmus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status, atque ordines fidei suæ a Deo commissos, sive illi ecclesiastici sint, sive civiles, in officio contineant, et contumaces ac delinquentes, gladio civili coerceant.

Romanus pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Leges Regni possunt Christianos propter capitalia, et gravia crimina, morte punire.

Christianis licet, ex mandato magistratus, arma portare, et justa bella administrare.

SECTION I.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE CROWN.

THE present Article concerns one of the most involved and difficult questions that have agitated Christian men: the question, namely, of the due proportions and proper relation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers in a Christian Commonwealth. The whole course of Church History, from the time of Constantine to the present, seems to have been striving to unravel the difficulty and solve the problem. Perhaps it never will be solved until the coming of the Son of Man, when there shall be no king but Christ, and all nations, peoples, and languages, shall bow down before Him.

Without pretending then to clear up all that is dark in such a question, we may by a hasty survey of past events be enabled to place ourselves in such a position, that the mists of prejudice, whether religious or political, may not blind us to the perception of that light which Providence has given to guide us.

For the first three hundred years, the spiritual kingdom of Christ was on earth, having no relation to any earthly kingdom. The kingdoms of this world, instead of fostering, persecuted it. There was a direct antagonism between the Church and the world: and the external development of that antagonism was plainly visible in the opposing organization of Church and State. Christians indeed were from the first obedient subjects, wherever obedience was not incompatible with religion. They even marched in the armies of the heathen emperors, prayed for them in their public liturgies, and in persecution took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, resisting none but those commands which could be obeyed only by disobedience to God. But the whole Christian Church, as far as possible, shrank within itself from the polluting atmosphere of heathenism and heathen morality. The Apostle had condemned the Corinthians for going

to law before the unbelievers (1 Cor. vi. 1), and had encouraged them to erect private tribunals among themselves, for the decision of disputes, which would inevitably arise¹. The result was naturally, that the courts of the bishop became the ordinary courts of judicature, when Christians impleaded Christians. The rulers of the Church were looked up to with that kind of veneration which we call loyalty; whilst obedience to the emperor was the result of no natural enthusiasm, but of a principle of self-denying, self-sacrificing obligation.

The accession of Constantine to the throne of Augustus, his conversion to Christianity, and his removal of the seat of empire to Byzantium, produced a remarkable revolution. Christians fondly hoped, that the kingdoms of this world had become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ. They naturally recognized the duty of Christian princes to protect the faith of the Gospel. They joyfully embraced the newly-opened course for the progress of the Gospel. They reasonably were thankful for the promised freedom to worship God according to their consciences; and alas! it is to be feared that they were not averse to using the civil authority to put down the pride of the now fast increasing heresy of Arius. Constantine, on his part, whether sincere or politic in his adoption of the Gospel, could not be ignorant of the vast machinery which his connexion with the Church might put into his hands. In heathen times, the supreme ruler at Rome was also the supreme administrator of the affairs of religion. There was a sacredness attached to him, however vile his personal character. The Roman Emperor even became the Pontifex Maximus². And, although Constantine found it not possible to assume a sacerdotal function in the Christian Church, he yet claimed a peculiar supremacy; which was sufficiently undefined to be inoffensive to others, and yet

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 4. Some consider the word *ἐξουθενημένους*, used in this verse, to mean persons destitute of any public authority in the state.

² Gibbon, ch. xx.

satisfactory to himself. 'You,' said he to the Christian prelates, 'are bishops of the things within the Church; but I am constituted by God bishop of those which are without!'. The words were perhaps originally spoken in jest, but time led him to apply them in earnest.

From this period the Church, though never endowed by the State, received a full and ample protection for the revenues which it might acquire. The Christian princes ever considered themselves as its protectors, and in some sense as its governors. There is good reason to think that the power, which they so exercised, was often by no means paternal, but as tyrannical and arbitrary as was their more secular administration. The bishops indeed maintained the exclusive right of the clergy to minister in sacred things; and the emperors readily admitted that to the clergy alone such functions appertained². Moreover, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of bishops and patriarchs was carefully preserved to them. Patriarchs were permitted to call provincial, and bishops to call diocesan synods; but a synod of the universal Church was never called but by the Emperor himself. Though the decrees of the councils were made by the bishops, yet the Emperor thought himself justified in enforcing them by his own temporal power. Thus Arius, condemned at Nice, was banished by Constantine: and there is too good reason to fear, that court influence was unsparingly used to intimidate the members of a synod into voting with the Emperor, or absenting themselves altogether. Eusebius assigns to Constantine a principle, which was probably never admitted by the Church at large, but which may have materially influenced him in his own conduct; viz. that, as a kind of universal bishop, he assembled councils of the ministers of God³.

¹ Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* iv. 24.

² The story of St. Ambrose forbidding Theodosius to enter the chancel (Theodoret, l. v. c. 18) is well known.

³ *Οὐκ ἔστι κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ Θεοῦ καθιστάμενος, συνόδους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει.*—*De Vit. Constantin.* lib. I. c. 44.

From this time, then, the Church and the State were no longer in the position of a persecuting power and a patient victim. They no longer represented, respectively, the principle of good and the principle of evil. The good of the one had penetrated the other; and it may be feared that there was something of reciprocal interchange. They had, however, entered into an alliance; but still, more or less, the Christianized state was sure to retain some of the worldly elements, which characterized it when heathen; and there was still a struggle, though less conspicuous, between the Church in the Church and the world in the State. In the East, the power of the Emperor over the Church was the greater, because the East had become the seat of empire; and there is little doubt that the degeneracy of the Eastern Church had much connexion with the influence of the court. Nay! the power of that court became at once apparent; when, on the adoption of heresy by the Emperor, the whole East seemed suddenly overspread with Arianism.

There was a different state of things in the West; the result, it may be, in part, of the greater vigour of the Western bishops, but still more of the absence of the seat of government from Rome. The Church was no longer the same isolated, distinct body, that it had been when the empire was heathen: and had it not been for the nucleus formed for it by the clergy, it might have been all dissipated in the midst of the half Christianized people that were around it. But the clergy were still a substantive, tangible body; and, irrespective of any ambition of their own, it was almost essential to the existence of the Church, that they should form themselves into that kind of close corporation, which had before embraced the whole society of Christians. Besides which, as their sacred character brought them respect even in the eyes of their tyrants, as they had a prescriptive right to hold private tribunals for the settlement of their private differences, as their sacred buildings had conceded to them the right of sanctuary possessed of old by heathen

temples; they had in their hands the power, not only of supporting religion, but also of evading, or at least limiting, both for themselves and their fellow Christians, the tyrannical domination of the emperor. The subject has been so clearly and liberally set forth by an accomplished writer of the day, that we may well use his own words. 'If it be right to condemn the fiscal tyranny of the Roman rulers, it can hardly be also right to condemn those sacerdotal claims, and those imperial concessions, by which the range of that tyranny was narrowed....The Church is arraigned as selfish and ambitious, because it formed itself into a vast clerical corporation, living under laws and usages peculiar to itself, and not acknowledging the jurisdiction of the temporal tribunals. That the Churchmen of the fourth century lived beneath a ruthless despotism no one attempts to deny. That they opposed to it the only barrier by which the imperial tyranny could, in that age, be arrested in its course, is equally indisputable. If they had been laymen they would have been celebrated as patriots by the very persons, who, because they were priests, have denounced them as usurpers. If the bishops of the fourth century had lived under the republic, they would have been illustrious as tribunes of the people. If the Gracchi had been contemporaries of Theodosius, their names would have taken the place which Ambrose and Martin of Tours at present hold in ecclesiastical history. A brave resistance to despotic authority has surely no less title to our sympathy, if it proceeds from the episcopal throne, than if it be made amidst the tumults of the forum¹.'

If this was true of the relation of the Church to the empire, it was certainly not less true as regards its condition under the several kingdoms which were formed by the Gothic barbarians out of the ruins of the empire. The feudal mo-

¹ *Lectures on the History of France*, by the Rt. Hon. Sir James Stephen, Vol. i. p. 33.

narchies, whether in their earlier condition or in their more matured and full-grown despotism, were amongst the most lawless, oppressive, and tyrannical forms of government that an unhappy people have ever groaned under. In those days when might was the only right, 'we may rejoice to know,' says the just cited authority, 'that the early Church was the one great antagonist of the wrongs which were then done upon the earth, that she narrowed the range of fiscal tyranny—that she mitigated the overwhelming poverty of the people—that she promoted the accumulation of capital—that she contributed to the restoration of agriculture—that she balanced and held in check the imperial despotism—that she revived within herself the remembrance and the use of the franchise of popular election—and that the gloomy portraits, which have been drawn of her internal or moral state, are the mere exaggerations of those, who would render the Church responsible for the crimes with which it is her office to contend, and for the miseries which it is her high commission effectually, though gradually, to relieve¹.'

The same may be said of much later times. The struggle between the crown and the clergy was, in fact, often a struggle of religion against lawlessness, avarice, licentiousness, and tyranny. The clergy were the guardians not only of the Church, but of the people; and one great secret of their increasing power was the conviction, even among their opponents, of the righteousness of their cause, and, among those whom they defended, of the blessings of their protection.

But there was one important element at work, which we have now to take into account. From the earliest times, the Bishop of Rome was the most important prelate in the West. His see was in the imperial city. It claimed the chief of the Apostles as its founder. The Apostolic sees were everywhere

¹ *Ibid.* p. 37.

respected ; and Rome was the only Church in Europe certainly Apostolic. So early as the third century, St. Cyprian had urged the priority of St. Peter, and the precedence of the Bishops of Rome, as an argument for the unity of the Church. To all Europe Rome was, on every account, a centre ; and the ambition of its prelates never ceased to turn such advantage to their own account. There were few Churches, which owed not some obligation to the Roman Church ; if not as founding, yet as strengthening and enlightening them. There were a thousand causes tending to give additional importance to the Popes. The emperors found it politic to court them. The patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch sought defence from them against the overwhelming power of Constantinople in the East. The kings of distant nations asked for missionaries from them, to instruct their people more perfectly in the Gospel. The removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, whilst it raised the see of that city to the position of eminence next to that of Rome, yet rather favoured the increase of the power of the latter. When there was an emperor at Rome, the Pope was controlled by a superior ; but when the emperor was at a distance, the Christian bishop became the most important person in the imperial city. By degrees a *primacy*, which might have been reasonable, became a *supremacy* which was pernicious. The whole constitution of Europe favoured such an arrangement. As all Europe looked to Rome as its civil centre, so Christian Europe looked to Rome as its ecclesiastical centre. Then, the power of the Pope was a happy counterpoise for the power of the sovereign. In the middle ages the barons owed fealty to their feudal suzerain ; and the bishops and clergy owed a spiritual fealty to their ecclesiastical head. The Church, as an united body, was disposed to look to one visible centre, one visible head. Evil as its consequences have been, still in these dark and troubled times such union and submission on the one hand, and a corresponding aid and protection on the other, may possibly have been the

means of keeping the Church from utter disintegration, by protecting it from that lawless and arbitrary feudalism, which might otherwise have swept away both Church and religion from the earth.

But the authority, thus fostered and matured, now overtopped all other authorities, and grew into a tyranny as intolerable, as that against which it once promised to be a bulwark. Like a dictatorship after a republic, it was more absolute than legitimate monarchy. The power of the Pope was not merely spiritual, but political¹. In the first place, the clergy were not esteemed as subjects of the crown, in the country in which they lived. The Pope was their virtual sovereign ; to him they owed a supreme allegiance. All causes concerning them were referred to spiritual tribunals, and there was a final appeal to the jurisdiction of Rome itself. Bishops felt the grievance of such a power, when the Pope at his pleasure exempted monasteries from their control, and claimed all benefices as of right vested in the supreme pontiff, and not held legally without his permission. But kings felt it still more, when a large portion of their subjects were withdrawn from their authority, when a large number of causes, under the name of ecclesiastical, were withdrawn from their courts ; when taxes were levied in the name of Peter's pence upon their kingdoms ; when their clergy and many of their people could be armed against them by a foreign influence ; and, worst of all, when the right was asserted of putting their whole country under an interdict, nay, even of either grant-

¹ Bellarmine calls it a heresy not to allow to the Pope power over sovereign princes in temporal affairs. And Baronius says, 'They are branded as heretics who take from the Church of Rome and the see of St. Peter one of the two swords, and allow only the spiritual.' This heresy Baronius calls the 'Heresy of the Politici.' Bellarmine. *De Rom. Pont.* v. 1 ; Baronius, Anno 1053, § 14 ; Anno 1073, § 13, quoted by Barrow, *On the Pope's Supremacy*, p. 17. Bellarmine states it as the general Catholic sentiment that popes have not *directly* temporal authority, but that *indirectly*, by virtue of their spiritual authority, they have temporal authority.

ing to them new kingdoms¹, or of deposing them from their thrones, and releasing their people from their oaths of allegiance².

The Reformation was a reaction from this state of things, as well as a throwing off of internal corruption of faith. It was viewed indeed by different persons, according to their respective feelings and interests. The prince desired it, for the sake of regaining his former, and more than his former authority. The nobles desired it, that they might fatten on the spoils of the Church. The reforming prelates and clergy desired it, that they might be freed from the power of Rome, and have liberty to order God's worship aright. The people desired it, that they might have freedom of conscience and purity of faith. As the fathers had hailed the conversion of an emperor, to free them from heathen tyranny; as clergy and people in the middle ages had sought a refuge at Rome from the exactions of their domestic oppressors; so now the reformers hoped that the throne would prove to them a protection from the tyranny of the Vatican. We must plead this in excuse for what is the foulest stain on the Reformation, namely, the undue servility of the ecclesiastical leaders of it to the vicious and tyrannical princes that sided with it.

In England, Henry, whose love for reformation was love only for his own power, passions, and interests, wished not to free religion from restraint, but to transfer to himself the power

¹ As Alexander III. gave Henry II. a grant of Ireland.

² As Gregory VII. did to the Emperor Henry IV. A. D. 1076; Alexander III. did to the Emperor Frederick I. A. D. 1168; Innocent III. did to the Emperor Otho IV. A. D. 1210; and to our own King John, A. D. 1212. Thomas Aquinas, the great school authority, lays it down as a principle, that the subjects of excommunicate princes are released from their allegiance. 'Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi a dominio et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt.'—Tom. II. Secund. qu. 12. Art. ii.; Barrow, *On the Pope's Supremacy*, p. 3.

formerly wielded by the Pope. And we may partly account for the opposition to reform among the commonalty, who had originally sighed for it, by remembering that they discovered now a prospect for themselves of the same tyranny here in England, which had heretofore been as distant as Rome. Their desire for a restoration to a simpler worship and a purer faith had been met by a rapacious seizing of those ecclesiastical revenues, from which so much benefit had ever been derived to the poor and to the oppressed; and by a transference of a power over their consciences from one, whom they did look up to as a Christian prelate, to an avaricious and bloodstained sovereign.

However, notwithstanding the difficulties of the case and the evil passions of some, the problem was working itself out. The Pope's power was happily abolished. Appeals to Rome were no longer legal. Ecclesiastical, as well as civil causes were heard in the king's name. The acts of Convocation, in the reforming of the doctrines and formularies, were sanctioned by the crown. The clergy were all made amenable to the civil tribunals, and became in fact subjects of the throne of England, not of the throne of St. Peter.

But in what sense had the king thus become the head or chief governor of the Church? The very principle of the Reformation may be said to have been, that there is no Supreme Head of Christ's Church, but Christ Himself. Yet, by the acts 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, and 35 Henry VIII. c. 3, the king is declared in express terms, 'the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England.' And in the following reign, the Article of 1552 is worded in accordance with such acts, 'The King of England is supreme head in earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland¹.'

¹ 'Rex Angliæ est supremum caput in terris, post Christum, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ.'

Many thoughtful men, not disinclined to the Reformation, were much offended at this apparent assumption of spiritual authority over Christ's flock by a temporal sovereign. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More went to the scaffold, rather than acknowledge it. But among those who submitted to the authority, there was a diversity of feeling as to the sense attached to it. Henry himself doubtless wished to be both pope and king. The Parliament probably accepted the title in no very definite signification; but rejoiced in any advance of the lay power to pre-eminence over the clergy. The Convocation thought it doubtfully consistent with their allegiance to God, and recognized the title only 'so far as by the law of Christ they could'.¹

What was the opinion of the leading divines of the Reformation on this subject, and especially of the archbishop, must be an interesting question. I have been surprised to find so little about it in the writings of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. Cranmer had evidently, at one time, a very extravagant notion of the sacredness of kings, as he had a very low view of the office of the ministry; so that he even ventured a statement that the royal power might make a priest². But this sentiment he afterwards entirely abandoned. We may remark then, that he ever constantly affirmed, that in all countries the king's power is the highest power under God, to whom all men by God's laws owe most loyalty and obedience; and that he hath power and charge over all, as well bishops and priests as others³. But the occasion on which he gave the fullest exposition of the meaning, which he and his fellows attached to the supremacy,

¹ 'Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani, cujus singularem protectorem et supremum Dominum, et, quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.'

² *Answers to Questions on the Sacraments*, A. D. 1540. See this subject considered under Article XXIII.

³ See Cranmer's *Works*, Vol. iv. Appendix, pp. 266, 308, 328, &c.

was in his examination before Brokes, just before his death. Then he declared, that 'every king in his own realm is supreme head, and therefore that the king of England is supreme head of the Church of Christ in England.' He admits that on this principle, 'Nero was Peter's head,' and 'head of the Church;' and that 'the Turk is head of the Church in Turkey¹.' 'After this Dr. Martin demanded of him, who was supreme head of the Church of England? Marry, quoth my Lord of Canterbury, Christ is head of this member, as He is of the whole body of the universal Church. Why, quoth Dr. Martin, you made King Henry the Eighth supreme head of the Church. Yea, said the Archbishop, of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. And not of the Church, said Martin. No, said he, for Christ is the only Head of His Church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible Church. What! quoth Martin, you never durst tell the king so. Yes, that I durst, quoth he, and did. In the publication of his style, wherein he was named supreme head of the Church, there was never other thing meant².'

Whether Cranmer durst or durst not tell the king thus, the king probably took it differently; and indeed it is pretty clear, that something more than the power of Nero or of 'the Turk,' over Christians in their dominions, was intended to be assigned to Christian kings over their Christian subjects. Whatever too was meant by the publication of the style, 'Supreme head of the Church,' it caused offence to many besides those who were sure to take offence. Accordingly, when the acts of Henry VIII. and Edw. VI. had been repealed by the Statute 1 Philip and Mary, c. 8, the title, 'Supreme head,' was never revived by authority, but was rejected by Elizabeth, and 'Su-

¹ *Works*, Vol. iv. p. 98.

² Cranmer's *Works*, Vol. iv. pp. 116, 117.

preme governor' substituted in its place¹. The Statute 1 Eliz. c. 1, is an 'act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same.' In this act all foreign jurisdiction is abolished, and the power of visiting and correcting ecclesiastical abuses is, by the authority of Parliament, annexed to the imperial crown of the realm. But the acts conferring the title of 'Head of the Church' (26 Henry VIII. c. 1, 35 Henry VIII. c. 3) are not revived, and thenceforward 'government' is substituted for 'headship'.

In Elizabeth's reign the authorized formularies explain, to a considerable extent, the meaning attached at that time to the authority in question. First comes this Article, the words of which should be carefully considered. It excludes all foreign domination, assigns to the sovereign the only supreme authority over all sorts of men, whether civil or ecclesiastical; but especially denies that sovereigns have any ministerial function in the Church, whether as regards the Sacraments or the word of God; but the power which they have is such as godly princes in Scripture had—'to rule all estates and degrees, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the *civil* sword the stubborn and evil-doers.'

The Injunctions of Elizabeth, to which the Article refers, enjoin all ecclesiastics to observe the laws made for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, and abolishing all foreign authority. The queen's power is declared to be 'the highest under God, to whom all men within

¹ Jewel mentions the Queen's refusal of the title of Head of the Church in a letter to Bullinger, May 22, 1559: 'The Queen is unwilling to be addressed, either by word of mouth, or in writing, as the Head of the Church of England. For she seriously maintains that this honour is due to Christ alone, and cannot belong to any human being whatever.'—Collier, *Church History*, pt. II. Bk. vi.

² See a very learned pamphlet entitled *The Papal Brief Considered*, by Ralph Barnes, Esq. Rivingtons, 1850. Note, page 90.

the same realms and dominions by God's law owe most loyalty and obedience¹.'

In the reign of James I. the Convocation agreed on the Canons of 1603. The second canon expressly affirms, that the 'king's majesty hath the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly kings had among the Jews, and Christian emperors of the primitive Church;' and both the first and second canon speak of the laws, as having 'restored to the crown of this kingdom the *ancient* jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical.' The xxxvth Canon contains three articles, which are subscribed by all ministers at their ordination. The first is, I. 'That the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.'

These documents then, which at present form the charter of union between Church and State, evidently assign to the sovereign no *new* functions. The principle enunciated by them is, that the sovereign is entitled to those ancient privileges, which belonged, 1 to devout princes in Scripture, 2 to Christian emperors in primitive times, 3 to the ancient sovereigns of England before the times of Papal domination. The very reference to Scriptural and primitive examples seems to be a demonstration of the justice of the claims; for, if nothing is claimed beyond what Scripture warrants and the Catholic fathers allowed, the claim should seem to be both Scriptural and Catholic. Yet some important objections may be urged, which we must not neglect to consider.

¹ Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, p. 67. See also p. 83.

1 It is said that 'godly princes in Scripture' must mean 'godly kings among the Jews.' Now the Jewish dispensation was utterly dissimilar from the Christian; for the Jewish Church was national, the Christian Church is not national, but Catholic. Hence naturally among the Jews the king, as head of the nation, was supreme over the Church. But the Catholic Church acknowledges no local distinctions; and to assign a national supremacy is to rend the Church of Christ into separate societies. Kings, as well as others, are but members of the one spiritual body, which meddles not with temporal distinctions, but holds all alike as subjects and servants of Christ.

To this we reply, that our kings, since at least the time of Elizabeth, have not an authority, such as should separate one portion of the Church from the other. It is not our national distinctions, but our doctrinal differences, which divide us from our fellow Christians. Our sovereigns claim only those powers, which were exercised by their predecessors, in times which Romanists must acknowledge to have been Catholic, but before the full-grown authority of the See of Rome. Gregory VII. was the original founder of that great authority, and it culminated under Innocent III. But we see not that the Church was less Catholic in the days of Alfred and Edward the Confessor, than in the reigns of the Plantagenets. If then we concede to our princes the influence of the Saxon monarchs, we shall not have destroyed the Catholicity of the Church, more than it was destroyed centuries before the Reformation.

2 It is said again, that the Jewish princes can be no examples for us; because, from the theocratic nature of the Jewish kingdom, there was a sacredness attaching to their office, as that of God's special vicegerents, which cannot attach to ordinary rulers. Israel, as a theocracy, was a type of the Church; and its kings were types of Christ. As the high priests foreshadowed His priestly office in His Church, so the kings foreshadowed His regal authority over His spiritual king-

dom. But there is no vicegerent of Christ on earth ; no type now of His spiritual sovereignty. Hence earthly kings now cannot claim the position and privileges of the ancient Jewish kings.

This is doubtless a very weighty argument, and is a just reply to some who would unduly magnify the royal authority in things ecclesiastical. But it has been observed in a former Article¹, that the Jewish state may be considered in some respects as a model republic ; and that, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances and special object of its institution, we may still derive lessons of political wisdom from the ordinances appointed by the Allwise for the government of His own chosen race. Now, in that government, He was pleased to conjoin the spiritual and secular elements, in such a manner that the king was to shew a fatherly care for religion, yet not to intrude upon its sacred offices (see 1 Sam. xiii. 8—14 ; 2 Chron. xix. 11, &c.) ; and we may humbly conclude that what was ordained by heavenly wisdom then, cannot be wholly evil now². Besides which, we see throughout Scripture, that there is a sacredness in civil government. Kings are always said to hold their power of God, and to be especially under His protection and guidance. They are His ministers for good ; and therefore to be esteemed by God's people, as exercising in some degree God's authority (see Prov. viii. 15 ; Dan. ii. 21, 37 ; Rom. xiii. 1—5 ; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17 ; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, &c.³).

¹ Art. VII. See Vol. i. p. 281.

² The way in which kings and rulers among the Jews interfered in the affairs of religion may be seen from the following passages: Josh. xxiv. 25, 26 ; 1 Chron. xv. 12 ; xxiii. 6 ; 2 Chron. viii. 14, 15 ; xv. 8, 9 ; xvii. 9 ; xx. 3, 4 ; xxix. 3—5, 25 ; xxxiv. 31, 32.

³ Rom. xiii. 1: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.' Archbishop Laud thus sums up the consent of the ancient fathers, that '*omnis anima, every soul*, comprehends all without exception, all spiritual men, even the highest bishop: *Πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάττεται, καὶ ὑπεῖται*. Omnibus ista imperantur et sacerdotibus et monachis Et

3 Another objection to the precedents claimed by the English monarchs is, that the influence of the Christian emperors, and the connexion of religion with the state, which sprang up after the time of Constantine, were the very origin of evil and corruption in the Church. It was an unhallowed alliance between the Church and the world, and never had God's blessing on it.

It perhaps cannot be denied, that the sunshine of worldly prosperity has never been the most favourable condition for the developement of Christian graces. When the Church could no longer say, 'Silver and gold have I none,' it could no longer command the impotent man to 'arise and walk.' Yet we cannot thence conclude, that the Church is ever to seek persecution, or to refuse such vantage ground as God's providence permits it to stand upon. To court or fawn upon the great is indeed most earnestly to be shunned. The minister of God must reason before the governor, of 'righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come;' and, if possible, make the ungodly ruler 'tremble,' as much as the meanest of the people. Yet St. Paul rejoiced to gain converts in Cæsar's household (Phil. i. 13, iv. 22). And as there seems no more probable way to Christianize a people than to Christianize their rulers, it is obviously desirable that the government of a country should be induced to support religion in it. And again, on the other hand, it is the plain duty of sovereigns and constituted authorities to main-

postea: Etiam si Apostolus sis, si evangelista, si propheta, sive quisquis tandem fueris.—St. Chrysost. Hom. xxiii. in *Rom.* Sive est sacerdos, sive antistes.—Theodoret. in *Rom.* xiii. Si omnis anima est vestra. Quis vos excipit ex universitate? Ipsi sunt qui vobis dicere solent, servatis vestræ sedis honorem. . . . Sed Christus aliter et jussit et gessit, &c.—S. Bernard. Epist. 42 ad *Henricum Senonensem Archiepiscopum*. Et Theophylact. in *Rom.* xiii., where it is very observable that Theophylact lived in the time of Pope Gregory VII., and St. Bernard after it; and yet this truth obtained then: and this was about the year 1120.'—Laud, *Conference with Fisher*, p. 170, note. Oxford, 1839.

tain true religion in the land. Nations and rulers are as much responsible to God's judgment as private individuals. Scripture condemns ungodly rulers and ungodly nations, as much as ungodly individuals; and praise is given to such sovereigns as fear God and honour His name. (See Psalm ii. 10; Jer. xviii. 7—10; Jonah *passim*). National as well as individual mercies and judgments come from Him. Now, nations and their rulers can only shew their piety to God in a public and national manner, by maintaining true religion and the public service of religion. Moreover, it was prophesied concerning the Christian Church, that 'kings should be her nursing fathers and queens her nursing mothers' (Isai. xlix. 23); and it is difficult to know how they can be nurses to the Church, if it be forbidden her to have any connexion with them¹.

¹ The Eastern Church admits the supremacy of the Crown probably in a more unrestricted sense than the Anglican Church. Yet they maintain the sole spiritual Headship of Jesus Christ, as opposed to the supremacy of the Pope.

'In 1590 certain prelates of the Russian Church joined the Roman communion on some concessions being made to them. Thus Rome raised the *Unia*; and it continued nearly 250 years. At the first partition of Poland between two and three million uniats returned to the Eastern Church; and in 1839 the remaining Russian uniats were received into the unity of the Eastern Church, the only act of profession required being that "Our Lord Jesus Christ is the only true Head of the one true Church."—Neale's *History of the Eastern Church*, Vol. i. pp. 56, 57.

'In 1833 a Synod met at Nauplia for the regeneration of the Greek Church. The two following propositions were approved by thirty-six prelates:—

'1 The Eastern Orthodox and Apostolic Church of Greece, which spiritually owns no head but the Head of the Christian Faith, Jesus Christ our Lord, is dependent on no external authority, while she preserves unshaken dogmatic unity with all the Eastern orthodox churches . . . with respect to the administration of the Church, which belongs to the Crown, she acknowledges the King of Greece to be her supreme head as is in nothing contrary to the holy Canons.

'2 A permanent synod shall be established, consisting entirely of archbishops and bishops appointed by the king to be the highest ecclesiastical authority, after the model of the Russian Church.—*Ibid.* p. 60.

If we once admit the propriety of a connexion between the Church and the state, and at the same time deny the supremacy of the Pope, it seems almost to follow of necessity that we should admit a supremacy of the sovereign. The sovereign must in that case hold some position in the Church; and it can only be the highest. It is not consistent with his sovereignty, that he should have a superior in his own kingdom. But, in considering the sovereign as chief ruler over all persons and in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, we must remember one or two particulars. 'It may be that two or three of our princes at the most (the greater part whereof were Roman Catholics) did style themselves, or gave others leave to style them, "the Heads of the Church within their dominions." But no man can be so simple as to conceive that they intended a spiritual headship—to infuse the life and motion of grace into the hearts of the faithful; such an Head is Christ alone; no, nor yet an ecclesiastical headship. We did never believe that our kings, in their own persons, could exercise any act pertaining either to order or jurisdiction; nothing can give that to another which it hath not itself. They meant only a civil or political head, as Saul is called "the head of the tribes of Israel;" to see that public peace is preserved; to see that all subjects, as well ecclesiastics as others, do their duties in their several places; to see that all things be managed for that great and architectonical end, that is, the weal and benefit of the whole body politic, both for soul and body¹.

The sovereign 'assumes not the office of teaching or of explaining the doubtful points of the law, nor of preaching or of ministering Sacraments, of consecrating persons or things, of exercising the power of the keys, or of ecclesiastical censures. In short, he undertakes not anything which belongs to the

¹ Archbishop Bramhall, *Answer to M. de Milletière, Works*, Vol. I. pp. 29, 30.

office of the ministers of Christ. But in matters of external polity he claims the right of legislating; and we gladly give it him. The care of religion is an affair of the sovereign and the nation, not merely of the clergy¹.

Again, the supremacy of the crown must not (according to our constitution in Church and state) be considered as an arbitrary and unlimited supremacy. Everything in England is limited by law; and nothing more than the power of the sovereign. In matters of state, the power of the crown is limited by the two houses of Parliament; in the affairs of the Church, it is limited also by the two houses of Convocation. Legally and constitutionally, the sovereign, or the sovereign's government, can do nothing concerning the state of the Church, her doctrine and discipline, without first consulting the clergy in Convocation, and the laity in Parliament; so that, when we acknowledge the supremacy of the crown, we do not put our consciences under the arbitrary guidance of the sovereign or the ministry; for we know, that legally nothing can be imposed upon us, but what has received the consent of our clergy and laity, as represented respectively.

Indeed, of late, no small difficulty has arisen. The supremacy of the crown is now wielded, not by the sovereign personally, but by the minister; that minister is the choice of the House of Commons; that House of Commons is elected by the three kingdoms; and, in two out of those three kingdoms, the

¹ The words are those of Bishop Andrewes, selected by James I. to defend his supremacy against Bellarmine. 'Docendi munus vel dubia legis explicandi non assumit, vel conciones habendi, vel rei sacræ præeundi, vel sacramenta celebrandi; non vel personas sacrandi vel res; non vel clavium jus, vel censuræ. Verbo dicam, nihil illi sibi, nihil nos illi fas putamus attingere, quæ ad sacerdotale munus spectant, seu potestatem ordinis consequuntur. Procul hæc habet Rex; procul a se abdicat.

'Atqui in his quæ exterioris politiæ sunt, ut præcipiat, suo sibi jure vendicat; suosque adeo illi lubentes merito deferimus. Religionis enim curam rem regiam esse, non modo pontificiam,' &c.—Andrewes, *Tortura Torti*, p. 380.

vast majority of electors are not members of the Church of this kingdom of England. In short, the supremacy of the crown has insensibly passed, or at least is rapidly passing, into a virtual supremacy of Parliament. This unhappily is not a supremacy of the laity of the Church of England; because Parliament is composed of representatives from England, Ireland, and Scotland; and in the two last the majority are Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. This difficulty existed not at the period of the Reformation; but is steadily increasing on us at present. Up to the time of the Reformation the whole nation was of one faith, and united as one Church. The Reformation did not introduce a new faith, but restored purity to the old, and removed the abuses which time had permitted. It was the work of prince, prelates, and people; and the Church, which had from the beginning been protected by the state, was protected by it still¹.

It has been reasonably thought, that the supremacy of the Pope, which was suffered before the Reformation, was (to use a term growing into use) the extreme *expression* for the superiority of the clergy and their dominance over the laity; whereas the supremacy of the crown was the counter expression for the independence and power of the laity.

The same principle only would be expressed by the supremacy of Parliament, and so of the minister; if Parliament represented only the laity of the English Church. But, as at present constituted, it in part represents, not only the laity, but the clergy also of other communions, which we must, alas! almost call hostile to us.

¹ The remarks in the text are abundant answer to the cavil, that the Church of England is an Act of Parliament Church. At the time of the Reformation, and at the various reviews of our Services, the Church was, to a very great extent, truly represented as to its clergy in Convocation, as to its laity in Parliament. The acts of Convocation and Parliament, ratified by the Crown, were therefore the true acts of the Church of England, king, priests and people.

It is utterly vain to speculate on the future. We cannot question that the relation between Church and state is now widely different from that which once existed, and that it is fraught with new dangers. Yet perhaps it may also bring new advantages. And the Rock of the Church still stands unshaken; and shall for ever stand. There is our hope; not on the favour of princes, nor of multitudes of the people. Nor need our fear be of their frown. Our real danger is, lest the lukewarmness of the Church lead to Erastian indifference, or her zeal degenerate into impatience, faction, or intemperance.

SECTION II.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE BISHOP OF ROME.

THIS is a most extensive subject, and of primary importance in the controversy between the Churches of Rome and England. For if once the supreme authority of the Roman Patriarch is conceded; all other Roman doctrines seem to follow as of course. And so it will probably be found, that all converts to the Roman Church have been led to it from a conviction of the necessity of being in communion with the Supreme Pontiff, not from persuasion of the truth of particular dogmas.

The grounds, on which the claim rests, are as follows: I. That St. Peter had a supremacy given him over the universal Church. II. That St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. III. That this supremacy is inherited by his successors; those successors being the Bishops of Rome.

I. It is said, that St. Peter had a supremacy given him over the rest of the Apostles, and over the universal Church.

1 We may readily admit that St. Peter had a certain priority among his brother Apostles assigned to him by our blessed Lord.

It is constantly the case that, in a company of equals, one from greater age, greater energy and zeal, greater ability, or greater moral goodness, takes a lead, and acquires a superiority. This may have been the case with St. Peter. Our Lord certainly appears to have honoured him and St. John, and St. James, with His peculiar love and favour. And, both during our Lord's ministry and after His resurrection, St. Peter appears to have been signally forward in the service of Christ. The fathers observe much this quickness, boldness, activity and

energy of St. Peter; which naturally brought him into the foremost position, and also qualified him to take the lead among the disciples¹.

Accordingly, a kind of priority of position or rank was apparently conceded by the other Apostles to St. Peter. This is what St. Augustine observes, that 'St. Peter being the first in the order of the Apostles, the most fervent in the love of Christ, often alone answers for the rest².' The fathers account for this on the grounds; 1 that he was the first called of the Apostles³; 2 that he was the eldest; for which cause St. Jerome supposed that he was preferred to St. John, lest a youth should take precedence of an elderly man⁴; 3 that he outstripped his brethren in a ready confession of faith in Christ⁵. So, St. Peter's name is ever first in the catalogue; and he seems to take the lead in speaking and writing.

2 But this priority of order involved not a primacy of power, or pre-eminence of jurisdiction.

(1) If it had done so, we should have found some commission of this kind given to him in Scripture. There is plain enough commission to the Apostleship; but none to a hyper-apostleship, nor any mention of the existence of such an office in the history of the Gospels and Acts, or in the Epistles of the Apostles. (2) There is no title of pre-eminence given to St. Peter, such as Vicar of Christ, Sovereign Pontiff, or Arch-apostle. (3) There was no office known to the Apostles or the primitive

¹ θερμότερος τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν Χριστοῦ.—Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 34. Tom. i. p. 549. Colon. See several passages to a like effect in Barrow, *On the Pope's Supremacy*, pp. 30, 31.

² Ipse enim Petrus in Apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus.—August. *De Verbis Evangelii*, Matt. xiv. Sermon. 76, Tom. v. p. 415.

³ 'Quem primum Dominus elegit.'—Cypr. *Ep.* 71.

⁴ Hier. in *Jovin.* i. 14; *Ibid.*

⁵ 'Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione gloriam promeruit.'—Hilar. *de Trin.* Lib. vi.

Church higher than that of Apostleship. This; St. Chrysostom tells us, is 'the greatest authority, the very summit of authorities'. (4) Our Lord distinctly declared against any such superiority; and said that, if any of the Apostles coveted it, he should be counted least of all (Matt. xx. 27, xxiii. 8; Mark ix. 34, 35, x. 44; Luke ix. 46, xxii. 14, 24, 26). (5) St. Peter, in his Epistles, claims no peculiar authority (see 1 Pet. v. 1; 2 Pet. iii. 2); and in the history, there is no appearance of his taking it. The appeal in Acts xv. is not to St. Peter, but to the Apostles and elders: and the decree runs in their names ver. 22. If any one presided there, it was not he, but St. James. Nay! the other Apostles took upon themselves to send Peter and John into Samaria (Acts viii. 14); and 'he that is sent is not greater than he that sends him' (John xiii. 16). (6) If St. Peter had been the visible head of the Church, those who were of Paul or of Apollos might indeed have been factious; but St. Paul as severely reproveth for a schismatical spirit those who say, 'I am of Cephas' (1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 21). (7) The complete independence of the Apostles in all their proceedings, in their missionary journeys, their founding of Churches, &c. all shews the same thing (see 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15, ix. 2; Gal. iv. 19, &c.) (8) St. Paul's conduct especially proves that he owned no dependence on St. Peter, nor subjection to him. He declares himself, 'in nothing behind the very chiefest Apostles' (2 Cor. xii. 11). On his conversion, he took no counsel with men, not even with the Apostles (Gal. i. 16, 17); but acted on his independent commission derived direct from Christ (Gal. i. 1). James, Cephas and John, gave him the right hand of fellowship, as their equal and co-Apostle (Gal. ii. 9). He hesitated not to 'withstand St. Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed' (Gal. ii. 11). And St. Chrysostom observes, that in all this, St. Paul 'shewed himself

¹ ἀρχὴ μεγίστη . . . κορυφὴ τῶν ἀρχῶν.—Chrys. Tom. viii. p. 114.

equal to St. Peter, St. John and St. James, even to their leader himself; and proved that each had obtained the same dignity and importance¹.

Lastly, all these arguments from Scripture, against a supreme authority of St. Peter over the rest of the Apostles, are fully borne out by the statements of the fathers, who, though they speak much of the high honour of the former, yet declare that the other Apostles were all equal and co-ordinate with him in power and authority. Thus St. Cyprian: 'The other Apostles were what Peter was, endowed with an equal share of honour and power; but the beginning proceeds from unity, that the Church might be shewn to be one².' 'His was,' says St. Ambrose, 'a precedence of confession, not of honour; of faith, not of order³.' St. Jerome says that, though the Church were founded on St. Peter, yet it was equally on the other Apostles⁴. So Isidore: 'The other Apostles received equal share of honour and power with St. Peter, and dispersed throughout the world preached the Gospel; to whom, on their departure, succeeded the bishops, who are constituted through the world in the sees of the Apostles⁵.'

Let us now, on the other side, consider those passages of

¹ δεικνυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμότιμον ὄντα λοιπὸν, καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνει, δεικνύς ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἑκαστος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας.—Chrys. in *Gal.* ii. 8.

² 'Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis; sed exordium ab unitate proficitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur.'—Cyp. *De Unit. Eccles.* p. 107.

³ 'Primatum confessionis utique, non honoris; primatum fidei non ordinis.'—Lib. *de Incarn.* T. iv.

⁴ 'At dicis super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, licet id ipsum alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur.'—Hier. in *Jovin.* i. 14.

⁵ 'Cæteri Apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris et potestatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe dispersi evangelium prædicaverunt, quibusque decedentibus successerunt episcopi, qui sunt constituti per totum mundum in sedibus Apostolorum.'—Isidor. *Hispal. De Offic. Lib.* ii. c. 5.

Scripture, on which it is contended, that a distinct supremacy over the universal Church was granted to St. Peter.

1 The first is Matt. xvi. 18: 'I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Here, say the Roman divines, St. Peter is called the foundation of the Church; and foundation implies government and superiority.

It is observable, that our Lord called St. Peter Πέτρος, in the masculine, which properly signifies *a stone*, or *fragment of a rock*; and that He said He would build His Church, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, using the feminine noun, which more expressly denotes *an entire rock*. This has led many commentators, ancient and modern, to believe that the Rock, on which the Church should be built, was not St. Peter; since, in that case, the Lord would have used the masculine word πέτρῳ¹.

Accordingly, a large number of the fathers were of opinion that the Rock, on which the Church was to be built, was either Christ Himself, or, which is much the same thing, the faith of Christ thus confessed by St. Peter. Thus St. Chrysostom interprets 'On this rock,' by 'On the faith of this confession².' So St. Augustine says that our Lord meant, 'On this Rock, which thou hast confessed, will I build My Church³.' And, in his *Retractations*, he tells us that he had formerly interpreted

¹ It is thought that the Syriac version refutes this opinion; since our Lord spoke Syriac, and in that version the words are the same, both being ܐܦܬܐ. It is, however, justly observed by Bp. Beveridge on this Article, that the second ܐܦܬܐ, where it means *a rock*, is shewn to be feminine, by the use of the feminine pronoun ܐܝܬܐ; whereas the first must be masculine, since it is a man's name. Hence the difference between Πέτρος and Πέτρα is not quite lost in the Syriac; though that language does not admit of the same changes of termination as the Greek has.

² ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ . . . τουτέστι ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας.—Hom. lvi. in Matt. xvi.

³ 'Super hanc Petram, quam confessus es, ædificabo ecclesiam meam.'—August. in Johan. tr. 124, Tom. iii. par. ii. p. 822, and *De Verbo Evangelii*, Matt. xiv; Sermon. 76, Tom. v. p. 415.

the passage of St. Peter, but that he afterwards thought it more correct to understand it of Him whom St. Peter confessed. *Non enim dictum est illi, Tu es Petra, sed Tu es Petrus. Petra enim est Christus, quem confessus Simon, sicut tota ecclesia confitetur, dictus est Petrus.* Yet he leaves to the reader to choose, which is the more probable interpretation¹. In like manner St. Ambrose had said, that, not Peter, but the faith of Peter, was the foundation of the Church²; and in another place the same father writes, that ‘the Rock is Christ, who granted to His disciple that he should be called *Petrus*, as having from the Rock the solidity of constancy and firmness of faith³’.

To the same effect write Hilary⁴, Cyril of Alexandria⁵, Basil of Seleucia⁶, Theodoret⁷, Isidore of Pelusium⁸, Theophylact⁹, and others.

On the other hand, no doubt, a great many of the ancients understood Peter himself to be the rock. Tertullian is the first who so applies the passage: but we shall see hereafter, that he understood no supremacy to be implied in it, and certainly did not consider it to be transmitted to the Bishop of Rome¹⁰. Origen too applies it to St. Peter, but evidently understood all the other Apostles to have a similar promise¹¹.

¹ *Retractat.* i. 21, Tom. i. p. 32.

² ‘Fides ergo est Ecclesiæ fundamentum. Non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt, sed confessio vincit infernum.’—Ambros. *De Incarnat. Domin. Sacrament.* c. 5.

³ ‘Petra est Christus; qui etiam discipulo suo hujus vocabuli gratiam non negavit, ut et ipse sit Petrus, quod de Petra habeat soliditatem constantiæ, fidei firmitatem.’—Ambros. Lib. vi. in *Evangel. Lucæ*.

⁴ ‘Super hanc confessionis Petram Ecclesiæ ædificatio est.’—Hil. *De Trin.* Lib. vi.

⁵ *In cap. xlii. Jesaiæ*, p. 598; *Id. Dial. iv. De SS. Trinit.* p. 507.

⁶ *Orat.* xxv. p. 142.

⁷ *Epist.* 77.

⁸ *Epist.* 235, Lib. i.

⁹ *In Matt.* xvi. 18.

¹⁰ *De Pudicit.* c. 21; *De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 22.

¹¹ *ei δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕνα ἐκείνον Πέτρον νομίζεις οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τὶ ἂν φήσais περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκάστου τῶν Ἀποστόλων.*—Origen. in *Matt.* Tom. xii. 11.

Nay! he declares that every disciple of Christ is a rock, as having drunk from the Spiritual Rock; and on every such rock as this the word of the Church is founded¹. Next comes St. Cyprian, who also calls St. Peter the rock; and he says: 'Though He committed an equal power to all the Apostles, saying, *As My Father hath sent Me, so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost; Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto him; and whose soever sins ye retain, they shall be retained*; yet that He might manifest unity, He disposed by His authority the origin of that unity, so that it might take its rise from one. The rest of the Apostles indeed were what Peter was; endowed with an equal share of honour and power; but the beginning proceeds from unity, that the Church may be shewn to be but one².'

So Gregory Nazianzen³, Epiphanius⁴, Basil the Great⁵, Jerome⁶, and others understand, that St. Peter was the rock.

But, supposing this latter to be the true interpretation, does it follow thence that St. Peter had a supreme government over the other Apostles? Foundation does not, of necessity, imply government. Our Lord may have promised to St. Peter that he should be the first to found His Church; which was fulfilled on the great day of Pentecost, when St. Peter's noted

¹ Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς, ἀφ' οὗ ἐπίσιν οἱ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, κ. τ. λ.—*Ibid.*

² 'Super unum ædificat ecclesiam suam. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat et dicat; *Sicut misit Me Pater, et Ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum; si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur illis, si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur*: tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejus originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis; sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut una ecclesia monstretur.'—Cypr. *De Unitate*, p. 106. Fell.

³ *Orat.* xxvi. Tom. i. p. 413.

⁴ *Hæres.* lxx. Tom. i. p. 500.

⁵ *In Cap.* ii. *Jesaja*, Tom. ii. p. 869.

⁶ Hieronym. *ad Marcellam adv. Montanum*, Epist. 54.

sermon brought the first-fruits of the Church of Christ¹. But the fathers say, that the other Apostles were rocks as well as St. Peter, and that the Church was built on them also². The fathers, in no instance, suppose the other Apostles to have any dependence on, or subjection to St. Peter; and Dr. Barrow justly observes, that the Apostleship itself could not be built on St. Peter, for that had been founded by Christ Himself before this promise was given; and hence the Apostles were all clearly independent of St. Peter, and therefore their successors, the bishops, must be independent of his successors³. A passage so doubtful in its interpretation can never be sufficient to the purpose for which it is adduced; especially seeing that none of the most ancient fathers, however they may interpret it, have discovered in it that supremacy of St. Peter which has since been asserted. If St. Peter be called a rock and a foundation; still all the Apostles were foundations as well as he. 'In the twelve foundations of the city are the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb' (Rev. xxi. 14). It is 'built on the foundation of Apostles and prophets' (Ephes. ii. 20). In the highest sense, which indeed points out supremacy, 'other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. iii. 11). And, as St. Ambrose says that the Apostle was a rock, as deriving firmness from the Rock; so the Apostles were foundations, as themselves built on the One Foundation; and their qualification, as rocks or as foundations, they received, not from Peter, but from Christ.

2 The next argument for St. Peter's supremacy is the

¹ 'Petrus dicitur, eo quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit.'—Pseudo Ambros. *de Sanctis*, Sermon. 2.

² See Origen, as above. So Jerome: 'Dicis super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos.'—Hieron. *in Jovin.* i. 14. So Basil. M.: ἐκκλησία φκοδόμηται ἐπὶ τῇ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ἐν τῶν ὁρίων ἦν καὶ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ Πέτρος ἐπηγγέλατο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—Basil. *in Isai.* ii. p. 869.

³ Barrow, *Supremacy*, p. 62.

verse immediately following the last ; viz. ‘ And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ’ (Matt. xvi. 19). Here it is said, that the power of the keys was given to St. Peter alone, and that the rest of the Church therefore derives that power through him.

We may admit, that the promise being first given to St. Peter was a mark of special honour to him. But the same power was conferred upon the *Church* as a body ; to which our Lord said, ‘ Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ’ (Matt. xviii. 18). And again, after the resurrection, the same power was given to all the Apostles, when the risen Saviour ‘ breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost ; whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained ’ (John xx. 22). It is evident, therefore, that neither the Church nor the Apostles received this power through St. Peter, but directly from Christ Himself : and though the *promise* was first to St. Peter, yet the *gift* appears to have been simultaneous to all. So then, though St. Peter is honoured by a priority, the whole College of the Apostles is endowed with an equality of power.

The fathers unanimously consent to this view of the case. ‘ Are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given to St. Peter alone, and shall not all the saints receive them ? And if this be common, how are not all the things common which were spoken to St. Peter ? ’ So writes Origen¹. And St. Cyprian, ‘ Christ, after His resurrection, gave an equal power to all His Apostles, and said, *As the Father hath sent Me, so send I you. Receive ye*

¹ Ἄρα οὖν τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ δίδονται ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται ; εἰ δὲ κοινὸν ἔστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους τὸ δῶσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τὰ τε προσηγμένα καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα.—Origen. in Matt. Tom. XII. 11.

*the Holy Ghost : whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained*¹. 'On all,' says St. Jerome, 'the strength of the Church is equally founded. You will say, the Church is founded on Peter ; but in another place this is said to be on all the Apostles ; and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven'. St. Ambrose, 'What is said to Peter, is said to all'. St. Augustine, 'Did Peter receive the keys, and not Paul? Peter, and not John and James and the rest of the Apostles?' Theophylact, 'Though it be spoken to Peter alone, *I will give thee*, yet it is given to all the Apostles. When? Why, when He said, *Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted*'. And so St. Leo, himself a famous Bishop of Rome, says, that 'This power of the keys is translated to all Apostles and bishops. It was commended singly to St. Peter, because the example of St. Peter was propounded to all pastors of the Church'.

¹ 'Christus Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuit et dicit: Sicut misit me Pater, et Ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum S. Si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur ei, si cui retinueritis, tenebuntur.'—Cyprian. *De Unitate*, p. 107. Fell.

² 'Super omnes ex æquo Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur. Dices, super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves cœlorum accipiunt.'—Hieron. c. *Jovinian*. Lib. i. c. 26.

³ 'Quod Petro dicitur, cæteris Apostolis dicitur.'—Ambros. in *Ps.* xxxviii.

⁴ 'Numquid istas claves accepit Petrus, et Paulus non accepit? Petrus accepit, et Joannes, et Jacobus non accepit, et cæteri apostoli.'—August. *Serm. cxliv.* Tom. v. p. 704.

So, again, 'Ecclesia quæ fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit, i. e. potestatem ligandi, solvendique peccata.'—August. *Tract.* 124, in *Joh.* Tom. iii. par. ii. p. 822.

⁵ *Ἐἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι ἀποστόλοις δεδοται πότε; ὅτε εἶπεν ἂν τινῶν ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀφίενται.*—Theophyl. in *loc.*

⁶ 'Hæc clavium potestas ad omnes etiam apostolos et Ecclesiæ præsules est translata. Quod autem sigillatim Petro sit commendata, ideo factum est, quod Petri exemplum universis Ecclesiæ pastoribus fuit propositum.'—Leo I. *Serm. de Nativ.*

Some indeed considered that the whole Church received the keys with St. Peter. St. Peter they esteemed as a kind of figure of the Church, and an emblem of its unity; and so that all received the power, even when it was ostensibly given to but one¹.

And if, notwithstanding this testimony of the fathers, we still esteem some special authority to be implied in the promise; we can only understand it of his being appointed to be the first, who, by preaching of the word and admitting converts to baptism, should unlock the gates of the kingdom, and open them to believers. 'So,' says Tertullian, 'the event teaches. The Church was built on him, *i. e.* by him. He first put in the key, when he said, *Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, &c.* Acts ii. 22. He first opened the entrance to the kingdom of heaven by baptism, whereby the sins were loosed by which they had been bound; and he too bound Ananias with the bond of death²,' &c.

3 The last argument of any weight, for St. Peter's supremacy, is the command, 'Feed my sheep' (John xxi. 16).

This, however, is an injunction and command, not the bestowal of a privilege. Dr. Barrow has observed, that, as well might the elders of Ephesus, whom St. Paul exhorts to 'feed the Church of God' (Acts xx. 28), have esteemed, that St.

¹ 'In typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit potestatem.'—August. *de Bapt.* iii. 17. Tom. ix. p. 117.

'Quando ei dictum est, *Tibi dabo claves . . . universam significavit ecclesiam.*'—*Tract.* 124 in *Johan.* Tom. iii. part. ii. p. 822.

'Ecclesie claves regni celorum datæ sunt, cum Petro datæ sunt.'—*De Agone Christi*, 30, Tom. vi. p. 260.

² 'Sic enim et exitus docet. In ipso Ecclesia extructa est, id est, per ipsum: ipse clavem imbut; vides quam—*Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico; Jesum Nazarenum, virum a Deo destinatum* et reliqua. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reseravit aditum cœlestis regni, quo solvuntur alligata retro delicta, et alligantur quæ non fuerint soluta secundum veram salutem, et Ananiam vinxit vinculo mortis.'—Tertull. *De Pudicitia*, c. 21.

Paul thereby constituted each of them an universal governor of the Church, as St. Peter, that he was made by this command an universal bishop. And so the fathers understood, that what was here enjoined on St. Peter was equally enjoined on all pastors. 'When it is said to Peter, it is said to all,' says St. Augustine¹. 'These sheep and this flock,' says St. Ambrose, 'not only St. Peter did then receive, but all we pastors received with him?' And so St. Cyprian, 'All of them were shepherds; but the flock was shewn to be one, which was fed by all the Apostles, with unanimous consent².' The command, too, is to feed the flock, not to feed the shepherds. Hence, whatever authority may be supposed to be given over the people by these words, plainly none is given over the other Apostles. Every pastor is, in some sense, a pastor of the whole flock of Christ; the Church of God is committed unto him. But every pastor has not therefore authority over his brethren, neither can it be shewn that, in thus committing a duty to St. Peter, as regards the laity, our blessed Lord assigned him a supremacy over the clergy.

The most then that can be fairly made of the case is, that St. Peter had a priority of honour among the Apostles; that he was *primus inter pares*. More than this our Lord did not bestow on him; more the Apostles did not concede to him; more the earliest fathers never assigned to him; and especially, more he never claimed or exercised himself. Eusebius quotes, from Clement of Alexandria, a passage markedly illustrative of all these statements. 'Peter and James and John,' says he, 'after the ascension of the Saviour, contended not for glory,'

¹ 'Cum ei dicitur, ad omnes dicitur, *Amas me? Pascere oves meas.*'—August. *De Agone Christi*, 30, Tom. vi. p. 260.

² 'Quas oves et quem gregem non solum tum B. suscepit Petrus, sed et cum eo nos suscepimus omnes.'—Ambros. *De Dignitat. Sacerd.* 2.

³ 'Pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascitur.'—Cypr. *De Unitate Eccles.*

as having been most highly honoured by the Lord, but chose James the Just to be Bishop of Jerusalem¹. The writer of this passage could not have believed that St. Peter had, or claimed a supremacy over his brethren: nor, we may observe by the way, could he have thought any bishopric in the Church more honourable than that of Jerusalem.

II. The next position of the Roman Church is, that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome.

It is not to be doubted, that a tradition did exist in early times, that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. But, if that tradition be submitted, like others of the same kind, to the test of historical investigation, it will be found to rest on very slender foundation. In the first place, Scripture is silent about his having been at Rome—a remarkable silence, if his having been Bishop there was a fact of such vital importance to the Church, as the Roman divines have made it to be. Then the first tradition of his having been at Rome at all, does not appear for more than a century after his death. It is nearly two centuries after that event, that we meet with anything like the opinion, that the Roman bishops were his successors. It is three centuries before we find him spoken of as Bishop of Rome. But when we reach three centuries and a half, we are told that he not only was Bishop of Rome, but that he resided five and twenty years at Rome; a statement utterly irreconcilable with the history of the new Testament.

To begin with the new Testament, the only evidence that can be thence adduced for St. Peter's having been at *Rome*, is that he seems to have written his first epistle from *Babylon*, (1 Pet. v. 13). Eusebius² says this meant Rome. He appears to say it on the authority of Papias; though some learned

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* II. 1. quoting Clement from the sixth book of the *Hypotyposes*.

² *H. E.* Lib. II. c. 15.

men deny that he ascribes the tradition to Papias. Jerome follows Eusebius in this statement¹. The Roman divines generally adopt it. Yet a learned writer of their communion truly observes, that the use of such a metonymy may be very proper in a symbolical book, like the Apocalypse, ‘but would only be credible in the subscription of an epistle, if *arcana nomina Ecclesiarum* had existed among Christians².’ If the tradition be due to Papias, he is doubtless a very early authority (A.D. *circ.* 110): but Eusebius himself has given us to understand, that he was a person whose judgment was not to be depended on, and particularly that he was an enthusiast about the Apocalypse. Hence his interpreting St. Peter by the language of the Apocalypse is not of much weight.

Farther than this, the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul’s four Epistles written from Rome, St. Peter’s two Epistles, are all profoundly silent about St. Peter ever having been at Rome. Indeed, it seems almost certain that, when St. Paul went to Rome, St. Peter had not been there. Not only is there no mention of such a thing, but St. Paul, when writing to the Romans, writes much as if no Apostle had ever been amongst them. (Comp. Rom. i. 10—15; xv. 15—24). And, when he was at Rome, it seems clearly from the narrative, that the Jews of Rome had had no communication with any chief teacher among the Christians, at least with any who had been converted from Judaism: they were therefore desirous to hear of him what *he* thought, knowing only that the sect of Christians was everywhere spoken against (Acts xxviii. 22). Now how is this compatible with the alleged fact, that St. Peter, the Apostle of the circumcision, to whom the conversion of the Jews had been peculiarly entrusted, had been the founder of the Church of Rome, and had

¹ *De Viris Ill.* c. 8.

² Hug, *Introduction to the New Testament*, part II. sect. 165.

been resident there for some time? Again, if St. Peter had been at Rome when St. Paul wrote to the Romans, he would surely have saluted him. If he had been there when St. Paul was there, it would surely have been mentioned in the Acts. If he had previously been there, and had been established as bishop of the city; it is utterly incredible that St. Paul should have assumed the authority over St. Peter's flock, which he does assume over the Romans, and that the Jews of Rome should have been utterly uninstructed in the Gospel.

Of the fathers the first, who speaks to the purpose, is Irenæus. He says that the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, founded and established the Church of Rome, and delivered the bishopric to Linus, to whom succeeded Anacletus, and to him Clement¹. Clement of Alexandria says that St. Peter preached at Rome, and that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at the request of St. Peter's hearers². Tertullian says, Clement was ordained by St. Peter to be Bishop of Rome³. Origen tells us that St. Peter, having preached to the Jews in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, *at last* (ἐπὶ τέλει) came to Rome, and was crucified with his head downwards⁴. The Apostolical Constitutions say that Linus was made first Bishop of Rome by St. Paul, and that after his death Clement was ordained to the same office by St. Peter⁵. Lactantius tells us that the time of St. Peter's going to Rome was the reign of Nero⁶. Eusebius speaks of Linus as the first Bishop of Rome, after St. Paul and St. Peter⁷; and elsewhere, that Linus was first Bishop of Rome after St. Peter, and that Clement was the

¹ Iren. III. 3.

² *Hypotyp. Lib.* VI. apud Euseb. *H. E.* II. 14.

³ *De Præscript.* c. 32.

⁴ Ap. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 1.

⁵ *Constitut. Apostol.* VII. 46. Here Clement is made the second bishop of Rome; Anacletus, whom Irenæus mentions as second, being omitted.

⁶ *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 2.

⁷ III. 2.

third¹. Also he assigns the date of St. Peter's first going to Rome to the reign of Claudius².

Now here we have a collection of the earliest and best authorities concerning St. Peter's connexion with Rome, and concerning the bishops that first presided there. Origen says he went there *at last*; Lactantius says in the reign of Nero. Eusebius, later than either of them, and much later than Origen, assigns as a date the reign of Claudius. None of them say that he was Bishop of Rome. On the contrary, all agree in saying that the first bishop of that see was Linus. All place Linus there during the Apostles' lifetime. Some say that St. Paul, others that St. Peter and St. Paul, ordained him, whilst some say that Clement, the third bishop, was ordained by St. Peter. The inference is plainly this. At whatever time St. Peter came to Rome (which most probably was in Nero's reign, and very shortly before that tyrant put him to death), there was some one else Bishop of Rome then, and therefore St. Peter was not Bishop of Rome. Linus was bishop first, then Anacletus, then Clement. Very probably all three, one after the other, were bishops before St. Peter's death. But, whether one or three, some one else, not St. Peter, was Bishop of Rome, in St. Peter's lifetime. Two bishops were never permitted to preside over one see; and therefore it is quite clear that St. Peter was not Bishop of the see of Rome.

It is very true, that St. Cyprian and Firmilian, in the middle of the third century, speak of Stephen, Bishop of Rome, as claiming to be successor to St. Peter; and, though not submitting to his authority, they still appear to acknowledge his claim. Yet they never said that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome; but they acknowledged Stephen's succession from him, because they considered that St. Peter founded the Church of Rome, ordained the first bishop there, and that therefore the

¹ III. 4.

² II. 14.

apostolical succession came, through the Bishops of Rome, from that Apostle.

The circumstances of the Roman Church were very remarkable. It was the only Church in the West, that could *certainly* trace its origin to Apostles. The Apostles who were at Rome were the greatest of all; for there St. Paul undoubtedly taught, there probably both St. Paul and St. Peter ordered the Church, ordained its first bishops, and finally watered it with their blood. There, if the tradition speak truly, St. John too was thrown into boiling oil, and escaped unhurt. The three greatest Apostles then had probably taught and suffered at Rome. St. Peter and St. Paul had ordered the Church, and ordained very probably the first three bishops. No Church but Jerusalem could claim such privileges as this. No wonder then, that throughout the West the Church of Rome and her bishop should be had in high honour. No wonder, that St. Cyprian, himself a Western bishop, should have looked up to the see of Rome as the centre of Christian unity, and the depository of sound doctrine. But all this does not make St. Peter the first diocesan bishop there, nor does it prove that Cyprian thought him so.

The explanation of Ruffinus is evidently the true, namely, that Linus, Cletus, and Clement were the Bishops of Rome; but that St. Peter, whilst he was there, exercised apostolical authority, which was above every episcopate, and therefore not interfering with it¹.

And so it is observed, that many churches took their names from the Apostles, and were called Apostolical sees; not because Apostles were bishops in them, but because Apostles taught and appointed bishops there. Thus Ephesus was so called, because St. Paul founded it, and St. John resided and

¹ 'Linus et Cletus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem episcopi in urbe Roma, sed superstite Petro; videlicet ut illi Episcopatus curam gererent, ipse vero Apostolatus impletet officium.'—Ruffin. in *Præf. ad Clem. Recog.*

ordained there. Smyrna, because Polycarp was placed there by St. John or other Apostles. Alexandria, because St. Mark was placed there by St. Peter. Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, because founded by St. Paul. Antioch, because St. Peter is said to have resided there, and to have constituted its first bishops.

It is true that, when we get to the later fathers, we find that the story of St. Peter's Roman episcopate (a fiction eagerly cherished by the prelates of that see,) was gaining ground and attracting credit. Epiphanius therefore speaks of St. Peter and St. Paul as the first Apostles and also bishops of Rome¹; no very definite statement after all. But Jerome (A. D. circ. 400) positively asserts, that St. Peter, after having been Bishop of Antioch, went to Rome, where he was bishop for five and twenty years. He says this, both in his treatise *De Viris Illustribus*², and also in his Latin translation of Eusebius' *Chronical Canon*³; which, however, contains many things not said by Eusebius, and this amongst the rest⁴. The fact, thus stated by Jerome, is simply impossible; and the origin of it is probably to be attributed to a perversion of the account of Lactantius; which account is that, after preaching five and twenty years in divers provinces, Peter came, in Nero's reign, to Rome⁵. Thus, the tradition was like Homer's *Ἐρις*:

¹ Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, εἶτα Λίνος.—Epiph. *Hær.* xxvii. num. 6.

² 'Post episcopatum Antiochensis Ecclesiæ . . . Romam pergit, ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit.'—*De V. I.* c. 1.

³ *Chron.* p. 160.

⁴ The Greek of Eusebius is, Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτην θεμελιώσας ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Ῥωμὴν ἀπεισι κηρύττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.—*Χρον. Καν. ad Num.* M. Γ.

⁵ 'Apostoli per annos xxv. usque ad principium Neroniani imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Ecclesiæ fundamenta miserunt. Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit,' &c.—*De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 2. Pagi gives this explanation, *Critic. in Baron. Ann.* 43, num. III. quoted by Lardner, *Works*, Vol. vi. p. 547.

Ἡ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει¹.

At first, it was but that St. Peter and St. Paul had constituted the Church in Rome, ordained Linus as its bishop, and there suffered for their testimony. Then they are spoken of as if they might have been bishops themselves; the Roman bishops are then said to be St. Peter's successors; and lastly, it is roundly asserted, that St. Peter was actually Bishop of Rome for five and twenty years. That to fan the spark into a flame, was the interest and the wish of such prelates as Victor and Stephen, even charity cannot make us doubt. But, after such a plain history of the rise and progress of the tradition, it is impossible not to see that it has no firm foundation.

There is indeed no good reason to doubt that St. Peter was at Rome; that he assisted St. Paul to order and establish the Church there; that, in conjunction with St. Paul, he ordained one or more of its earliest bishops, and that there he suffered death for the sake of Christ. But there is no reason to believe that he was ever, in any proper or local sense, Bishop of Rome; or indeed that, in that sense, any one of the Apostles had a fixed episcopate; with the single exception of St. James (if he were an Apostle), who was appointed to preside over Jerusalem, lest that city where Jesus died and rose from the dead, and from whence the Church first took its origin, and thence spread through the world, should lack an Apostle, and witness of the resurrection, to be constantly present there, and to form a kind of centre and home for the first preachers of the faith. All the other Apostles had the world for their diocese; and wheresoever they came, they, as a thing of course, exercised supreme and supra-episcopal control, discipline, and government. Indeed, if any Apostle could be called Bishop of Rome, St. Paul

¹ Π. Δ. 442.

has more claim to that title than St. Peter. For St. Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles; whereas St. Peter's mission was to the Jews. St. Paul wrote an Epistle to the Romans, which St. Peter did not. St. Paul lived two years at Rome, before there is any good ground for believing that St. Peter had been there at all. St. Paul is said to have constituted the first bishop there¹. Moreover, St. Paul himself speaks of having 'the care of all the Churches,' i. e. the Gentile Churches (2 Cor. xi. 28). All this will constitute a better case for St. Paul's Roman episcopacy, and for his supremacy over the Gentile Churches, than can possibly be made out for St. Peter's.

III. The third position of the Roman divines is, that St. Peter's supremacy is inherited by his successors the Bishops of Rome.

If we have seen that St. Peter had no proper supremacy, and that he was not Bishop of Rome; then, the premises being gone, the consequence must fall with them. If St. Peter had no supremacy, it could not be inherited. If he was not Bishop of Rome, the Popes could not inherit from him.

But farther, whatever priority St. Peter had among his brother Apostles was personal, not official. He held no office, which they did not hold equally. There is no mention of an Arch-Apostle; and though St. Paul speaks of the chiefest Apostles (*οἱ ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀπόστολοι*), he speaks of them in the plural, not as if there were but one of supreme authority; and he says, that he himself was 'not a whit behind them' (2 Cor. xi. 5). As then St. Peter's priority was personal, not official, it could not be inherited. It was grounded on personal acts, especially his faithful confession of Christ. It contained some personal privileges; e. g. the first founding of the Church, which, being that on which much stress is laid, is yet incommu-

¹ *Constitut. Apostol.* vii. 46, as above.

nicable to his successors, who cannot now be the first founders of the Christian temple or commonwealth. And so Tertullian observes, that the manifest intention of the Lord was to confer this privilege personally on St. Peter, and that the presuming to derive that power to the bishop of a particular see was a subverting of that intention¹.

Again, we can trace the rise and progress of this supremacy of Rome, and easily perceive the grounds of it. It was not admitted at the first, but crept in by degrees, till it reached its perfect stature. St. Clement, who was Bishop of Rome, writes to the Corinthians in a brotherly tone, and with less appearance of authority than St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, seems to assume when writing to the Romans. St. Polycarp knew nothing of the supremacy of Anicetus, when he went to consult with him about the keeping of Easter. He yielded in no degree to the Roman Bishop's authority; but both determined to retain their own customs and sentiments, yet not, on that account, to divide the Catholic Church². Not very long after this, we find Polycrates, a successor to Polycarp in the see of Smyrna, again at issue with Victor, Bishop of Rome, on the Easter controversy. Victor indeed shewed much of the spirit which has since prevailed at the Vatican, and excommunicated Polycrates. But Polycrates and the Synod of Asiatic bishops refused to acknowledge the authority of that prelate³. Several bishops, though agreeing in Victor's opinion, were much displeased at his violence; and letters were written by them severely reproving him for such conduct. Especially St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in the name of the Christians of Gaul, over

¹ 'Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem.'—*De Pudicit.* c. 21. See also Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, pp. 236, 237.

² Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14, v. 24.

³ 'Si qui discrepabant ab illis Victori non dederunt manus.'—Hicronym. *De V. I.* s. v. Irenæus.

whom he presided, wrote a dignified remonstrance, warning Victor not to break the unity of the Catholic Church¹.

At the end of the second century, we find from Tertullian, that the Bishop of Rome claimed that he, *and all other Churches founded by St. Peter*, derived through St. Peter the power to bind and to loose². This claim Tertullian disallows; but it is a claim very different from that of universal dominion; for it must have admitted the Bishops of Antioch and others to the like privilege.

In the third century we have the famous controversy about heretical baptism, dividing the Western Church. It had first begun amongst the Asiatics. Afterwards, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, being consulted by the Numidian bishops, called several councils at Carthage, A. D. 255, which were attended by large numbers of African bishops³. They unanimously decreed the rebaptizing of heretics. This brought them into collision with Stephen, Bishop of Rome; as the Roman Church took the opposite view. Stephen refused to listen to the deputies from the Council, and renounced communion with the African Churches. They, on the other hand, maintained their own views, and expressed their disapproval of Stephen's attempt to make himself a 'bishop of bishops⁴.' A correspondence took place between

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24; Hieronym. *De V. I.* Irenæus indeed in one place says, that 'in the Church of Rome on account of her more powerful principality the faithful everywhere must meet, in which, by the resort of so many, Apostolical tradition is preserved.'—*Adv. Hær.* III. 3. All that we can gather from this is, that the city and the Church of Rome had a great pre-eminence, that it was the great centre or focus of the Christian world, and so the truth was best preserved there.

² 'Idcirco præsumis et ad te derivasse solvendi et alligandi potestatem, id est, *ad omnem ecclesiam Petri propinquam.*'—*De Pudicitia.* c. 21. The *De Pudicitia* is a Montanist tract, but its evidence as to the claims of Rome is as good as if it were Catholic.

³ Seventy-one were present at the second, and eighty-seven at the third Council.

⁴ 'Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit; aut tyrannico terrore, ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos

Cyprian and Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia ; in which both express extreme disapprobation of Stephen's conduct, and accuse him of schismatically introducing differences throughout the Church. Firmilian says, the power of binding and loosing was given by Christ to the Apostles and the bishops who succeeded them ; and blames the manifest folly of Stephen, who gloried in the place of his episcopate, and contended that he was a successor of St. Peter, on whom the Church's foundation was laid, and yet himself introduced new rocks and new foundations¹. Again, on another occasion, the bishops of Africa, among whom was St. Augustine, not only submitted not, in the case of Apicarius, to the authority of the Bishops of Rome, Zosimus, Boniface and Celestine, but in the Council of Africa, A.D. 424, wrote strongly to Pope Celestinus, denying his right to interfere with their jurisdiction, complaining that he violated the canon of the Council of Nice, which directed that causes of the bishops and clergy should be heard by their own metropolitan, and not carried elsewhere². They had even in a previous Council at Milevis, A.D. 416, forbidden appeals to be carried beyond the seas, on pain of separation from all communion with the African Churches³.

But above all, Pope Gregory the Great, himself an illustrious Bishop of Rome, so vehemently protested against John Nesteuta, the Bishop of Constantinople, for desiring to have the name of universal bishop, that he pronounced such an as-

adegit ; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare.'—Cyprianus in *Concil. Carthag.*

¹ *Epistol. Firmilian. Oper.* Cyprian. Epist. LXXV. p. 225, E.

² *Concil. Tom. II.* p. 1674 ; Justelli, *Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric.* p. 408.

³ 'Non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primatas provinciarum ; ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur.'—*Concil. Milev. Can. 22* ; Barrow, *On the Supremacy*, p. 248. See also Bingham, ix. i. 11 ; Hussey's *Rise of the Papacy*, pp. 40--46.

sumption a proof, that he who made it was the *forerunner of Antichrist*¹. 'None,' says he, 'of my predecessors ever consented to use so profane a word; because, if one patriarch is called universal, the name of patriarch is taken away from the rest.'

If we look to the canons of the general councils, we find that they acknowledge the great Patriarchs; that they give them authority according to ancient custom within their own patriarchates; that they put Rome first, not because of St. Peter's primacy, but because Rome is the imperial city; Constantinople next, because it is new Rome; and afterwards elevate Constantinople to an equality with Rome; and that they specially forbid bishops to interfere with the dioceses of other bishops. Thus, the viith Canon of the Council of Nice says: 'Let those ancient customs be in force which concerned Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have authority over them, since the like is customary with the Bishop of Rome. So also in Antioch and the other provinces let the dignities be preserved to the Churches².' Balsamon's gloss on this is, that they confirmed the authority of the four Patriarchs, viz. of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, over their respective patriarchates³. So that this great Council placed the Roman Bishop only on a level with those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; and this too as a matter of ancient custom, not of divine right.

¹ 'Ego autem fidenter dico quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, seu vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.'—Gregor. Magn. *Epist.* vii. 33.

So again, 'Nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit, quia videlicet si unus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur.'—*Ibid.* v. 43.

Indignant as Gregory was at the Bishop of Constantinople calling himself Œcumenical Patriarch, that title had been given him by law from the time of Justinian, and was therefore no new thing in Gregory's time.'—See Bingham, *E. A.* xvii. 21.

² Bevereg. *Synodic.* Tom. i. p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*

The second canon of the Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381) especially forbids that bishops should go beyond their dioceses, restrains the Bishop of Alexandria to Egypt, the eastern bishops to the East, and so on : and forbids that any bishop should go out of his own diocese for ordination, or any other ecclesiastical ministrations¹. The third canon of the same council decrees, that the Bishop of Constantinople shall take rank immediately after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is new Rome².

The eighth canon of the Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431) forbids any bishop to invade another province, which has not from the beginning been under his own authority³.

The twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon declares, that the fathers of the Council of Constantinople gave privileges to the see of Rome, because that city was the seat of empire. Wherefore also, moved by the same reason, the fathers assigned the like privileges to the see of new Rome, i. e. Constantinople, seeing that Constantinople was now honoured with the empire and the senate⁴. These decrees of the Council of Constantinople the Council of Chalcedon accordingly confirms.

From all this we plainly learn, that the Roman Patriarch had no more authority given him than the other Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria ; that the first place

¹ *Ibid.* p. 87.

² διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.—*Ibid.* p. 89.

³ ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἐτέραν, οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἡγοῦν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν.—*Ibid.* p. 104.

⁴ Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένεμιν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἀγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ εὐλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ συγκλήτῳ τμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολανοῦσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρῃ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκείνη, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν.—*Ibid.* p. 145.

was assigned to Rome, because Rome was the imperial city, not because her bishop had a divine right to pre-eminence; that, however, the Bishop of Constantinople had a like honour bestowed upon him, when his city rose to the like position with that of his brother Patriarch; and, and above all, that no bishop was ever to invade any diocese, which had not from old times been subject to him or to his predecessors. How any of these considerations will agree with the later claims of the Roman Pontiff, it is hard to say.

The first great step towards supremacy was given to the Pope by the Council of Sardica (A. D. 347). Before this time, when bishops had been deposed and had reason to complain, they appealed to the Emperors to summon a larger synod to rehear their cause. The great Athanasius had thus appealed to the Emperor, and had been restored, after he was deposed by the Tyrian Synod. The xiith Canon of the Council of Antioch, supposed to be directed against him, forbade such an appeal. Subsequently Athanasius, ill-used by the Eastern bishops and by Constantius the Arian Emperor, had fled for assistance and support to the Western bishops, especially to the Patriarch of Rome. As there was an Arian Emperor, and there had at all times been a difficulty connected with the imperial interference in doctrinal questions, it was not unnatural for the orthodox bishops to look for some other centre, where appeals might be made; and the See of Rome most naturally presented itself. The bishop there was the most important on every account. Rome was the head of the world, the centre of civilization, the centre of orthodoxy; and the greatest number of bishops and clergy looked up to its Patriarch as their leader and chief. Accordingly, in an unhappy moment, the Synod of Sardica, in its third canon, gave to Julius, Bishop of Rome, 'honouring the memory of St. Peter,' the power, if he thought fit, 'to appoint the neighbouring bishops of a province to hear' an appeal, 'and to send assessors,' such as the emperor used to

send¹. It is added, by the fourth canon, that if a deposed bishop appeal to Rome, his place shall not be filled till the Bishop of Rome has heard the case². And by the fifth canon it is decreed, that when an appeal has been made to the Bishop of Rome, he may appoint the provincial bishops to try the case, or send legates himself³. The whole wording of the canons shews, that all this was new. Moreover, the council was not general. But the effect of its decrees was very evil. Pope Zosimus afterwards quoted them as decrees of the Council of Nice, in the case of Apiarius mentioned above; and the African bishops were obliged to investigate the question, as to whether they did really issue from that great synod; and finding that they did not, they utterly rejected their authority⁴. Yet these canons laid the foundation of appeals to Rome, and so of Roman supremacy. And Dr. Barrow calls them 'the most unhappy ever made in the Church⁵.'

From this time, the power of the see of Rome rapidly gained ground. It would be long to trace its progress, and the opposition which was raised to it by wise and far-seeing men, as it advanced towards its zenith⁶. Such a survey of history would indeed be instructive, as shewing how different were the pretensions of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. from those of such prelates as even Victor or Stephen; though the latter were amongst the most imperious of the early 'successors of the fisherman.' Suffice it to have given some proof, that St. Peter had no proper supremacy; that he was never Bishop of Rome; and that the Roman Patriarchs had not *jure divino*, nor from the earliest ages, a jurisdiction over the universal Church.

¹ Bevereg. *Synodic.* Tom. I. p. 485. ² *Ibid.* p. 487. ³ *Ibid.* p. 488.

⁴ See Hussey's *Rise of the Papacy*, pp. 44—47.

⁵ See Barrow, p. 250; Stillingfleet's *Origines Britann.* ch. III., near the end; Palmer, *On the Church*, Vol. II. pp. 520, 548.

⁶ The progress is well traced by Professor Hussey in the small volume already referred to.

IV. There is one other ground, besides that of universal Primacy, on which the Pope claims jurisdiction in England; viz. that England was in the Patriarchate of Rome.

When patriarchates first arose is uncertain. The name is first used by Socrates, (about A.D. 440¹). But the office was evidently more ancient. It probably arose from the gradually apparent usefulness of such an order in the government of the Church. Their authority was confirmed, as we have seen, to the great patriarchs, by the Council of Constantinople, and afterwards by those of Ephesus and Chalcedon². All bishops indeed were esteemed equal, as bishops, by the primitive fathers; i. e. they were of equal authority, *jure divino*³; but, for the sake of a more orderly Church-government, metropolitans were placed over provinces, and patriarchs over those still larger divisions, which were then called dioceses, corresponding with the civil divisions of the Empire⁴.

¹ Socr. *H. E.* v. 8. Conc. Chalced.

² Bing. *E. A.* ii. xvii. 1, 9.

³ 'Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.'—Cyprian. *De Unitate*, p. 108.

'Ubique est episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, ejusdem est meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii; potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit.'—Hieronym. *ad Evangelium*, Epist. 85.

⁴ A bishop's jurisdiction was over a *παρoκία*, a metropolitan's over an *ἐπαρχία*, a patriarch's over a *διοκηνς*, corresponding with the civil jurisdiction of imperial officers. In the Empire there were seven dioceses in the East, and six in the West, besides the Prefecture of Rome. Hence, in the Church there were fourteen dioceses or patriarchates. In the East, 1 Egypt, under the Patriarch of Alexandria. 2 The East, under the Patriarch of Antioch. 3 Asia, under the Patriarch of Ephesus first—afterwards under Constantinople. 4 Pontus, under Cæsarea. 5 Thrace, under Thessalonica—afterwards under Constantinople. 6 Macedonia. 7 Dacia. In the West, 1 Rome, containing the suburbicarian provinces, under the Patriarch of Rome. 2 Italy, under Milan. 3 Africa, under Carthage. 4 Illyria, which afterwards fell under Constantinople. 5 Gaul, under Treves—afterwards under Arles. 6 Spain, under Seville—afterwards under Toledo. 7 Britain, under York. In the fourteen dioceses of the empire there were 118 provinces; and there was the like number in the Church. But, as in the civil government, there were three chief

As to the limits of the Roman Patriarchate, much depends on what is meant by the term *Suburbicary Churches*. Ruffinus, in his translation of the Nicene Canons, gives us the sixth of these in the words: 'The custom of Alexandria and of Rome shall still be observed, that the one shall have the care of the Egyptian, the other of the suburbicarian Churches¹.' The very word *suburbicarian* clearly points to Churches not far distant from Rome; and it has been proved, that the suburbicarian Churches meant those within the district, which belonged to the *Vicarius Urbis*; i. e. the greater part of middle Italy, all lower Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica². It has been shewn, that the Bishop of Rome did not in early ages exercise authority in Spain, or Gaul, or Africa, nor even over the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia³. Far less could he have had patriarchal rights in the more distant isles of Britain. And, though the Synod of Arles, A. D. 314, speaks of the Bishop of Rome, as 'holding the larger dioceses⁴,' which Roman divines have construed to mean all the great divisions of the Western Empire; yet there is good proof that the word *diocese* had before this time been assigned to the ordinary provinces of the empire, and that it was even used of single episcopal Churches; so that it must by no means be

cities, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, so the bishops of these were called Patriarchs by pre-eminence (as was afterwards the Bishop of Constantinople); the bishops of the other great dioceses being called Primates, though with patriarchal powers—*Primates of dioceses*, not merely metropolitans of provinces. See Crackanthorp, *Defensio Eccles. Anglican.* cap. xxii. §§ 64, 65.

¹ 'Ut apud Alexandria, et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic suburbicarium ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat.'—Ruffin. *Hist. Lib.* i. c. 6.

² Bevereg. *Synodicon. Annotat. in Can. Concil. Nic. Prim.*; Stillingfleet, as above; Bingham, IX. i. 9, 10.

³ Stillingfleet, *Origines Britan.* ch. iii.; Bingham, IX. i. 11; Dr. Allix (*Churches of Piedmont*, ch. XIII.) shews that the diocese of Milan was independent of Rome to the middle of the 11th century.

⁴ 'Qui majores dioceses tenes.'—*Conc. Arelatens.* I.; *Epist. Synod. Concil.* Tom. I. p. 1426.

inferred, that the Synod of Arles meant to speak of the Roman patriarchate as including all the West¹.

Again, it has been proved, beyond a question, that the British Church was of very early origin; founded as early, perhaps earlier, than the Church of Rome². It clearly acknowledged no obedience to the Pope; for, when Augustine met the British bishops, and pleaded with them for subjection to Rome, they replied, 'that they owed no obedience to the Bishop of Rome, but were under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Uske, who was their overseer under God³.' They refused too to alter their time for keeping Easter, to suit the Roman custom⁴; and shewed no intention whatever of submitting to papal authority. Indeed, the only reasonable claim which the Roman Pontiff can put in, to a superiority over our English bishops, is derived from the mission of Augustine, A.D. 599. But it is to be observed that, as there was already a Church and several bishops in Britain, so there were Christians, before his arrival, even among the Saxons; that he converted only a small portion of England, viz. Kent and a few adjacent counties; other parts being converted by Irish and Scots missionaries, not sent from Rome⁵; that he did not receive his appointment to the see of Canterbury from Gregory the Pope, but from Ethelbert the King⁶. Besides all this, the benefit conferred, of converting a nation, does not necessarily involve a supreme jurisdiction over it. Such a jurisdiction was not conceded by the earlier Saxon kings; and if it had been so, a power, which did not

¹ Bingham, ix. i. 12; Palmer, *On the Church*, Vol. II. p. 543.

² Stillington, *Orig. Britann.* ch. i. See the Introduction to Soames' *Anglo-Saxon Church*, where, in two pages, a summary of the evidence for Britain's early conversion is given.

³ Spelman, *Concil. Britan.* An. 601, Tom. I. p. 108; Bingham, ix. i. 11; Stillington, ch. v., near the end; Bramhall, Vol. I. p. 160.

⁴ Bede, *Hist. Lib.* II. c. 2, 19; III. 25; V. 16, 22; Bingham, *ibid.*

⁵ See Bramhall, *Works*, Vol. I. 266, 267; II. 94, 133, 300.

⁶ *Ibid.* I. 132; Bed. *H. E.* I. 25.

originate till the seventh century, whereas there had been a Church in Great Britain in the first century, cannot be a power of that inviolable character, that to throw it off is to separate from Christ, and from the communion of Christ's holy Church. We maintain, that Britain and British Churches were not within the patriarchal rule of Rome in the earliest ages, nor at the times of the four great general Councils. And we deny that, by right of conquest, the Bishop of Rome could obtain authority over them, since it was to Christ, and not to Gregory, that Augustine was sent to conquer the Saxons. We assert therefore, that, by claiming patriarchal jurisdiction in England, the Roman Patriarch violates the eighth Canon of the third general Council, which forbids a bishop to intrude into any province which was not under his authority from the very beginning (*ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς*).

If the Pope had been contented to exercise jurisdiction within his own patriarchate, and to take precedence of rank over all the other bishops of Christendom, without attempting to exercise an unwarranted control over bishops and churches not within the limits of his own lawful government, it is probable that his privileges would never have been objected against, nor his precedence denied him. But when he wishes to be the sole Vicar of Christ on earth, the head of the whole Church, and to be above all earthly power and dominion, we believe that he arrogates to himself a title which belongs not to any human being, and claims a power which is only Christ's¹.

¹ Dr. Barrow, *On the Supremacy of the Pope*, is a complete storehouse of information and argument on this subject.

Crackanthorp, *Defensio Eccl. Anglic.* ch. xxii. contains an excellent summary of arguments. Palmer, *On the Church*, Part vii. has also much information in a small compass. For the antiquity and independence of the British churches see Usher, *De Primord. Eccl. Britan.*; Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicæ*; Bramhall and Bingham, as referred to above; Beveridge, Note on vi. Can. on the Nicene Synod, Tom. ii. *Annotat.* pp. 51—60; Hales, *Origin and Purity of the British Church*; Burgess' Tracts; Williams's *Antiquities of the Cymry*, &c.

SECTION III.

IT will be necessary to give but a small space to the concluding paragraphs of this Article. The first is,

I. 'The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.'

The chief arguments against capital punishments in a Christian state, must be drawn from general considerations of benevolence, and from the evil of taking away from the sinner the time for repentance. To these may be added our Lord's cautions against revenging ourselves, and His injunctions that we should not resist evil (Matt. v. 38, 45, &c.).

On the other side, it is truly said, that punishments, inflicted by public authority, are not for revenge, but for the suppression of evil. More benevolence is shewn in punishing violence, and so repressing it, than in suffering it to prevail. We may not indeed altogether reason from Jewish precedent; because the character of the Jewish commonwealth was peculiar; and some crimes were then visited with capital punishment, which in any other commonwealth must be left almost without public condemnation. But, before the Law, God gave to Noah a command, which seems applicable to the whole human race: 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man' (Gen. ix. 6). And under the Gospel, St. Paul maintains the authority of the civil sword. He speaks of the higher powers as ordinances of God, forbids Christians to resist them, and, speaking of the magistrate, says: 'He beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God; a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil' (Rom. xiii. 1—4).

So then in the patriarchal ages, and under the Gospel, we have authority for capital punishments. Whether such sentence should be pronounced on any but murderers, or virtual

murderers, is another question. But, for murder at least, there seems full Scripture authority, that nations should inflict the punishment of death.

II. The last paragraph in the Article is: 'It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars.'

Tertullian, in his treatise *De Corona Militis*, argues against the lawfulness of a Christian's engaging in the military profession¹. But, in his *Apology*, he says that Christians were in the habit of enlisting both in the Roman armies and the Roman navies². The well-known story of 'The Thundering Legion' proves that, in the year 174, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, there were many Christians among the imperial troops, even if we hesitate to believe that there was a whole Christian legion, or that their prayers brought down thunder and rain³.

When we come to Scripture, we find one or two passages in the new Testament, which seem to some persons decisive against the lawfulness of war altogether, and therefore against the lawfulness of serving in war. They are especially Matt. v. 38—41, where our Lord forbids us to 'resist evil,' bidding us turn the left cheek to one who smites us on the right; and Matt. xxvi. 52, 'All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' What applies to individuals may be thought equally applicable to societies of individuals, and therefore to whole nations. Indeed we may justly apply the argument so far as to say, that no Christian nation or governor is justified in

¹ *De Coronâ*, c. 11.

² *Apol.* c. 42. See Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 364.

³ Concerning the Thundering Legion, see Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constant. Mag.* sec. II. § 17; Lardner, Vol. VII. p. 438.

Many later sects, whose doctrines and practices were very rigid, seem to have opposed capital punishments and the lawfulness of war; as the Waldenses (see Mosheim, Cent. XII. part II. sect. v. 12) and the Anabaptists. Mosh. Cent. XVI. sect. III. pt. II. ch. III. 16.

making war upon a principle of revenge. Revenge is an unchristian feeling, and therefore forbidden to nations as well as to individuals. Therefore, not only are wars for mere glory unquestionably wholesale murder, but wars for any end, save necessary preservation and protection of life, liberties, and independence, are clearly against the will of God, and the spirit of the Gospel of Christ. Yet we may press doctrines and passages of Scripture, so far as to overturn the whole fabric of society. If Christian nations may never resist aggression, or defend the weak; civilization and religion would be hourly exposed to destruction from the invasion of barbarians and unbelievers. In such a case the Gospel would have established the supremacy of the violent and the ungodly.

But He, who in the old Testament repeatedly calls Himself 'the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel,' can hardly have altogether forbidden just war. John the Baptist, when the soldiers inquired of him, what they should do to prepare for the kingdom of Christ, did not bid them give up serving in the armies, but required them to do no violence, and to be content with their wages (Luke iii. 14). Nowhere in the new Testament is there any injunction against the military profession, although our blessed Lord and His Apostles are frequently brought into contact with soldiers, and are led to speak of war. Thus the centurion, whose servant our Lord healed, receives high commendation for his faith, but no rebuke for his vocation (Matt. viii. 5—13). Cornelius, another centurion, has visions and miracles vouchsafed to him, and an Apostle is sent to instruct and baptize him; but no hint is given, that he ought to give up serving in the Roman armies, after his baptism and adoption of the faith (Acts x.). Our Lord and St. Paul both refer to the customs of war, as illustrations of the Christian's warfare, and commend the prudence and wisdom of the worldly warrior to the imitation of the soldier of the Cross, without any reservation or intimation that this world's warrior is to be

condemned for following his calling. (See Luke xiv. 31, 32; 2 Tim. ii. 4). The rebuke to St. Peter, 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword,' was evidently directed against an individual's voluntarily taking on himself to fight; and also against using carnal weapons in a spiritual cause. It is not therefore applicable to serving as a soldier in defence of our country, and at the command of the magistrate, who, by God's own ordinance, 'beareth the sword,' and 'is an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil' (Rom. xiii. 4).

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

*Of Christian men's Goods, which
are not common.*

THE Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

*De illicita bonorum communica-
tione.*

FACULTATES et bona Christianorum non sunt communia, quoad jus et possessionem (ut quidam Anabaptistæ falso jactant) debet tamen quisque de his quæ possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus elemosynas benigne distribuere.

SECTION I. HISTORY.

THERE is no doubt, that the early Christians practised almsgiving and sacrifice of their own wealth for the Church and the poor, to an extent unknown in our days. There are indeed passages in the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, which appear at first sight, as if there were in the early ages a complete community of goods. The former speaks of Christians as having formerly placed their greatest pleasure in acquiring wealth and possessions; 'but now bringing all that they have into a common stock, and imparting to every one in need¹.' The latter says, 'We, who are united in mind and soul, hesitate not to have our possessions in common. With us all things are in common but our wives².' But, that they did not mean a real community of goods, appears from an earlier passage in the same chapter: 'Even if there be with us a sort of treasury, no sum is therein collected discreditable to religion, as though she were bought. Every man places there a small gift on one day of the month, or whenever he wills, so he be but willing and able; for no man is constrained, but contributes willingly³.' It

¹ Justin M. *Apol.* I. p. 61, B.

² Tertull. *Apol.* 39.

³ *Ibid.*

is plain that where there were collections, according as men were able and willing, there could be no true community of goods. It was one of the errors attributed to the Pelagians, 'that a rich man must sell all that he has, or he cannot enter into the kingdom of God¹.' But, that this was not a precept of universal obligation, St. Augustine argues against them at great length². Several early sects are mentioned as having forbidden possessions, and denied salvation to those who had wealth—as the Apostolici³; and the Eustathians, who, for this and other errors, were condemned by the Council of Gangra⁴. Persons, who adopted such opinions, were called by the fathers *Apotactitas*⁵. The fact, that they were esteemed heretics, shews that the Church repudiated and condemned their peculiarities.

Some very zealous Christians in all ages have felt personally bound to relinquish their wealth, and devote themselves to a voluntary poverty; and with them may be classed the mendicant orders, and indeed all those religious communities which have required vows of poverty from their members. This, however, is a different view of things from that condemned in the Article. The Article refers to the belief, that all property is unlawful, and that goods in a Christian society must be common. This is a tenet which has only been adopted, whether in primitive or later ages, by certain fanatical sects; and it is here especially spoken of as an error of the Anabaptists. With them the doctrine was a source, not so much of personal self-denial, as of efforts to subvert civil government and the whole framework of society; and it was not therefore to be treated as an innocent enthusiasm, but to be denounced as a dangerous error⁶.

¹ Augustin. *Ep.* 156, Tom. II. p. 542.

² *Ep.* 157, Tom. II. pp. 553—559. See also Wall, *On Infant Baptism*, pt. I. ch. xix. Vol. I. p. 396. Oxf. 1836.

³ August. *Hær.* 40; Epiphan. *Hær.* Lxi. *Apostol.*

⁴ Bevereg. *Synod.* Tom. I. p. 415.

⁵ See Bingham, xvi. xii. 1.

⁶ See an account of their doctrines and proceedings, Mosheim, *E. H.* Cent. xvi. sect. iii. pt. ii. ch. iii. 5, &c.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

A GREAT many passages from the new Testament might be brought to prove the danger of riches; and some few of our Lord's own sayings seem even to enjoin on His followers a renunciation of worldly wealth. Such are Matt. v. 42, vi. 19; Luke xvi. 19—25; 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10; James v. 1. The two most remarkable, however, are Matt. xix. 21, where the young man is bidden to sell all that he has, and give to the poor; and Luke xii. 33, where our Saviour addressing His disciples generally, says, 'Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not,' &c. The former passage (Matt. xix. 21) has been considered at some length under Art. XVI.¹ The other (Luke xii. 33) appears to me the strongest argument from Scripture in favour of their opinion, who think, that every sincere follower of Jesus Christ should divest himself of all his personal possessions, and embrace a voluntary and strict poverty. We must take heed how we weaken and dilute injunctions of our Saviour, especially when they cross our natural propensities. Yet we must not explain one passage of Scripture, so as to make it contrary to other passages of Scripture. Our Lord tells us in another place, that, if a man 'hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and his own life also, he cannot be His disciple' (Luke xiv. 26). Such a declaration, pressed to its utmost limits, would make us 'without natural affection,' (a mark of heathen reprobation, Rom. i. 31), and would even lead us to break the fifth commandment. And so of the passage in question, though in its most literal and general application it would not lead to consequences so serious as this, yet it would,

¹ Vol. I. p. 454.

so interpreted, make it impossible for us to provide for those of our own house, which St. Paul tells us would be a proof, that we had denied the faith and had become worse than infidels (1 Tim. v. 8). It is probable therefore, that we must consider our blessed Saviour's exhortation as rather addressed to His immediate followers, who could only follow Him in His wanderings, and preach His Gospel in the world, by utter abandonment of houses and possessions, than as applicable to all His disciples through all ages of the Church. And even if we pressed His words to their utmost length, they would merely be an injunction to individuals to renounce their wealth, not a rule binding on society, that private wealth should be confiscated, and only a public fund permitted to exist.

In favour of that view, the only tenable argument is drawn from the early chapters of the Acts; where we read that the first believers 'had all things in common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need' (Acts ii. 44, 45); that the multitudes of them that believed were of one heart and one soul, neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common (Acts iv. 32: compare 34—37). This self-devotion of the primitive Christians affords indeed a most instructive example for all succeeding generations. It sprang from an intense feeling of love and gratitude to the Saviour; and whilst it was fervent and enthusiastic, it was reasonable and necessary. Had there not been self-sacrifice among the rich; what would have become of the poor of the flock, whose name was, for Christ's sake, cast out as evil? But even at this very time we find the right of the owners to their property fully recognized in the Scriptures and by the Apostles, so as abundantly to shew, that no absolute community of goods had been exacted. The very fact, that it is written, 'No man said that ought of the things which he possessed was his own,' shews that the possessions were acknowledged to be theirs by

others, though voluntarily renounced by themselves; and that therefore it was a voluntary renunciation, and not made according to an obligation imposed on them by the Church. Also, St. Peter said to Ananias: 'Whilst it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?' (Acts v. 4). So that, before the property was sold, the Apostle acknowledged that it was of right the property of Ananias; and even after it was sold, there was no necessity upon him to give it up to the Apostles. His sin was, not in the retaining of his goods, but in pretending to give all, and yet keeping back a part.

There are numerous injunctions to provide for our families (Acts xx. 35; 2 Cor. xii. 14; 1 Tim. v. 8)—to give alms (Matt. vi. 1; x. 42)—to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness (Luke xvi. 9)—to lay by in store as God prospers us, and then to give (1 Cor. xvi. 2)—to feed the hungry and clothe the naked (Matt. xxv. 35, &c.)—to call the maimed, the lame, and the blind to our feasts (Luke xiv. 13)—to do good as we have opportunity (Gal. vi. 10)—to distribute to the necessity of the saints (Rom. xii. 13)—to give with a willing mind (2 Cor. viii. 12), not grudgingly or of necessity, as knowing that God loveth a cheerful giver (2 Cor. ix. 7)—to be given to hospitality (Rom. xii. 8)—to use hospitality one to another without grudging (1 Pet. iv. 9). All these precepts, whilst they impose the strongest obligations to abundant and most liberal almsgiving, yet presuppose the existence of distinct possessions, and of different ability to give in the different members of the Church. If all things were common, the grace and duty of giving from our own private means would thereby have become impossible. So again, the recognized distinction between master and servant, the one to be just and liberal, the other honest and obedient, proves the difference of condition and the possession of property (Eph. vi. 5—9; Col. iv. 1; Philem. 10—20).

Especially, where the Apostles address the rich, and bid

them to be rich in good works and bountiful to others, they clearly shew that there may be rich men in the Christian community, and that such may fulfil their Christian obligations, and lay up a good foundation for the future by giving liberally, though they do not sell all that they have. For example: ‘*Charge them that are rich in this world*, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches . . . that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come’ (1 Tim. vi. 17—19). ‘Whoso *hath this world’s goods*, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?’ (1 John iii. 17). ‘To do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased’ (Heb. xiii. 16).

Thus then Scripture plainly confirms the teaching of the Church, that ‘the goods of Christian men are not common as touching the right, title, and possession of the same:’ but yet that every man, as a follower of Christ, has the most cogent and inevitable obligation, ‘liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.’

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Of a Christian man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *James* his Apostle, so we judge, that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

De Jurejurando.

QUEMADMODUM juramentum vanum, et temerarium a Domino nostro Jesu Christo, et Apostolo ejus Jacobo, Christianis hominibus interdictum esse, fatemur: ita Christianorum religionem minime prohibere censemus, quin jubente magistratu in causa fidei et charitatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in justitia, in judicio et veritate.

SECTION I.

HISTORY.

WHEN the early Christians were called on to swear before heathen magistrates, they were mostly required to use idolatrous oaths. These were naturally abhorred by them, and perhaps inclined them to a dread of swearing altogether, even more than Scripture would inculcate. Thus Tertullian says, 'I say nothing of perjury, since it is unlawful even to swear¹.' Yet from a passage in his *Apology*, we find that Christians did not refuse to take lawful oaths; though idolatrous oaths they, of necessity, rejected. Christians, he says, would not swear by the Emperor's genii; for the genii were dæmons; but by the safety of the Emperor they were willing to swear². The same

¹ 'Taceo de perjurio, quando ne jurare quidem liceat.'—*De Idol.* c. 11.

² 'Sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Cæsarum, ita per salutem eorum, quæ est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios dæmonas dici? &c.'—*Apol.* c. 32. See other examples of the like objection, *ap.* Bingham, xvi. vii. 7.

swearing by the safety of the Emperor (ὕπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίου) is mentioned by Athanasius¹. Vegetius, who lived about A.D. 390, says, the Christian soldiers 'swore by God, and Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and the majesty of the Emperor².' Nay! Athanasius required of Constantius that his accusers should be put upon their oaths³. And much more has been alleged, in proof that the early Christians did not refuse legitimate oaths in legal inquiries.

There was, however, doubtless, much scruple on the subject of swearing among the ancients generally. Clement of Alexandria says, the enlightened Christian will never perjure himself. And so he considers it an indignity for a Christian to be put upon oath, as disparaging his fidelity; and that he will avoid swearing, saying only Yea and Nay⁴. And Lactantius says, that a Christian will never perjure himself, lest he mock God; nor indeed will he swear at all, lest he fall by accident, or carelessly, into perjury⁵.

Against idle swearing, swearing by the creatures, and perjury, the primitive Church was very severe⁶. And it does indeed appear, that some of the fathers, led by the strong language of Matt. v. 34, and James v. 12, doubted even the lawfulness of oaths at all; thinking that they may have been permitted to Jews, but forbidden to Christians⁷. The Pelagians took up, as

¹ *Epist. ad Monach.* Tom. i. p. 866. Colon.

² 'Jurant autem per Deum, et per Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, et per majestatem imperatoris.'—Veget. *Institutio Rei Militaris*. See Lardner, Vol. viii. p. 479; Cave, *Prim. Christ.* pt. iii. ch. i. p. 214.

³ Athanas. *Apol. ad Constantium*, Tom. i. p. 678.

⁴ *Stromat.* vii. 8, p. 861. Potter.

⁵ 'Hic non pejerabit, ne Deum ludibrio habeat; sed ne jurabit quidem; ne quando, vel necessitate, vel consuetudine, in perjurium cadat.'—Lactant. *Epitome*, c. 6.

⁶ Bingham, xvi. vii. 5—8.

⁷ So Chrysostom, Homil. xv. in *Genesis*; Homil. viii. in *Act.*; Theodoret. in *cap. iv. Jeremie*; Theophyl. in *cap. v. Matth.*, &c. See Suicer, s. v. ὅρκος, Tom. ii. p. 510.

one of their positions, that a man must not swear at all¹. But Augustine replied, in an epistle cited in the last Article. There he enjoins to avoid swearing as much as possible; but shews that, in cases of necessity, there was Scriptural ground for it².

In later ages, the Waldenses³, the Anabaptists⁴, the Quakers, and some other sects, have held all oaths unlawful. It is against the Anabaptists probably, that this Article, as well as the last, is specially directed.

¹ Augustin. *Opp.* Tom. II. p. 542.

² *Epist.* 157, Tom. II. p. 559. The opinions of the primitive Christians on swearing are fully discussed by Cave, *Prim. Christianity*, pt. III. ch. i. p. 212; and Bingham, xvi. vii. See also Suicer, as above.

³ Mosheim, Cent. XII. pt. II. ch. v. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* Cent. XVI. sect. III. pt. II. ch. III. 16.

SECTION II.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

IT is probably an admitted fact that oaths were lawful under the old Testament. This Article refers to a passage in the Prophet Jeremiah (iv. 2): 'Thou shalt swear, The LORD liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness.' The only prohibition was against false swearing, or swearing by false gods¹. It seems likely that the Jews somewhat abused this permission, and were rather free in their use of oaths, and of the name of the Almighty on trivial occasions. Accordingly, some strict and ascetic sects among them were led to the opposite extent of refusing to take an oath under any circumstances². If the Jews were thus profane and careless in swearing, we can readily see the object of our Saviour's denunciation of rash oaths. There are obvious and very great dangers in a habit of this kind. If, on every trivial occasion, we have recourse to an oath for attestation, it will almost necessarily follow that we shall lightly regard an ordinary assertion, and that the sanctity of an oath itself will be less revered. Hence, swearing must foster a spirit of untruthfulness. And again, the readily bringing into common conversation the most sacred name of God, must necessarily lead to irreverence and impiety. What can be more alien from the spirit of the Gospel, than these two habits of falsehood and irreverence?

¹ The Third Commandment is probably a prohibition of perjury. 'Thou shalt not lift up the name of the LORD thy God to falsehood,' i.e. Thou shalt not swear falsely by Him. 'To take or lift up the name of God' is unquestionably to swear by His name. The word נִשְׁבַּח 'to vanity,' most probably means 'for a falsehood.' Some interpret it as the LXX. ἐν παραφ, for a light and vain purpose. But נִשְׁבַּח is constantly used of falsehood. See Exod. xxiii. 1; Deut. v. 17; Psalm xii. 3, &c.

² Joseph. *De B. J.* Lib. ii. c. 12.

Now it seems very apparent, that it is this evil habit which our Lord condemns. The Jews appear to have satisfied themselves, that they might swear as much as they chose, if they did not forswear themselves. But our Lord, enforcing the spirit, not merely the letter, of the commandment, tells them not to swear at all; and enjoins that, in their common discourse, they should only say yea and nay; as more than this can come only from the evil one: *Ἐστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναὶ, οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν* (Matt. v. 37). The very words used, and the whole tenor of the passage shew, that it is to common conversation that the precept applies. St. James's words (James v. 12) are so nearly a repetition of our Lord's, that the former must be interpreted by the latter.

So far then we see the great evil of profane swearing, and of solemn asseverations on unimportant occasions. All such are strictly forbidden by, and thoroughly opposed to, the Gospel of Christ.

But on solemn and important occasions, and especially in courts of justice, we have new Testament authority for believing that oaths are lawful to Christians as well as to Jews. Our Lord Himself was adjured by the High Priest, and, instead of refusing to plead to such an adjuration, He answered immediately¹. This one argument seems a host in itself. Our Lord consented to be put upon His oath. Oaths therefore before a civil tribunal cannot be forbidden to His disciples. St. Paul frequently, in very weighty matters, calls God to witness, which is essentially taking an oath. See Rom. ix. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 31; 2 Cor. i. 18, 23, xi. 10, 31, xii. 19; Gal. i. 20; Phil. i. 8. This is St. Augustine's argument against the Pelagians; though he says truly, that we must not swear carelessly, because St. Paul swore, when there

¹ The high-priest (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64) said *ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ᾧ ᾤσῃς*: a form equivalent to putting a witness on his oath, in the most solemn possible manner.

was good reason for swearing. Again, in the Epistle to the Hebrews (iii. 11, vi. 16, 17), the Almighty is represented as swearing; and, in the latter passage, the Apostle compares God's swearing with the swearing common among men, saying, 'Men verily swear by the greater; and an oath for confirmation is the end of all strife' (Heb. vi. 16). With this we ought to compare Matt. xxiii. 16—22. See also Rev. x. 6.

Weighing then all that has been said above, very strong as our Lord's and St. James's language against oaths may be; it yet seems impossible to doubt that it is directed against vain, trivial and thoughtless swearing, but not against that legal confirming of the truth by a solemn attestation in the sight of God, which was commanded in the Law of Moses, which our blessed Saviour Himself submitted to before Caiaphas; and which the example of the Apostles, and their general language on the subject seem not only to permit, but to sanction also, if not to enjoin. In short, profane swearing is altogether forbidden to Christians; but religious attestation upon oath seems to be acquiesced in as necessary, and admitted as lawful.

CATALOGUE

OF A

FEW PRINCIPAL FATHERS, COUNCILS, &c.,
WITH THEIR PROBABLE DATES.

	A. D.
Clemens Romanus	70 al. 96
Ignatius	107
Polycarp	108
Papias	116
Justin Martyr	147
Irenæus	180
Clemens Alexandrinus	194
Tertullian	200
Origen	230
Cyprian	250
Lactantius	306
Eusebius of Cæsarea	315
Council of Nice. I.	325
Athanasius	350
Cyril of Jerusalem	350
Hilary of Poitiers	350
Basil of Cæsarea	370
Gregory Nazianzen	370
Gregory Nyssen	370
Epiphanius	370
Ambrose	374
First Council of Constantinople. II.	381
Jerome	390
John Chrysostom	398
Augustine	398
Cyril of Alexandria	412
Isidore of Pelusium	412
Theodoret	423
Hilary of Arles	424

	A. D.
Council of Ephesus. III.	431
Vincentius Lirinensis	434
Prosper of Aquitaine	440
Socrates	440
Sozomen	440
Leo I. Pope	440
Council of Chalcedon. IV.	451
Gelasius. Pope	492
Second Council of Constantinople. V.	553
Gregory the Great. Pope	590
Third Council of Constantinople. VI.	681
Venerable Bede	701
Joannes Damascenus	736
Paschasius Radbert	840
Ratramn or Bertram	840
Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury	980
Berengarius	1050
Theophylact	1077
Bernard of Clairvaux	1115
Peter Lombard	1141
Thomas Aquinas	1255
Council of Constance	1414 to 1418
Council of Basil	1431 to 1443
Council of Florence	1439
Martin Luther	1517
Council of Trent	1545 to 1563

THE END.

STANDARD BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY

JOHN W. PARKER & SON, LONDON.

Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. By WILLIAM STIRLING, M.P. Second Edition, with Additions. 8s.

Critical Biographies. By GEORGE HENRY FRANCIS. Sir Robert Peel—Right Hon. B. Disraeli—Lord Brougham. 1s. each.

Goethe's Opinions on the World, Mankind, Literature, Science, and Art.

Principles of Political Economy. By J. STUART MILL. Second Edition. Two Volumes. Octavo. 30s.

Essays on Unsettled Questions of Political Economy. By the same. 6s. 6d.

System of Logic. By the same. Cheaper Edition. Two Volumes. 25s.

On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics. By G. CORNEWALL LEWIS. Two Volumes. Octavo. 28s.

On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion. By the same Author. Octavo. 10s. 6d.

Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England. By W. WHEWELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8s.

History of the Whig Ministry of 1830. By J. ARTHUR ROEBUCK, M.P. Vols. I. and II.—to the passing of the Reform Bill. Octavo. 28s.

History of Normandy and of England. By Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. Vol. I. Octavo. 21s.

Varronianus; a Critical and Historical Introduction to the Ethnography of Ancient Italy, and the Philological Study of the Latin Language. By J. W. DONALDSON, D.D., Head Master of Bury School. Second Edition, considerably enlarged. 14s.

The New Cratylus; Contributions towards a more accurate Knowledge of the Greek Language. By the same Author, Second Edition, much enlarged. 18s.

Great Britain One Empire. On the Union of the Dominions of Great Britain, by Inter-communication with the Pacific and the East, via British North America. With suggestions for the Profitable Colonization of that Territory. By CAPTAIN M. H. STONE, R.E. With Maps. 2s. 6d.

Manual of Geographical Science.

PART THE FIRST, 10s. 6d., containing—

MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY, by Rev. M. O'BRIEN, Professor of Natural Philosophy in King's College.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, by D. T. ANSTED, M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geology in King's College.

CHARTOGRAPHY, by J. R. JACKSON, F.R.S., late Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society.

THEORY OF DESCRIPTION AND GEOGRAPHICAL TERMINOLOGY, by Rev. C. G. NICOLAY, Librarian of King's College.

Atlas of Physical and Historical Geography, to accompany the **MANUAL OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE.** Engraved by J. W. LOWRY, under the direction of Professor ANSTED and Rev. C. G. NICOLAY. 5s.

Leaves from the Note-Book of a Naturalist. By W. J. BRODERIP, F.R.S. 10s. 6d.

Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge. By ADAM SEDGWICK, M.A., Woodwardian Professor. Fifth Edition, enlarged. (770 pages.) 12s.

Elements of Logic. By R. WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Small Octavo, 4s. 6d. Library Edition, 10s. 6d.

Elements of Rhetoric. By the same Author. Small Octavo, 4s. 6d. Library Edition, 10s. 6d.

History of the Inductive Sciences. By W. WHEWELL, D.D., F.R.S., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition, revised. Three Vols. £2 2s.

Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences. By the same Author. Second Edition. Two Volumes. Octavo. 30s.

Indications of the Creator—Theological Extracts from History and Philosophy of Inductive Sciences. By the same. 5s. 6d.

Bacon's Advancement of Learning. A Cheap Edition, carefully Revised from the first Copies, with References to Works quoted, and a few Notes. 2s.

Principles of Imitative Art. Four Lectures delivered before the Oxford Art Society. By GEORGE BUTLER, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Secretary. 6s.

Elements of Morality. By Dr. WHEWELL. Cheaper Edition. Two Volumes. 15s.

Meliora; or, Better Times to Come. Edited by Viscount INGESTER; and containing Papers by Hon. F. Byng, Viscount Goderich, Dr. Guy, Rev. Dr. Hook, Henry Mayhew, Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne, &c. Second Edition. 5s.

English Synonyms. Edited by R. WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Second Edition, enlarged. 3s.

On the Lessons in Proverbs; Lectures by R. C. TRENCH, B.D. Second Edition. 3s.

On the Study of Words; Lectures by the same Author. 4th Edition. 3s. 6d.

History of the Royal Society, compiled from Original Authentic Documents. By C. R. WELD, Assistant-Secretary of the Royal Society. Two Volumes. Octavo. 30s.

The Comets; a Descriptive Treatise with a condensed account of modern discoveries, and a table of all the calculated Comets. By J. RUSSELL HIND, Foreign Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society. 5s. 6d.

An Astronomical Vocabulary; an Explanation of all terms in use amongst Astronomers. By the same Author. 1s. 6d.

Cycle of Celestial Objects. By Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., F.R.S., Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society. Two Vols. Octavo, with Illustrations. £2 2s.

Manual of Chemistry. By W. T. BRANDE, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution. Sixth Edition, much enlarged, and embodying all Recent Discoveries. Two large Volumes. £2 5s.

Dictionary of Materia Medica and Pharmacy. By the same Author. 15s.

Principles of Mechanism. By R. WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy, Cambridge. 15s.

Mechanics applied to the Arts. By H. MOSLEY, M.A., F.R.S., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 6s. 6d.

Lectures on Astronomy. By same Author. Third Edition. 5s. 6d.

Elements of Meteorology. By the late Professor DANIELL. With Plates. Two Volumes. Octavo. 32s.

On Thunderstorms, and on the means of Protecting Buildings and Shipping against the Effects of Lightning. By Sir W. SNOW HARRIS, F.R.S. 10s. 6d.

Connexion of Natural and Divine Truth. By BADEN POWELL, M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geometry, Oxford. 9s.

Undulatory Theory as applied to the Dispersion of Light. By the same Author. Octavo. With coloured Chart. 9s.

Mathematical Tracts. By G. BIDDELL AIRY, M.A., F.R.S., Astronomer Royal. Third Edition. Octavo. 15s.

Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Physic. By T. WATSON, M.D. Third Edition. Two Volumes. Octavo. 34s.

On the Diseases of the Kidney: their Pathology, Diagnosis and Treatment. By GEORGE JOHNSON, M.D., Assistant-Physician to King's College Hospital. 14s.

Physiological Anatomy and Physiology of Man. By Dr. TODD and W. BOWMAN, F.R.S. Part IV., Section J., 7s. Part III., 7s. Vol I., 15s.

The Philosophy of Living. By HERBERT MAYO, M.D. Cheaper Edition, with Additions. 5s.

Management of the Organs of Digestion in Health and in Disease. By the same Author. Second Edition. 6s. 6d.

Lunacy and Lunatic Life, with Hints on the Personal Care and Management of those afflicted with Derangement. 3s. 6d.

German Mineral Waters: and their rational employment for the Cure of certain Chronic Diseases. By S. SURRO, M.D., Physician of the German Hospital. 7s. 6d.

Spasm, Languor, and Palsy. By J. A. WILSON, M.D., Physician to St. George's Hospital. 7s.

Gout, Chronic Rheumatism, and Inflammation of the Joints. By R. B. TODD, M.D., F.R.S., Physician of King's College Hospital. 7s. 6d.

Minerals and their Uses. By J. R. JACKSON, F.R.S. With Frontispiece. 7s. 6d.

Lectures on Dental Physiology and Surgery. By J. TOMES, F.R.S., Surgeon-Dentist to the Middlesex Hospital. Octavo. With 100 Illustrations. 12s.

Use and Management of Artificial Teeth. By the same Author. With Illustrations. 3s. 6d.

Practical Geology and Mineralogy. By JOSHUA TRIMMER, F.G.S. Octavo, with Two Hundred Illustrations. 12s.

Practical Chemistry for Farmers and Landowners. By the same Author. 5s.

Practical Geodesy. By BUTLER WILLIAMS, C.E. New Edition, with Chapters on Estate, Parochial, and Railroad Surveying. With Illustrations. 12s. 6d.

Manual for Teaching Model-Drawing: with a Popular View of Perspective. By the same Author. (Under the Sanction of the Committee of Council on Education.) Octavo, with shaded Engravings. 15s.

Instructions in Drawing. Abridged from the above. 3s.

Chemistry of the Crystal Palace: a Popular Account of the Chemical Properties of the Chief Materials employed in its Construction. By T. GAUFRITHS. 5s.

Chemistry of the four Ancient Elements. By the same. Second Edition. 4s. 6d.

Recreations in Chemistry. By the same. Second Edition, enlarged. 5s.

Recreations in Physical Geography. By Miss E. M. ZORNIAN. Fourth Edition. 6s.

World of Waters; or, Recreations in Hydrology. By the same Author. Second Edition. 6s.

Recreations in Geology. By the same Author. Third Edition. 4s. 6d.

Recreations in Astronomy. By Rev. L. TOMLINSON, M.A. Third Edition. 4s. 6d.

Summer Time in the Country. By Rev. R. A. WILLMOTT. Second Edition. 5s.

Shipwrecks of the Royal Navy. Compiled from Official Documents. By W. O. B. GILLY. With a Preface by Dr. GILLY, Canon of Durham. Second Edition. 7s. 6d.

The Earth and Man; or, Physical Geography in its Relation to the History of Mankind. By PROFESSOR GUYOT. Slightly abridged, with Corrections and Notes. 2s. 6d.

Danger of Superficial Knowledge: A Lecture. By J. D. FORBES, F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy, Edinburgh. 2s.

Introductory Lectures delivered at Queen's College, London. 5s.

The Saint's Tragedy. By C. KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. Cheaper Edition. 2s.

Schiller's Complete Poems. Attempted in English, by EDGAR ALFRED BOWRING. 6s.

Hypatia; or, New Foes with an Old Face. By C. KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. Reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*. Two Volumes. Octavo. 18s.

Digby Grand; an Autobiography. By G. J. WHYTE MELVILLE. Reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*. Two volumes. Post Octavo. 18s.

Jesuit Executorship; or, Passages in the Life of a Seceder from Romanism. An Autobiography. Two Volumes. Post Octavo. 18s.

Yeast: a Problem. By C. KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. Reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*. Cheaper Edition. 5s.

The Upper Ten Thousand: Sketches of American Society. By A NEW YORKER. Reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*. 5s.

The Heir of Redclyffe. By the Author of *Henrietta's Wish*, &c. Two Volumes. 12s.

Brampton Rectory; or, the Lesson of Life. Second Edition. 8s. 6d.

Compton Merivale: another Leaf from the Lesson of Life. By the Author of *Brampton Rectory*. 8s. 6d.

The City of God; a Vision of the Past, the Present, and the Future. By E. BUDGE, Rector of Bratton. 8s. 6d.

Chronicles of the Seasons; a Course of Daily Instruction and Amusement, selected from the Natural History, Science, Art, Antiquities, and Biography of our Fatherland. In Four Books, 3s. 6d. each.

The Merchant and the Friar; or, Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages. By Sir F. PALGRAVE. Second Edition. 3s.

Crusaders; Scenes, Events, and Characters from the Times of the Crusades. By T. KNIGHTLEY. 7s.

The Lord and the Vassal; a Familiar Exposition of the Feudal System. 2s.

French Revolution; its Causes and Consequences. By F. M. ROWAN. 3s. 6d.

Labaupe's History of Napoleon's Invasion of Russia. 2s. 6d.

Historical Sketch of the British Army. By G. R. GLEIG, M.A., Chaplain General to the Forces. 2s. 6d.

Family History of England. By the same Author. With numerous Illustrations. Three Volumes. 6s. 6d. each.

Familiar History of Birds. By E. STANLEY, D.D., Bishop of Norwich. Fifth Edition, with numerous Illustrations. 5s.

Domesticated Animals. By MARY ROBERTS. 3s. 6d.

Wild Animals. By the same. 3s. 6d.

Amusements in Chess. By C. TOMLINSON. 4s. 6d.

Musical History, Biography, and Criticism. By GEORGE HOGARTH. Two Volumes. 10s. 6d.

Ullmann's Gregory of Nazianzum. A Contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of the Fourth Century. Translated by G. V. COX, M.A. 6s.

Neander's Julian the Apostate and his Generation: an Historical Picture. Translated by G. V. COX, M.A. 3s. 6d.

Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus, drawn out from his Book. With Notes. Translated by G. V. COX, M.A. 5s.

Student's Manual of Ancient History. By W. COCKER TAYLOR, LL.D. Fifth Edition. 10s. 6d.

Student's Manual of Modern History By the same Author. Fifth Edition, with New Supplementary Chapter. 10s. 6d.

History of Mohammedanism. Cheaper Edition. By the same Author. 4s.

History of Christianity. By the same Author. 6s. 6d.

History of the Holy Sepulchre. By Professor WILLIAMS. Reprinted from Williams's Holy City. With Illustrations. 9s.

The Holy City; Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem. By G. WILLIAMS, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Second Edition, with numerous Illustrations and Additions, and a plan of Jerusalem. Two large Volumes. £2 5s.

* * The Plan is published separately, with a Memoir, 9s.; or Mounted on Rollers, 18s.

Notes on German Churches. By W. WHWELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Third Edition. 12s.

The Six Colonies of New Zealand. By W. FOX. 3s. With large Map by Arrowsmith, 4s. 6d.

Handbook for New Zealand. Recent Information, compiled for the Use of Intending Colonists. 6s.

View of the Art of Colonization. By E. GIBSON WAKEFIELD. Octavo. 12s.

Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks; a Geographical and Descriptive Account of the Expedition of Cyrus. By W. F. AINSWORTH. 7s. 6d.

Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia. By the same Author. Two Vols., with Illustrations. 24s.

Gazpacho; or, Summer Months in Spain. By W. G. CLARK, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cheaper Edition. 5s.

Auvergne, Piedmont, and Savoy: a Summer Ramble. By C. R. WELD. 8s. 6d.

Wanderings in the Republics of Western America. By GEORGE BYAM. With Illustrations. 7s. 6d.

Hesperos; or, Travels in the West. Two Volumes. By Mrs. HOUTROUN. 14s.

Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. By Lieut.-Colonel RAWLINSON. Octavo. 3s.

Port Phillip in 1849. By Dr. CLUTTERBUCK, Nine Years Resident in the Colony. With a Map. 3s.

Charters of the Old English Colonies in America. With Introduction and Notes. By S. LUCAS, M.A. 4s. 6d.

Canterbury Papers. Nos. I. to VIII. 6d. each; in a wrapper, 4s. Nos. IX. and X., 1s. No. XI., with Four Views of the Canterbury Settlement, 1s. 6d. No. XII. 6d.

Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles. By a Country Pastor. 3s. 6d.

Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels. By the same Author. 3s. 6d.

View of the Scripture Revelations respecting a Future State. Sixth Edition. By the same Author. 5s.

Twenty-five Village Sermons. By C. KINGSLEY, Jun., Rector of Eversley. A Cheaper Edition, 3s. 6d.

Churchman's Theological Dictionary. By R. EDEN, M.A., Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich. Second Edition. 5s.

The Gospel-Narrative according to the Authorized Text, without Repetition or Omission. With a Continuous Exposition, Marginal Proofs in full, and Notes. By J. FOARNE, M.A., Her Majesty's Chaplain of the Savoy. Fourth Edition, 12s.

Statutes relating to the Ecclesiastical and Eleemosynary Institutions of England, Wales, Ireland, India, and the Colonies; with Decisions. By A. J. STEPHENS, M.A., F.R.S. Two large Volumes, with copious Indices, £3 3s.

The Natural History of Infidelity and Superstition in Contrast with Christian Faith. Bampton Lectures preached before the University of Oxford. By J. E. RIDDLE, M.A., Minister of St. Philip's, Leckhampton. Octavo, 12s.

Manual of Christian Antiquities. By the same. Second Edition. 18s.

Luther and his Times. By the same Author. 5s.

Churchman's Guide to the Use of the English Liturgy. By the same Author. 3s. 6d.

First Sundays at Church. By the same Author. Cheaper Edition. 2s. 6d.

Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, Historical and Doctrinal. By E. H. BROWN, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter. Vol. I., 10s. 6d. Vol. II., 12s.

The Churchman's Guide; an Index of Sermons and other Works, arranged according to their subjects. By JOHN FORSTER, M.A. Octavo. 7s.

The Early Christians. By the Rev. W. PRIDGEN, M.A. Fourth Edition. 4s.

The Book of the Fathers, and the Spirit of their Writings. 9s. 6d.

Babylon and Jerusalem: a Letter addressed to Ida, Countess of Hahn-Hahn. From the German, with a Preface. 2s. 6d.

History of the Church of England. By THOMAS VOWLER SHORT, D.D., Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Fifth Edition. Octavo. 16s.

History of Popery; the Origin, Growth, and Progress of the Papal Power; its Political Influence, and Effects on the Progress of Civilization. 9s. 6d.

Elizabethan Religious History. By H. SOAMES, M.A. Octavo. 16s.

History of the Christian Church. By Dr. BURTON, Professor of Divinity, Oxford. 5s.

Outlines of Sacred History. 2s. 6d.

Outlines of Ecclesiastical History, before the Reformation. By the Rev. W. HOARE, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 2s. 6d.

Church of St. Patrick; an Inquiry into the Independence of the Ancient Church of Ireland. By W. G. TODD, A.B. 4s.

Civil History of the Jews. By O. COCKAYNE, M.A., King's College. 4s. 6d.

Cudworth on Freewill; now first Edited, with Notes, by J. ALLEN, M.A., Archdeacon of Salop. 3s.

Guericke's Manual of the Antiquities of the Christian Church. Translated and Adapted to the Use of the English Church, by A. J. W. MORRISON, B.A., Master of Grammar School, Truro. 5s. 6d.

Garrick's Mode of Reading the Liturgy. With Notes, and a Discourse on Public Reading. By R. CULL. 5s. 6d.

Memoir of Bishop Copleston, with Selections from his Diary and Correspondence. By W. J. COPLESTON, M.A., Rector of Cromhall. 10s. 6d.

Life of Archbishop Usher. By C. R. ELINGTON, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Dublin. Portrait. Octavo. 12s.

Life of Archbishop Sancroft. By the late Dr. D'OURLY. Octavo. 9s.

Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings, of Bishop Butler. By T. BARTLETT, M.A., Rector of Kingstons. 7s.

Lives of Eminent Christians. By R. B. HOWE, M.A., Archdeacon of Worcester. Four Volumes. 4s. 6d. each.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor; his Predecessors, Contemporaries, and Successors. By Rev. R. A. WILLMOTT. Second Edition. 5s.

Lives of English Sacred Poets. By the same Author. Two Vols. 4s. 6d. each.

Life and Services of Lord Harris. By the Right Hon. S. R. LUSHINGTON. Second Edition. 6s. 6d.

Notes on the Parables. By R. C. TRENCH, B.D., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford. Fifth Edition. Octavo. 12s.

Notes on the Miracles. By the same Author. Third Edition. 12s.

St. Augustine's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. With an Essay on St. Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture. By R. C. TRENCH, B.D. Second Edition. 7s. The Essay separately, 3s. 6d.

Literature of the Church of England;
Specimens of the Writings of Eminent
Divines, with Memoirs of their Lives and
Times. By R. CATTERMOLE, B.D. Two
volumes. Octavo. 25s.

**Essays on Peculiarities of the Chris-
tian Religion.** By R. WHATELY, D.D., Arch-
bishop of Dublin. Cheaper Edition. 7s. 6d.

**Essays on Difficulties in the Writings
of the Apostle Paul.** By the same Author.
Cheaper Edition. 8s.

Essays on Errors of Romanism.
By the same. Cheaper Edition. 7s. 6d.

**Essays on Dangers to Christian Faith
from the Teaching or the Conduct of its
Professors.** By the same Author. 10s.

The Contest with Rome. A Charge;
with Notes, in answer to Dr. Newman's
recent Lectures. By J. C. HARE, M.A.,
Archdeacon of Lewes. 10s. 6d.

Mission of the Comforter. By the
same. Second Edition. Octavo. 12s.

The Victory of Faith. By the same
Author. Second Edition. 6s.

Parish Sermons. By the same
Author. Two Series. Octavo. 12s. each.

**The Old Testament. Nineteen Ser-
mons on the First Lessons.** By F. D.
MAURICE, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn.
6s.

**Sermons on the Sabbath Day—on the
Character of the Warrior—and the Inter-
pretation of History.** By the same Author.
2s. 6d.

**The Church a Family: Sermons on
the Occasional Services of the Prayer-
Book.** By the same Author. 4s. 6d.

**The Prayer Book; specially con-
sidered as a Protection against Romanism.**
By the same Author. 5s. 6d.

The Lord's Prayer. Nine Sermons.
By the same Author. Third Edition. 2s. 6d.

**The Religions of the World, and
their Relations to Christianity.** By the
same Author. Cheaper Edition. 5s.

**Lectures on the Epistle to the
Hebrews.** By the same. 7s. 6d.

Christmas Day, and other Sermons.
By the same Author. Octavo. 10s. 6d.

**Sequentiæ ex Missalibus, Anglicis,
Gallicis, Germanicis Desumptæ. Collegit,
recensuit, notulasque addidit JOANNES M.
NEALE, A.M., Collegii Sackvilleensis Custos.
7s.**

**Ordo Sæclorum; a Treatise on the
Chronology of the Holy Scriptures.** By
H. BROWNE, M.A., Canon of Chichester. 20s.

**Observations on Dr. Wiseman's
Reply to Dr. Turtton's Roman Catholic
Doctrine of the Eucharist Considered.** By
T. TURTTON, D.D., Bishop of Ely. 4s. 6d.

**James's Treatise on the Corruptions
of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the
Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church
of Rome.** Revised by J. E. COX, M.A.,
Vicar of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. 12s.

**Fullwood's Roma Ruit. The Pillars
of Rome Broken.** New Edition, by C.
HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catha-
rine's Hall, Cambridge. Octavo. 10s. 6d.

**The Scriptural Character of the
English Church considered. With Notes.**
By DEWEY COLLEIDGE, M.A., Principal
of St. Mark's College. Octavo. 12s. 6d.

**College Lectures on Ecclesiastical
History.** By W. BATES, B.D., Fellow of
Christ's College, Cambridge. Third
Edition. 6s. 6d.

**College Lectures on Christian An-
tiquities, and the Ritual.** By the same
Author. 9s.

**Hints for an Improved Translation
of the New Testament.** By J. SCHOL-
FIELD, M.A., Professor of Greek, Cam-
bridge. Third Edition. 3s. 6d.

**Choral Service of the Church: an
Inquiry into the Liturgical System of the
Cathedral and Collegiate Foundations of
the Anglican Communion.** By J. JAMA,
M.A., Rector of Peterstow. 16s.

The Personality of the Tempter,
By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., Head Master of
Harrow School. Octavo. 7s. 6d.

**Sermons preached before the Uni-
versity of Oxford.** By C. A. OGILVIE, D.D.,
Canon of Christ Church. Octavo. 5s.

**Lectures on the Prophecies, proving
the Divine Origin of Christianity.** By A.
M'CAUL, D.D., Professor of Divinity in
King's College, London. Octavo. 7s.

**The Messiahship of Jesus. The
Concluding Series of WARBURTONIAN Lec-
tures.** By DR. A. M'CAUL. 7s.

**Two Series of Discourses. I. On
Christian Humiliation. II. On the City
of God.** By C. H. TARRANT, D.D., Bishop
of Edinburgh. Octavo. 7s. 6d.

College Chapel Sermons. By W. WHEWELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. 10s. 6d.

The Liturgy as it is, illustrated in a Series of Practical Sermons. By H. HOWARTH, B.D., Rector of St. George, Hanover Square. Second Edition. 4s. 6d.

Practical Sermons, by Dignitaries and other Clergymen. Edited by J. C. CROTHWAITE, M.A., Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill. Three Volumes. Octavo. 7s. each.

Short Sermons for Children, illustrative of the Catechism and Liturgy. By the Rev. C. A. JOHNS, B.A. 3s. 6d.

The Calling of a Medical Student; Four Sermons preached at King's College, London. By E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A., Chaplain and Divinity Lecturer. 1s. 6d.

Butler's Three Sermons on Human Nature, and Dissertation on Virtue. With Preface and Syllabus, by W. WHEWELL, D.D. Second Edition. 3s. 6d.

Butler's Six Sermons on Moral Subjects. With Preface and Syllabus, by Dr. WHEWELL. 3s. 6d.

Village Lectures on the Liturgy. By W. PALIN, Rector of Stifford. 3s. 6d.

CLASSICAL TEXTS, *Carefully Revised.*

ÆSCHYLUS EUMENIDES. 1s.
CÆSAR DE BELLO GALlico. I. to IV. 1s. 6d.
CICERO DE SENECTUTE. 1s.
CICERO DE AMICITIA. 1s.
CICERO DE OFFICIIS. 2s.
CICERO PRO PLANCIO. 1s.
CICERO PRO MILONI. 1s.
CICERO PRO MURÆNA. 1s.
CICERONIS ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA. 1s.
DEMOSTHENES IN LEPTINEM. 1s.
DEMOSTHENES AGAINST APHOBUS and ONETOR. 1s. 6d.
EURIPIDIS BACCHÆ. 1s.
EXCERPTA ex ARIANO. 2s. 6d.
EXCERPTA ex LUCIANO. 2s. 6d.
EXCERPTA ex TACITI ANNALIBUS. 2s. 6d.
HORATII SATIRÆ. 1s.
HORATII CARMINA. 1s. 6d.
HORATII ARS POETICA. 6d.
OVIDII FASTI. 2s.
PLATONIS PLEDO. 2s.
PLATONIS MENEXENUS. 1s.
PLATONIS PHÆDRUS. 1s. 6d.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES OF SOLOON, PERICLES, and PHILOPOEMEN. 2s.
SOPHOCLES PHILOCTETES, with Notes. 2s.
SOPHOCLES CEDIPIUS TYRANNUS, with Notes. 2s. 6d.
TACITI GERMANIA. 1s.
TACITI AGRICOLA. 1s.
TERENTIUS ANDRIA. 1s.
TERENTIUS ADELPHI. 1s.
VIRGILII GEORGICA. 1s. 6d.

Arundines Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiense Lusus Canori, collegit atque edidit HENRICUS DEBRY, M.A. Fourth Edition. 12s.

Agamemnon of Æschylus, the Text, with a Translation into English Verse, and Notes. By J. CONINGTON, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford. 7s. 6d.

Æschylus translated into English Verse. With Notes, Life of Æschylus, and a Discourse on Greek Tragedy. By Professor BLACKIE, of Aberdeen. Two Volumes. 16s.

Phædrus, Lysis, and Protagoras of Plato. Translated by J. WRIGHT, M.A., Master of Sutton Coldfield School. 4s. 6d.

Homeric Ballads: the Text, with Metrical Translations and Notes. By the late Dr. MAGINN. 6s.

Tacitus, the Complete Works, with a Commentary, Life of Tacitus, Indices, and Notes. Edited by Professor RITTER, of Bonn. Four Volumes. Octavo. 23s.

Aristophanis Comediæ Vndeim, cum Notis et Indice Historico, edidit HUBERTVS A. HOLDEN, A.M. Coll. Trin. Cant. Socinus. Octavo. 15s. The Plays separately, 1s. each.

Aulularia and Menæchmei of Plautus, with Notes by J. HILDYARD, B.D., Fellow of Christ's Coll., Camb. 7s. 6d. each.

Antigone of Sophocles, in Greek and English, with Notes. By J. W. DONALDSON, D.D., Head Master of Bury School. 9s.

Pindar's Epinician Odes, revised and explained; with copious Notes and Indices. By Dr. DONALDSON. 16s.

Becker's Gallus; or, Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus, with Notes and Excursus. Second Edition. 12s.

Becker's Charicles; or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. Second Edition, carefully revised.

Speeches of Demosthenes against Aphobus and Onetor, Translated, with Explanatory Notes, by C. KENNEDY, M.A., Fellow of Trin. Coll., Camb. 9s.

Selection from Greek Verses of Shrewsbury School. By B. H. KENNEDY, D.D., Head Master of Shrewsbury School. 8s.

Select Private Orations of Demosthenes: with Notes. By C. T. FENNER, M.A., Master of Sherborne School. Cheaper Edition. 4s.

Frogs of Aristophanes; with English Notes. By the Rev. H. F. COCKENLEY. 7s.

Classical Examination Papers of King's College. By R. W. BROWNE, M.A., Professor of Classical Literature. 6s.

- Propertius; with English Notes. By F. A. PALRY, Editor of *Æschylus*. Octavo.
- The *Alcestis* of Euripides; with Notes by J. H. MOWE, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Cheaper Edition. 4s. 6d.
- Fables of Babrius. Edited by G. C. LEWIS, M.A. 5s. 6d.
- Müller's Dissertations on the Eumenides of *Æschylus*. Cheaper Edition, thoroughly revised.
- Sacred Latin Poetry; with Notes and Introduction. By R. C. TRENCH, B.D. 7s.; or 14s. bound in antique calf.
- Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. By W. G. HUMPHRY, B.D., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London. Octavo. 7s.
- Pearson's Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles and Annals of St. Paul. Edited in English, with a few Notes, by J. R. CROWFOOT, B.D., Divinity Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge. 4s.
- Greek Text of the Acts of the Apostles; with English Notes. By H. ROBINSON, D.D. 8s.
- Bœckh's Public Economy of Athens. Translated by G. C. LEWIS, A.M. 8vo. 18s.
- Schleiermacher's Introductions to the Dialogues of Plato. Translated by W. DOMSON, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 12s. 6d.
- Hebrew Grammar. By the late CHAS. LEO, of Cambridge. 12s. 6d.
- New Hebrew Lexicon. Part I. Hebrew and English.—Part II. English and Hebrew. With Grammar, Vocabulary, and Grammatical Analysis of the Book of Genesis. Also a Chaldee Grammar, Lexicon, and Grammatical Analysis of the Chaldee Words of the Old Testament. By T. JARRETT, M.A., Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. Octavo. 21s.
- Guide to the Hebrew Student. By H. H. BERNARD, Teacher of Hebrew, Cambridge. 10s. 6d.
- The Psalms in Hebrew, with Critical, Exegetical, and Philological Commentary. By G. PHILLIPS, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge. Two Volumes. 32s.
- Elements of Syriac Grammar. By G. PHILLIPS, B.D. Second Edition. 10s.
- Practical Arabic Grammar. By DURCAN STEWART. Octavo. 16s.
- Edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.
- Cæsar Morgan on the Trinity of Plato, and of Philo Judæus, and of the Effects which an Attachment to their Writings had upon the Principles and Reasonings of the Fathers of the Christian Church. Edited by H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College. 4s.
- Grotius *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. With the Notes of Barbeyrac and others; accompanied by an Abridged Translation of the Text. By W. WARELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College. Two Volumes, Octavo.
- The Octavius of Minucius Felix; with an Introduction, Analysis, and English Notes, by the Rev. H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College. 9s. 6d.
- Theophili Episcopi Antiochenensis Libri tres ad Autolyceum. Editit Prolegomenis Versione Notulis Indicibus Instruxit GUL. G. HUMPHRY, S.T.B. Collegi Sanctiss. Trin. Ap. Cantabrigienses Socius. 6s.
- Sanderson De Obligatione Conscientiæ. With English Notes, including an abridged Translation by Dr. WARELL. 9s.
- The Homilies, with various Readings, and the Quotations from the Fathers given at length in the Original Languages. Edited by G. E. CORRIE, B.D., Master of Jesus College. Octavo. 10s. 6d.
- Pearson on the Creed. Revised and Corrected by TEMPLE CHEVALLIER, B.D., Professor of Mathematics, Durham. 12s.
- The folio of 1669 has been taken as the principal model of the text, and the quotations from the Fathers have been verified throughout. The passages from the Rabbinical writings and Chaldee paraphrases have been carefully collated.
- Twysden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism. Edited, with the Author's MS. Corrections, by Professor CORRIE. 7s. 6d.
- Archbishop Usher's Answer to a Jesuit; with other Tracts on Popery. Octavo. 12s. 6d.
- Dr. Hey's Lectures on Divinity. Third Edition. Two Vols. Octavo. 30s.
- Wilson's Illustration of the Method of Explaining the New Testament. Edited by T. TURTON, D.D., Bishop of Ely. 8s.
- Cambridge Greek and English Testament. Edited by Professor SCHOLEFIELD. Third Edition. 7s. 6d.
- Cambridge Greek Testament. 3s. 6d.



